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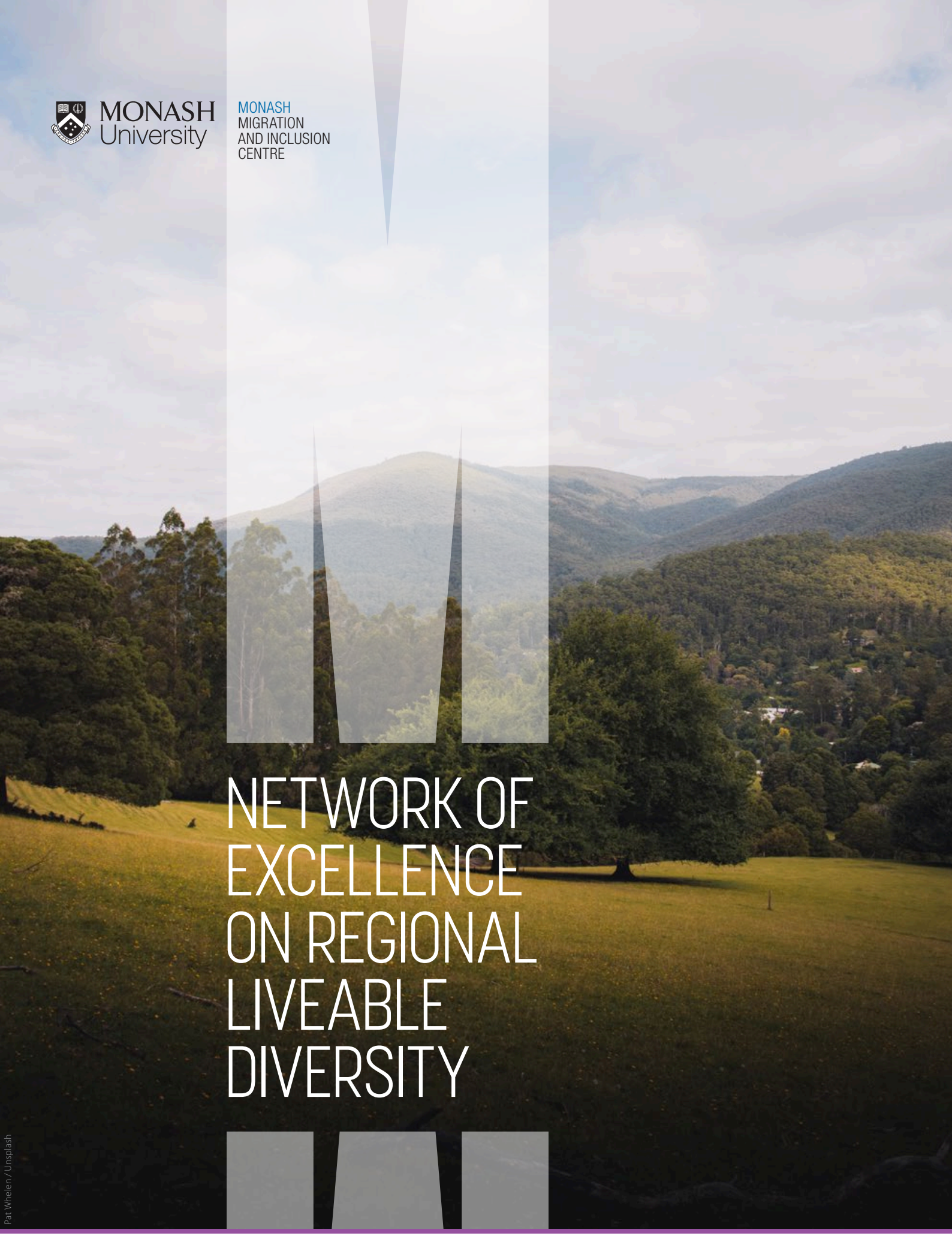
NETWORK OF EXCELLENCE ON REGIONAL LIVEABLE DIVERSITY



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We acknowledge the Wurundjeri and Boon Wurrung peoples, of the Greater Kulin Nation, who are the traditional owners and ongoing custodians of the land where Monash Australia stands. We pay our respects to their Elders, past, present, and emerging and thank them for their deep knowledge of place and longstanding recognition of the importance of community and connection.

NETWORK OF EXCELLENCE ON REGIONAL LIVEABLE DIVERSITY

Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre
Monash University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. ABOUT THE NETWORK OF EXCELLENCE ON REGIONAL LIVEABLE DIVERSITY

The Network of Excellence on Regional Liveable Diversity (NoE), was established in 2019 from seed funding awarded from Monash University. It brings together extensive research expertise from the Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre (MMIC) and international partners from the Erasmus University of Rotterdam, Ryerson University, the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, and the University of Bologna (see full membership list at Appendix B). The NoE seeks to develop evidence-based research from which effective strategies can be developed to support policies of inclusion and promote liveability in diversifying smaller cities and towns.

Together, we aim to understand the broader picture of how migration and diversity shape social, political and economic life, and to extend and apply our knowledge and learnings to solve practical problems and challenges presented by the diversification of regional, provincial and rural areas from our respective locations. Typically, Australia would be compared with Canada in terms of its regional/non-metropolitan settlement programs and overall proactive management of immigration, but here we also engage comparatively with European cases, notably from Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. The European countries have significant regional/provincial autonomy, imbalances in their distribution of migrants and a comparatively reactive immigration management approach.

The NoE offers unique insights from a global comparison of regional readiness for accepting and integrating migrants across the target countries, shifting the focus on the notion of 'regional readiness' (van Kooy et al. 2019; 2020) and 'liveable diversity' (Gamlen 2018). In the coming years, we aim to cement the NoE's reputation as an international leader in the field of comparative regional diversity study and lay the foundations for future large-scale collaborations that build upon this pilot project that has developed from the establishment of the Network.

2. ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report provides a comparative insight into regional ethnic diversity across five countries. We include regional/provincial site studies for each country with accompanying data visualisations from the nearest metropolitan cities to these regional/provincial sites. With a focus on both national and localised regional policies to manage regional migration, we present findings from desktop reviews for each site to understand ethnic diversity alongside overarching findings from the comparative approach.

The NoE was originally funded to conduct a pilot project that involved fieldwork at one regional site per country for data collection of relevant policy and practice documents and other data to develop the site reports for each location. The COVID-19 pandemic significantly impacted the original NoE pilot study approach, restricting opportunities for regional fieldwork in Australia, Canada and Europe. In light of these impacts, the NoE team worked together to redesign the pilot project plan. The project was revised to focus on desktop research with a data visualisation output. This has resulted in the inclusion of additional regional sites from the three European countries, two Canadian locations and two Australian locations (see Table 1).

The pilot study was revised to address the following objectives, guided by the research questions presented below.

Objectives

1. To better understand the intersection of migration policies and changes in non-metropolitan cities and towns in five countries of interest (Australia, Canada, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands).
2. To examine changes to ethnic diversification, and the 'liveable diversity' of regional areas over the last 10 years, and how this differs across national contexts.
3. To consider the ways non-metropolitan areas are responding to changes in diversity as reflected in local strategic policies and planning (or indeed their absence).

Research questions

- How do the macro migration policies differ in our countries of interest as they relate to primary and secondary migration to non-metropolitan areas?
- How have non-metropolitan areas changed in their socio-demographic compositions in response to broader changes in macro migration policies?
- At the local level, how are social, economic and/or cultural aspects of these non-metropolitan areas reflected in local policies and practices?

Defining our unit of analysis

There are significant differences in conceptualisations and definitions of what a region or regional location is across the five countries. Australia typically refers to a region as a smaller city or town that lies beyond the major capital cities of each State and Territory (Regional Australia Institute). For Canada, equivalent terminology often refers to small or mid-sized cities, smaller centres, or remote towns. Our European partners have defined their regional sites as those that are termed 'non-metropolitan' or 'non-metropole'. Therefore, terminology in relation to what a region is differs across each country report, i.e. region (Australia)/municipality (Canada, Germany)/non-metropolitan (Italy)/non-metropole (The Netherlands).

We identified in our study, mid-sized cities of approximately 100,000 residents, in close proximity of larger metropolitan sites (within a 200km radius). Bologna is an exception to this and therefore is presented as a unique case study to analyse how, from 2015, this regional centre has recently merged to become a metropolitan area as a consequence of increased migration and urbanisation. Our aim is to investigate the different types of policies, processes and practices of diversification in the regional locations that lie within close geographic proximity to metropolitan/urban centres.

Table 1: NoE pilot study regional sites

Country	Regional site location for NoE pilot study	Population	Closest metropolitan city	Population
Australia	Bendigo	119,980 in 2020	Melbourne	5 million in 2019
	Shepparton	66,493 in 2020		
Canada	Chilliwack	91,797 in 2021	Vancouver	2.5 million in 2020
	Peterborough	81,032 in 2020	Toronto	6.1 million in 2020
Italy			Bologna Metropolitan Area[1]	1,019,539 in 2020
Germany	Giessen	83,628 in 2015	Frankfurt	777,000 in 2020
	Hanau	93,382 in 2015		
	Bad Homburg	52,000		
The Netherlands	Capelle aan den IJssel	66,818 in 2020	Rotterdam	651,446 in 2020

1 Bologna is a city that has recently become a metropolitan area, since 2015, see p.54 of this report. In Italy a city with more than 1 million inhabitants is considered a metropolitan area. The inclusion of the city of Bologna allows us to analyse how specific areas have gradually converged (due to migration and urbanisation) towards becoming part of a broader metropolitan area.

3. BACKGROUND

As the world continues to deal with the effects of COVID-19, borders remain closed in some countries, particularly those that have experienced mass migration. Although migration is stagnant, there remains a need to ease urban congestion and/or to facilitate the outgrowth of cities into regional areas. Regional migration programs and strategies, often implemented through government policies, are used in Australia and Canada to boost economic development in smaller cities and towns with the view of attracting more people away from overcrowded cities (Wilson 2015). These strategies seek to revitalise and transform regional communities, to ease the pressure urban centres face and to bolster social, cultural, and economic life in regional destinations. In what follows, we provide a brief overview of the policies of regional migration and resettlement in five key countries of interest (Australia, Canada, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands). We trace how these policies have affected population growth and ethnic diversification, over time, in regional areas that are situated near large and ethnically diverse cities. This section of the report integrates broader academic literature with more specific examples from the five case study countries.

3.1 REGIONAL MIGRATION POLICIES: A PRODUCT OF MULTILEVEL GOVERNANCE

In Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, regional migration has occurred since the 19th century, and yet it is only in recent decades that it has been a central objective of migration policy, with development implications for receiving countries, cities, and communities. Migrant settlement at regional sites constitutes different migrant groups including temporary migrants and permanent residents on a pathway to citizenship, skilled and unskilled migrants, seasonal workers, international students, humanitarian visa holders and irregular migrants. For each site in this study, different national definitions of migrant groups exist.

What is common across all sites in this study is a multilevel governance of regional migration, where responsibility for managing this settlement pathway has devolved to a significant extent from national governments either upward to supranational organisations (such as the European Union) or downward to state- or provincial-level authorities and local municipal authorities governments and community organisations (Scholten and Penninx 2016; Boese and Phillips 2017; Dunn et al. 2001; Nelson and Dunn 2017). A multilevel approach to immigration policy serves to harness the economic capacity of potential migrants (Mares 2016; Tazreiter 2019; Forbes-Mewett et al. 2021) and responds to economic stagnation and population decline at regional locations. Studies from Australia show that migration to non-metropolitan areas have impacted the economic and social composition of regional and rural areas (Hugo 2008a; 2008b) and this is reflected across all sites from this study (see also, the data visualisation component of this project). This section will trace where, and how, the regional migration policies converge and diverge across Australia, Canada, and Europe.

Through regional migration and settlement policies, some national governments actively encourage and promote (re)settlement to regional areas by introducing numerous entry pathways that are governed at the state (Australia), provincial (Canada) and local level. For example, Australia has introduced state specific

and regional migration skilled and unskilled work visa categories[2] as well as the Safe Haven Enterprise Visa[3] directed at asylum seekers. Canada has introduced the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)[4] targeted at migrants with a certain level of skill, education or work experience, who are seeking a pathway to permanent residence and who can contribute to the economy of a specific province or territory (Hugo 2008a; Schmidtke 2014; Curry et al. 2018).

The emergence of a multilevel governance structure has also shaped immigration policies in Europe (Caponio and Jones-Correa 2018; Scholten and Pennix 2016). In the 2000s, many Central and Eastern European countries acceded to the European Union, which was followed by the development of free movement arrangements. This led to the strengthening and establishment of several supranational instruments such as European regulatory bodies and legislations aiming to facilitate and manage various types of human mobility. However, these supranational instruments contradict with established policy ideologies and practices in Member States where the governance of immigration and integration continues to be managed by national governments and, for the countries in our study, local level governance support for the implementation of these policies. A multilevel governance structure has therefore taken shape in European immigration policy making space across supranational, national, and local levels whereby Member States are cooperating with the European Union to manage immigration flows to and within the Union, particularly regarding the arrival and mobility of irregular migrants.

While all three of the European countries in this study are Member States of the European Union, our focus on the immigration and integration policies begins with an examination of each country's national policy developments and how these are implemented at the local level. In Germany, immigration and integration policies are developed at a national level, but managed and implemented at the municipal level by local government outposts, including the establishment of different projects and initiatives funded by the national government. In Italy, immigration and integration policy is coordinated at national level, with Territorial Councils for Immigration established in each prefecture to support the implementation of these policies at local level. For the Netherlands, the governance relationship concerning immigration and integration has been a collaborative effort, that has at times created tensions, between the metropolitan site of Rotterdam and non-metropole city of Capelle aan den IJssel given the large migrant populations resident in both locations (52% and 35% respectively) and mobility of these populations.

3.2 BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL MIGRATION

A small but growing body of literature from Australia and Canada argues that the diversification of regional areas through migration is of benefit to receiving communities, local economies and new arrivals. Newcomers revitalise local economies by addressing labour shortages and establishing new businesses (Akbari, 2015; van Kooy et al. 2018; Giannakis and Bruggeman 2020). They also enhance resilience in regional areas during economic crises (Carter et al. 2008; Crown et al. 2018; Kakderi and Tasopoulou 2017). Additionally, migrants facilitate re-population whereby the settlement of working-age newcomers can offset the emigration of young locally born people, and create demand for infrastructure and services such as education, healthcare, housing and transportation. Moreover, the settlement of highly skilled individuals in regional areas can foster 'brain gain', which supports services with dwindling professionals (Hugo 2008a). Newcomers contribute to diversity, which is evident through the presence of religious

2 See, https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/working-in-australia/regional-migration/regional-visas [Accessed 9 April 2021]
3 See, https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/visas/getting-a-visa/visa-listing/safe-haven-enterprise-790 [Accessed 9 April 2021]
4 https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/provincial-nominees/works.html [Accessed 9 April 2021]

institutions, stores, eateries, language schools or classes and events celebrating diverse cultures. Regional areas can benefit newcomers socially and economically by providing security for humanitarian migrants, by providing young families with opportunities to enter a less competitive housing market, and by providing a slower pace of life to migrants who often enjoy this more than fast-paced urban living (Brown, 2017; Woods 2016).

Economic and development drivers often underpin migration policies, for example the form of admission-linked incentives to move beyond major urban centres (Wasserman and Gamlen 2017; Gamlen and Sherrell 2021). However, such policies have achieved limited success over the decades, with migrants tending to cluster in major urban centres where social networks and public services are more accessible (Bouma et al. 2021). It has consistently proven difficult to retain migrants in regional areas because this requires not just admission incentives, but also longer-term follow-up policies to support social and cultural capital development as well as accessible health, housing and educational infrastructure. In the Australian context, the limitations of local governments to address structural and social exclusion experienced by different migrant groups in regional communities has been noted (Forbes-Mewett et al. 2021). Although local governments may lack authority and competences in formulating immigration policies, they have policy interests and localised expertise in the implementation of these policies owing to the rapid structural and demographic changes in regional locations. In Canada, local governments often work in tandem with other stakeholders, including employers, community organizations, school boards, and social service sectors to improve the attraction and retention of migrants to smaller centres (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2014).

3.3 REGIONAL INTEGRATION POLICIES

A key component of regional migration is integration, defined as individuals having "equitable access to opportunities and resources, participating in the community and sector, and feeling secure and belonging in their new homes" (Hynie 2018: 267). Integration policies vary across time, space and scale and all levels of governance in terms of target population, guiding frameworks, actors formulating and implementing and resourcing these policies (Myrberg 2017). While scholars have developed numerous typologies to explain various aspects of newcomer integration (Scholten 2013; Campomori and Caponio 2014; Dekker et al. 2015), national and local integration policies fall broadly within four categories, explored within the Dutch context: assimilationist, multiculturalist, universalist and differentialist (Dekker 2017). In this section, we define these categories and then discuss how these approaches are implemented (or not) across the counties of specific interest to this report to provide a broader understanding of the regional migration and policy landscape at each site. Our review of the integration policies of each of the five countries examined for this pilot project reveal elements of these overarching categories.

A classical *assimilationist approach* refers to the unidirectional integration of newcomers as they are encouraged to participate in the domestic labour market and adopt the assumed cultural values, norms and behaviours of the host community. The *multiculturalist approach* emphasises cultural pluralism where policy measures recognise the positive contribution of newcomers to the host community as well as their specific needs. This approach therefore aims to empower migrants and institutionalise their identities. Indeed, we note that the term 'multiculturalism' has taken twists and turns in many policy and practical settings around the world. It is a term that has multiple meanings in different contexts. The *universalist approach* does not recognise majority or minority cultures but focuses on individual citizens' rights and obligations. Policy measures entail mainstreaming local integration policies across policy sectors. The *differentialist approach* prioritises the preservation of newcomer group identities, structures and boundaries, resulting

in individuals living alongside each other with limited interaction. It is worth noting that while national integration models may reflect a singular approach (e.g. the Dutch multiculturalist model), there may be multiple approaches evident at lower levels of governance. For example, while Rotterdam has adopted a universalist approach to integration, it exhibits traits of assimilationism (Dekker et al. 2015). Similarly, Berlin's integration policy is characterised as multicultural with universalist traits. Thus, local integration policies "do not represent a singular accommodative or exclusionist policy frame" (Dekker et al. 2015: 644).

The variety of integration policies is the result of many factors; here we focus on five of these: 1) the role of different national political cultural contexts; 2) the different tactics of different political parties; 3) the variety of policy framings and different governance levels; 4) the varying local conditions and 5) the varying roles of non-governmental actors.

Different national political cultural contexts

First is the broader political environment and/or ideologies of the particular nation state. Across our sites, the politicisation of ethnic and cultural diversity has shaped national and policy approaches to integration. In Germany, controversial debates on religious and ethnocultural differences cultivated a view that multiculturalism was a threat to society (Schmidtke 2014). Hence, it no longer endorses cultural diversity but promotes newcomer assimilation. Likewise, in Italy, political party Lega Nord and its centre-right political allies "securitised" migration by exploiting fears over links between growing irregular migration, organised crime, and personal security (Bull 2010). The party proposed to close Italy's borders to all newcomers and introduce a minimum requirement of ten years' residence before granting access to social services. They also opposed granting concessional citizenships and introduced measures to deport irregular newcomers.

Different tactics of different political parties

The tactics adopted by political parties to appease their electorates while fulfilling labour market demands also drive migration policy. Bull (2010: 417) attributes the difference between rhetoric and outcomes of Italy's immigration policy to simulation politics, defined as "practices of deception and self-deception involving both elites and voters." By endorsing measures that curb irregular migration to Italy, Lega Nord effectively conveyed to their electorates that immigration is a temporary phenomenon and foreign workers can be returned if necessary. Yet, restrictive immigration measures are largely ineffective because of the Italian community's demands on irregular newcomers to work as domestic help and farm labourers.

Varieties of policy framings and different governance levels

Diverging perceptions of the policy problems and solutions at different levels of governance are critical drivers of migration policy. Popplears and Scholten (2008) argue that divergent institutional logics behind problem framing partly explains different approaches adopted by national and local governments to newcomer integration in the Netherlands. National problem framing was driven by central policy coordination, politicisation, events popularised by the media and linkages to broader issues. Comparatively, local problem framing was shaped by pragmatic problem coping; that is, "developing strategies and activities to cope with the daily practice of immigrant integration policies" (ibid: 348). In terms of practice, this entails ensuring that suitable accommodation is available for newcomers and they have access to basic services irrespective of their legal status.

Varying local conditions

Relatedly, local conditions mutate, morph and transform national integration policies into diverse strategies. Local conditions may entail policy legacies, problems, political and policy developments, specific needs and circumstances of the target population and institutional capacities to cope with the mass

influx of newcomers. In the Netherlands, Duyvendack and Scholten (2012: 269) note that the Dutch multiculturalist integration model is often associated with the Netherlands' history of pillarization – "the period from 1920s to 1960s when most of the Dutch society was structured according to specific religious (Protestant or Catholic) or socio-cultural (Socialist or Liberal) pillars". At the same time, local integration policies were "driven by local problem developments such as the killing of Van Gogh in Amsterdam, local political developments such as the rise of the populist Liveable Rotterdam party in Rotterdam, and local policy developments such as the vertical venue shopping to get the Rotterdam Law passed" (Scholten 2013: 232). Similarly, the German state North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), is committed to developing pragmatic, problem-oriented approaches to address day-to-day issues regarding newcomer integration and local authorities value newcomers as assets for economic recovery and restructuring (Schmidtke and Zaslove 2014).

Varying roles of non-governmental actors

Local policy actors and civil society organisations are instrumental in shaping and implementing newcomer integration policies. The lack of coherent national policy, decentralisation of policy and administrative competencies to lower levels of governance and the outsourcing of service delivery to civil society organisations and private associations has shifted local actors' role from mere policy implementers to experts (Campomori and Caponio 2014; Scholten and Penninx 2016).

As examples of local policy stakeholders, local governments of NRW and Rotterdam are labelled as trendsetters, pioneers and policy entrepreneurs as they promote the success of their strategies across horizontal (among different levels of governments, such as between local and state governments) and vertical platforms (between governments at the same level of power, such as between local councils/areas) (Schmidtke and Zaslove 2014; Dekker et al. 2015). In contrast, civil society organisations in traditional immigration countries such as Australia and Canada have used multiculturalism as a political umbrella to advocate for newcomers' rights and engage in policy discussions on how abstract principles of cultural diversity can be operationalised on the ground (Schmidtke 2014, Forbes-Mewett et al. 2021). Additionally, local governments are fostering partnerships with civil society organisations to develop and implement integration policies that address the needs of newcomers. Local authorities of NRW, Rotterdam and Emilia-Romagna are tapping into migrant organisations' expertise to translate policy proposals into concrete projects and help access hard-to-reach members of their community (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008; Campomori and Caponio 2014; Schmidtke and Zaslove 2014). In the regional area of Shepparton in Australia, civil society organisations are credited with building narratives of migration histories that reflect the town's culturally diverse success. These narratives reframe "understandings of 'the community' by channelling various histories of migration to the area into a normative framework of multiculturalism" (Forbes-Mewett et al. 2021: 9).

In addition to supporting policy development, civil society organisations and volunteers perform a service delivery role. In Bologna, churches and nongovernmental organisations provide legal and educational services, information on newcomers' rights, protection from abuse, social assistance and coordinate cultural organisations that serve as meeting places for diverse cultures (Campomori and Caponio 2017). In Australia, migrant support services organise social gatherings that facilitate networks between refugees and the regional community (Curry et al. 2018). In Canada, volunteer-led initiatives assist refugees settling in New Brunswick and Altona by greeting them upon their initial arrival and assisting them with day-to-day activities (e.g. shopping for groceries, setting-up a doctor's appointment and opening a bank account) (Lam 2019; Hellstrom 2020).

3.4 BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING INTEGRATION POLICIES IN REGIONAL AREAS

Generally, newcomers find regional areas attractive for (re)settlement for several reasons (Hellstrom 2020). First, they are believed to offer a better quality of life, which refugees in particular associate with the local population's welcoming attitude and readiness to help with daily activities. Second, the cost of living is considerably lower than in metropolitan city centres (Chadwick and Collins, 2015; Stawarz and Sander 2019). Third, various ethno-racial networks influence newcomers' initial location of residence as wider kin members and friends assist in finding accommodation and employment as well as offer emotional support (Heider et al. 2020). Lastly, the fear of harassment and abuse in densely populated and ethnically homogenous areas may compel some newcomers to reside in regional townships (Woods 2016).

Newcomers experiences of local institutions determine the success or failure of integration policies (Curry et al., 2018). As alluded to earlier, localisation has created a space for civil society organisations to participate in local policymaking, planning processes and support for new arrivals' settlement and integration in regional locations. Yet, local institutions continue to experience difficulties in effectively integrating newcomers in host societies. This can be attributed to several institutional limitations that include a disjuncture between economic priorities of government that drive regional migration policy and the social, cultural and welfare desires of the migrants these policies target (Hugo, 2008a; Boese, 2010). European nations have traditionally accepted migrants, but they rarely actively seek them. Given this context, there are limitations related to institutional structures and systems as well as coherent policies that enable newcomer integration (McAreavey 2012; Scholten and Penninx 2016; Campomori and Ambrosini 2020). Various European studies (Zapata-Barrero et al. 2017; Caponio and Borkert 2010) show that in Europe, especially the local level, this has become more prominent.[5] Zapata-Barrero et al. (2017) refer to this as a 'local turn' where local administrations have become more entrepreneurial in developing their own views and strategies regarding migrant integration. This can also lead to discrepancies between local and national policies and has thus complicated multi-level governance. However, in developing local policies, cities often experience various challenges.

Local governments such as councils, municipalities and counties often lack the resources and support from the national government, and at times, from local communities, to successfully implement newcomer integration policies. For example, in regional Victoria, Australia, local government programming and practice in newcomer integration was competing with community-based organisations that were delivering essential services with limited funding (Boese & Phillips, 2018). Additionally, some regional areas may lack the critical mass necessary to justify funding and development proposals for migrant settlement support and initiatives. Diverging views and approaches to asylum seeker and refugee reception in Italy for example, obstructed multilevel cooperation on newcomer integration. When the Italian government invited its local counterparts to implement the Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) project, many in North Italy refused to do so due to their strong anti-immigration views and hence, reception facilities were lacking (Campomori and Ambrosini 2020).

Although economic participation is a key component of newcomer integration policies, many humanitarian newcomers struggle to find employment in host communities because their skills and credentials are not recognised (Krahn et al. 2005; Fang et al. 2018). It is often the case that refugees do not possess documentation that demonstrates their capabilities upon arrival. Limited-service provision and local government resources often results in a lack of sufficient or adequate information provided to newcom-

5 For Italy, there is a lack of localised policies in this sense. Beyond the integration system for asylum seekers and refugees, which is temporary, Italy does not have national policies for the settlement of migrants in regional areas.

ers about the domestic labour market. These experiences are often exacerbated in regional areas where migrants risk ending up in precarious and insecure employment situations or in prolonged conditions of unemployment (Fang et al., 2018). Further, services provided by the government do not always acknowledge the diverse skill sets of refugees; hence, integration programs and initiatives are highly generalised. For example, refugees in New Brunswick, Canada were frustrated with their language classes because high-performing students have to wait for low-performing students to catch-up, the curriculum is irrelevant to their daily lives and obtaining language certificates for employment requires several years of training (Hellstrom 2020).

Long-term professional jobs are limited in regional areas (Woods 2016). Both Australia and Canada offer several employer-sponsored (re)settlement pathways, however most migrants and refugees end up employed on farms and in food processing plants, and to a lesser extent, as tradespeople (Hugo 2008a). The lack of credential recognition, restrictive visa conditions, discrimination and the desire to be self-sufficient compels newcomers to engage in semi- and low-skilled work, which can result in brain decay as well as trap individuals in an occupation with limited opportunities for professional advancement (Curry et al. 2018). This in turn, can induce highly skilled newcomers to reconsider relocating to cities (Sapeha 2016).

Research demonstrates that entrepreneurial opportunities and support for newcomers are insufficient in regional areas (Bosworth and Atterton 2012). Migration scholarship emphasises that newcomers possess skills and networks to establish businesses, which generates revenue and creates jobs for locals thereby contributing to regional development. However, newcomer entrepreneurs often experience difficulties navigating local bureaucracies, are unaware of funding-schemes for start-up businesses and eligibility for such support and small businesses are highly susceptible to adversities leading to closures (Lo and Teixeira, 2015; Woods 2016; Curry et al. 2018).

One challenge of migration is that receiving countries (especially cities) may experience strains on educational resources, facilities and services that eventually encourage mobility to regional areas where there is an assumption that these supports are more readily available. Some receiving countries offer educational programs focusing on professional development, occupation-specific language training and business creation (Fang et al. 2018). Others have established regional tertiary institutions (Hugo 2008a). Yet, an unexpected mass influx of newcomers with diverse educational needs can increase competition for specialised services and thus hinder access to those most in need of seeking employment. Relatedly, limited post-secondary education opportunities in regional areas compel newcomers with young families to move to cities or other townships (Krahn et al. 2005).

4. THE PILOT PROJECT

Tracing ethnic and cultural diversity is a crucial component of understanding how regional areas have changed and developed - that is, how diversity is built into the communities, businesses, public spaces and other aspects of life in regions. We acknowledge that the definitions of 'migrants' vary in different contexts, and as such, can influence how diversity is perceived in many countries. There is a parallel need to understand how diversity influences the (un)liveability in/of regional communities, how migrants offer new perspectives about diversity, and how diversity is transformed and revitalised by new migrants arriving in regional areas through their social, cultural, and economic capital. In this project, we take a cross cultural approach to regionalisation that contrasts how policy, practice and data reflect approaches to, and experiences of, diversity in smaller cities and towns across five counties.

This project has three distinct, yet interlinking components related to regional migration and liveable diversity, each addressed in the five target country case studies that follow. First, we focus on state/national policies pertaining to regionalisation in Australia, Canada, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. Second, we will examine the longitudinal macro-scale changes that take place in the target regional areas closest to larger metropolitan hubs. Third, we contrast local policies, city plans, and other relevant documentary evidence, to identify how ethnic and cultural diversity is understood at the local level, and importantly, how diversity is framed in the context of the social, cultural, and economic life of these regional communities. This pilot project will provide a foundation to understand how regions develop and diversify, and how this in turn allows for (or not) migrant retention, resettlement, and integration in the longer term. Each country report that follows (see Section 8) is presented to reflect these components, relevant to each nominated regional location.

5. METHODOLOGY

This NoE pilot project was developed from a desktop-based analysis of case study sites in each country. These sites were smaller cities and towns located near multicultural, metropolitan cities – in Australia (Melbourne), Canada (Toronto/Vancouver), Germany (Frankfurt), Italy (Bologna), and the Netherlands (Rotterdam). This analysis has four stages: national/state policy analysis, site selection, integrating data and data visualisation, and local policy review and implementation.

5.1 NATIONAL/STATE POLICY ANALYSIS

To contextualise regional settlement in each of our five countries, we first examined open source policy documents pertaining to regional migration and resettlement at a national level (we refer to this as macro policies). The analysis provides the necessary policy history and context that has shaped the development of regional areas within and across our sites of interest. This step of the project involved each NoE partner providing an overview of regionalisation/regional settlement policies in each country.

5.2 LOCAL POLICY/PRACTICE ANALYSIS

The second stage of the project involved an analysis of publicly available information pertaining to local regional areas in each country. This centred on a review of key local strategic plans, policies, and major initiatives. The approach was informed by MMIC researchers' 'Welcoming regions' work in partnership with Welcoming Cities (van Kooy et al. 2019; 2020). Examples of the local government documents included in the analysis:

- Community Action Plans
- Cultural and Diversity Inclusion Plans
- Community Engagement Guidelines
- Welcome resources for new residents and migrants
- Economic Strategies
- Health and Wellbeing Plans
- Inclusive sporting clubs and programs
- Community volunteering strategies
- Youth strategies

All partners provided a summary of these documents in English for the final report.

5.3 SITE SELECTION

For this project, case study sites were selected based on their proximity to multicultural, metropolitan hubs. Initially, when selecting case studies, two key exclusion criteria were considered. First, we decided to establish a two-hour drive (200km) buffer zone - that is, the smaller cities and towns selected must be a (maximum) two-hour drive to a metropolitan city. Second, we chose sites with a substantial migrant population. Thus, the case studies in this pilot project had the following characteristics:

- a population of 100,000-200,000
- history of some migration to the area in the last 20 years
- evidence of recent migrant arrivals in the last 2-3 decades

These case study sites were selected to analyse what 'regional areas' mean across the different countries, offering comparisons between and within two clusters. The clusters revealed a natural comparison between Australia/Canada (smaller city near a metropolitan centre) and then Europe, (Italy/Germany/the Netherlands - larger mid-sized city in a dense network of other mid-sized cities within 200 km distance). These clusters are also informed by differences in the aforementioned definitions of a 'regional' location.

Using a desktop review, the pilot project focused on an analysis of relevant policies and administrative data to understand how each cluster of countries is either coping with the diversification of regional areas, or calling for this diversification. Each country has developed a short report on each regional site, including information, data and analysis from national and local level governance and policy developments, including an analysis of governance, settlement policy and practice at each site. Further, the collection of data against each key indicator outlined below which have informed the development of the data visualisation component of the pilot (see 5.5 below).

5.4 KEY INDICATORS TO INFORM DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected against each of these key indicators across the most recent 10 year period. For some of the indicators, national and/or local definitions differ across the sites. All countries provided definitions of each indicator as a part of their data collection (see each site report below). It is important to note that publicly available data for each site resulted in different 10 year periods based on most recent data availability. Thus the 10 year periods for each country overlap but may cover slightly different time periods. The data provided by each country for the most recent 10 year period was used to facilitate the development of the data visualization to illustrate contemporary changes in settlement and diversity at each site. While some of the latest demographic data is presented in the country reports that follow, the diversity, mobility and opportunity indicators data is relevant to, and has been incorporated into the data visualisation component of this project.

- total persons,
- population density: total persons divided by the area of the non-metropolitan area (in square kilometres),
- distance to nearest metropolitan city: distance between the centroid of the non-metropolitan area and the centroid of the nearest metropolitan CBD (in kilometres),
- diversity indicators:
    - % non-citizens
    - % migrant background: captures both first generation and as second generation migrants

(persons with either their mother or father born overseas),
    - % non-European migrant background,
    - % immigrants: first generation immigrants (persons born overseas),
    - % religions
    - % immigration by category/type of visa: number of immigrants on humanitarian, family, economic, or other reasons.
- mobility indicators:
    - % population with same address for more than 5 years,
- opportunity indicators:
    - % home owner,
    - % low income,
    - % employed, and
    - % education: split between primary, secondary and tertiary education attainment.

5.5 INTEGRATING DATA AND DATA VISUALISATION

From the regional case study area/s for each country, we gathered publicly available longitudinal data over a 10-year period for each site, to better understand the changes in migrant population diversity in these areas over time. Here, we drew on the recent super diversity work of Gamlen and Vertovec (2018) who use publicly available data - census and other administrative data - to analyse how demographics and population composition in these regional areas have changed.

Once we agreed on the key comparative variables, we asked all partners to provide access to the administrative data for each regional site. The MMIC research team compiled the data for the visualisation. This data informs a larger dataset and broader project scope - to contrast how regional migration occurs across multiple countries. We created a spreadsheet that lists key variables related to regional migration and diversity such as (but not limited to) religion breakdown, income, citizenship, languages spoken at home, and percentage of recent migrant arrivals. The site-specific figures, data, details and definitions of each variable, for each regional case study site are included in this spreadsheet. A team of researchers, led by Gamlen, created data visualisations that show how places have diversified and changed in relation to regional migration. Based on the predominantly qualitative nature of the information provided by the project partners, our approach to data visualization was to employ a geospatial analytic method we call 'story mapping' using the Google Earth Engine (cf Gorelick et al. 2017; Kumar and Mutanga 2018). We identified key sites studied within the case reports from project partners and created these as place marks within the 3D immersive environment of the Google Earth Engine. We enhanced placemarks with information on issues related to migration and diversity management in these places, along with photographic images, videos, and timelapse remote sensing footage of historical trends in urban development in each place. Based on this array of enhanced placemarks we created a virtual tour, which transports users around the world, zooming in and out of specific places to explore various aspects of regional liveable diversity discussed in the various partner case reports. These visualisations are available online via the Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre's webpage[6].

6 See https://earth.google.com/earth/d/190yfgMILiVyixySF-cqZqkKhd-eyMvP7?usp=sharing

5.6 METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

It was a challenging process for the research team to set up guidance on the desk based reviews for each location due to different conceptualisations and understandings of how regional location was defined and differences associated with available evidence of regional migration for each site. This led to an emergence of two distinct comparative clusters around common approaches to, and experiences of regional migration and diversification, (Australia/Canada and Europe) which made it difficult to achieve an overall comparative approach across all countries.

Each country report provides a snapshot of migration history to each location and narratives around how diversification at each location has occurred over time and how regional migration policy and settlement policy is governed and managed from national to local level with the support of civil society organisations.

6. FINDINGS

The intention of this pilot study was to provide a global comparative foundation of regional migration policy and diversification from the target sites. However, as mentioned above, from the pilot study, two distinct comparative clusters – Australia/Canada and Europe (Germany, Italy and the Netherlands) – emerged due to similarities in policy approaches and definitions of 'regional' location. While some overall comparisons and findings can be made, the clusters and the case studies allow for a more nuanced approach to understanding contemporary regional migration policy, governance and diversification.

Across the five countries, we had five key findings that are associated with the regional and provincial locations selected. A snapshot of these findings is presented herein and detailed site reports are included in this report.

Across all five countries, there is evidence of a devolving of responsibility for migrant settlement to local levels of government. For example, the Peterborough Partnership Council (PPC) in Peterborough, Canada was developed in response to a lack of regionalisation policies in Canada. The PPC comprises over 30 organisations that aim to develop a range of integration strategies for newcomers into regional areas. Yet, local governments can only do so much and community-based organisations have played a key role in offering support. These more grassroots organisations exist to support migrant settlement, offer services, promote and represent social, cultural and economic well-being of diverse communities in the regional case study sites. For example, Capelle aan den Ijssel, in the Netherlands, is one of the regional areas with community-based organisations focused on providing support to specific members of the community – refugees and neighbourhood mothers. The activities and roles that these community-organisations play fall under the broader umbrella of a broader social organisation.

Two of the case study sites, Canada and Australia, have a protracted history of migrant settlement from a diverse range of countries and cultural contexts. They are both settler colonial countries with vast geographical landscapes. Much of their histories have involved policies directed at populating these (particularly urban) landscapes and growing their relevant economies over time. Australia, for example, targets skilled migrants, who in turn provide economic gains for the country (Productivity Commission 2016; 2020). Australia and Canada, by virtue of being settler-colonial states, have long pushed for a multicultural, post-national status, celebrating their diversity and inclusivity. Embedded in their multicultural approaches and statuses is careful selection and control of the population (Jupp, 2002). Within this context, there is increased effort by local governments in regional areas to attract and retain migrants. Both case studies have demonstrated that attracting migrants to regional areas is two-fold: for employment and due to the presence of ethno-cultural communities and services. Yet, the histories and governance of these regional sites become embedded within this more general national approach where the country more broadly provides settlement services rather than the regional area itself.

While Australia and Canada have national policies designed for the selection and control of migrants and the maintenance of a multicultural identity, the European countries in this research starkly differ. European countries do not have coherent national policies for migrant settlement, especially in regional municipalities. The main difference is that these countries, while they accept migrants, do not actively seek migrants. While migration is critical for these countries, given that many have ageing populations, there is no migration policy that targets migrants to increase the population and bolster the economy.

The individual case reports for the European countries also demonstrate that each country has a unique national identity and, indeed, accommodating migrants from with different ethno-cultural identities is often difficult at micro, meso, and macro levels of policy, politics and society. As a result, migration and diversity is viewed through narrow lenses and thus, there is no proactive system for the attraction and retention of migrants. In the case of regional areas, there is impetus for local councils/municipalities to manage migration in their local areas. This involves supporting migrants in a way that inclusive communities are created for economic and cultural benefit to the area in general.

The case study reports reveal that there are two approaches that we can discern about regional migration and settlement. Australia and Canada have an active approach to attract and retain migrants, with a more recent push for regional resettlement. On the other hand, the European countries do not actively seek this type of migration, but there is evidence that it occurs, even with limited national guidance or policy. Yet, relevant regional, provincial and non-metropolitan migration across all sites targets skilled migrants and this is based on the needs of local labour market. These opportunities often arise in rural sectors such agriculture, horticulture as well as in service, infrastructure and development industry. In the Netherlands, the IT and business industries have driven much of the employment in the harbour of Rotterdam. The vast majority of regional locations in Australia offer opportunities for low-skilled migrants in the agriculture and horticulture sectors. For example, Shepparton has been heralded the 'fruit capital of Australia' and welcomes a large number of seasonal migrants for fruit picking. However, many migrants have also contributed to the community by setting up small businesses.

The regional sites in Australia, Canada, Germany and Italy host universities and/or satellite campuses of metropolitan based universities. The presence of tertiary education in these areas is important for employment and other services such as health. Moreover, there is a significant increase in the population due to international students arriving to these regional areas. Indeed, they contribute to the diversification of these areas.

There were a number of similar challenges affecting migration community members revealed from the pilot study across the regional case studies. First, many reports discuss the limited housing availability for migrants moving to regional areas. While some cases reported that there are opportunities in the business sector for employment, there seems to be limited pathways to extend entrepreneurial and high-skilled careers. This may become problematic in the future resulting in exacerbated "brain drain" where these high-skilled professionals seek employment and career progression in major cities. Thus, there is a need to create opportunities for high-skilled migrants to progress their careers while staying in regional areas. Another limitation is that there are inadequate tertiary education options despite the distance to universities being proximate. The issue may be that the universities in these regional areas offer specific areas of study that are not be appealing to broader populations.

7. NEXT STEPS

The analysis of regional migration policy and diversification conducted using a desk based review provides the foundation upon which the NoE research team has developed a number of analytic questions that have emerged as potential research areas for further study and advancement of this work. These include,

- What are the gaps between policy and political discourse on regional migration and the lived experiences of migrants and host community members?
- What does liveability look like in the regional migration destinations? Does it mirror that of major migrant destination cities?
- What are the everyday practices of co-existence and integration in regional areas across national contexts?
- How do public spaces promote liveable diversity in regional areas? What roles do art and culture in the public realm play in promoting liveable diversity?
- How might the decoupling of where we work and where we live influence growth and diversification of regional areas?

From this comparative work, the NoE team is in the process of scoping the prospect of pulling together a Special Issue in an academic journal. At the same time, the Network continues to seek funding opportunities to further develop this work guided by the areas of research advancement above.

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CASE STUDY REPORTS

AUSTRALIA

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AUSTRALIA

SELECTION OF CASE STUDY SITES IN AUSTRALIA: BENDIGO AND SHEPPARTON

The regional locations of Bendigo and Shepparton were selected for desktop analysis for the Australian case study. Greater Bendigo has a population of 110,447 and is located approximately 153 kilometres north west of the metropolitan centre of Melbourne. Shepparton is located 190 kilometres north of Melbourne with a population of 129,971. Both Shepparton and Bendigo have long histories of migration, and have recently experienced a rapid diversification of their population with migrants arriving for a range of purposes and from various ethno-cultural backgrounds. In this report, we proffer distinct discussions for each of the sites. Similar to the Canadian case study, Bendigo and Shepparton are comparable sites due to their population sizes, migration patterns, presence of education institutions, and migrant organisations. These similar features of the locations are important, but Bendigo and Shepparton both have distinctive features in their migration compositions and programs that require further investigation.

Regional migration policy initiatives

Over the last two decades, there have been a range of policies designed, under the Australian Federal Government's "Migration Program", to draw migrants to regional parts of Australia. The Migration Program has emphasised a more adequate distribution of migrants across Australia given that population growth in "major cities has placed pressure on infrastructure, housing, services, and the environment" (Department of Home Affairs, 2019). As such, policy initiatives have often sought to fill gaps in the regional labour markets and economies while simultaneously attempting to manage the overcrowded cities by encouraging growth in regional areas. Balancing these components is a priority for Australia's Migration Program, especially in 2020-21.

Prior to the Migration Program, the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) (1995-96) was introduced as a measure to redirect migrants to regional areas. Through the Scheme, employers 'in a designated RSMS area nominated temporary residents already in Australia or applicants from overseas, to fill skilled vacancies for a minimum of two years' (Parliament of Australia 2010). Under the RSMS and between 2007 and 2009, the number of visas granted increased by 74 per cent, but the number of places still remained relatively low.

More recently, the Migration Program (2019-20) has focused on allocating more places to State/Territory Nominated and Employer Sponsored visa categories, including 25,000 places for settlement in regional Australia. In 2019, the Federal Government introduced two new skilled regional provisional visas to encourage migrants to live and work in regional Australia. The *Planning for Australia's future population* report also emphasised the importance of better connecting regional centres to migrants with upgraded road and transport corridors to cities.

In 2019, the Government announced "Regional Deals", a combined initiative with State, Territory, and Local governments to support regional growth. Although international students have long been awarded more Permanent Residency points for studying in reginal areas, changes were also announced to the Temporary Graduate visa for international students who completed their studies at a regional campus of a university to ensure they would live/work in those regional areas. The Government announced 4,720 scholarships over four years for domestic and international students studying at a regional campus of a university or undertaking vocational education. These recent announcements will complement other changes to migration pathways, such as Designated Area Migration Agreements (DAMA), to help regional areas attract required skills and workers. DAMAs are formal agreements between the Federal Government

and State or Territory; the agreement provides access to overseas workers to commence employment in regional parts of that State or Territory.

GREATER BENDIGO

Profile

Population: 110,447

Distance from metropolitan centre (Melbourne to Bendigo Centre): 153 km

Travel time by car: 1 hour 50 mins

Immigrant Population: 17,156

Immigration history

Greater Bendigo's immigration history has been shaped by the Traditional Owners of the land, the Dja Dja Wurrung and the Taungurung peoples, and multiculturalism. The Traditional Owners welcomed different groups of people to Greater Bendigo based on trade, marriage, and ceremonies. In the 1850s, the gold rushes brought migrants from England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Germans, Italians, Chinese, and Americans to Bendigo. During this period, the Chinese comprised 20 per cent of Bendigo's population. The gold rushes slowed down in Bendigo resulting in reduced cultural and religious diversity. Immigrant settlement patterns in Bendigo have largely reflected broader national immigration patterns and trends (City of Greater Bendigo, 2016). For example, during the post-war period, Bendigo welcomed Italians,

Germans, and Poles while more recently, Indians and Filipinos have settled. Despite having a homogenous, Anglo-Celtic Christian majority population, Greater Bendigo has been diversifying, especially as a destination for education, business, employment, and refugee resettlement. Karen, Karenni, and Hazara refugees have been resettling in Bendigo since 2005. Sikh, South Sudanese, and Nepali communities have also been settling in Bendigo since the early 2000s. Greater Bendigo's multicultural history, and diversifying present, has contributed to the culturally rich community also evident through arts, attractions, events, and heritage buildings.

The most recent Australian Census data revealed that between 2011 and 2016, the number of people in Bendigo who were born overseas creased by 25.2 per cent. The largest changes in countries of birth of the population between 2011 and 2016 were those born in India, Burma, Thailand, and the Philippines.

Regionalisation strategies

Attraction and retention strategies for skilled and humanitarian visa holders require a local and contextualised approach. The Local Government Area (LGA) has experienced growth; in 2011, Greater Bendigo's population was 100,617 while in 2016, the population was recorded at 110,447 (ABS 2011; 2016). Recently, an Inquiry to Regional Migration commenced; the City of Greater Bendigo along with partner organisations presented a submission for the Inquiry that outlined the initiatives to coordinate attraction, migration, and retention of people to the region (Budge 2019). These initiatives have been implemented to strengthen federal and state regional migration policies.

The City of Greater Bendigo's *Cultural Diversity and Inclusion Plan 2016-2019* outlined actions that the City and community stakeholders could undertake to create a more diverse and inclusive community. This plan led to several programs including the *Step up: Grow your business with new cultures* employer and jobseeker resource kit that promote support for current and future culturally diverse employees (City of Greater Bendigo 2020). Moreover, the *Regional Ready Pilot Program* has sought to establish systems and protocols to identify "regional ready" migrants and host communities. The pilot program will address skills/labour shortages and population to drive the movement of people to Greater Bendigo.

Immigration services and partnerships

The City of Greater Bendigo has established multiple collaborative partnerships that deliver settlement services. These partnerships are a key component of improving regional migration to the area. The City of Greater Bendigo has developed partnerships and intergovernmental coordination efforts: Strategic Partnership Program facilitated by the Victorian State Government, the Bendigo Refugee Settlement Network and the Loddon Campaspe Local Government Regional Settlement Network. The Victorian Government's Capacity Building and Participation (CBP) Program funds Strategic Partnerships across the state. These partnerships develop collaborative approaches to address the needs of new and emerging culturally diverse communities. The Loddon Campaspe Strategic Partnership comprises the City of Greater Bendigo, Loddon Campaspe Multicultural Services, and Bendigo Community Health Services. Each partner organisation brings together strengths to deliver settlement support such as health promotion, social and cultural connections, and building welcoming communities.

Table 2: Period of immigration

Period[1]	Bendigo total pop'n	Bendigo immigrant pop'n
2001-2005	85,781 (census 2001)	5,151 (census 2001, people born overseas)
2006-2010	93,252 (census 2006)	3,177 (census 2006, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)
2011-2016	100,617(census 2011)	3,549 (census 2011, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)
2011-2016	110,477 (census 2016)	4,232 (census 2016, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)

Table 3: Ethnic origin (top 10) (2016, ancestry, Census)

Bendigo	
Ethnicity	**Number (count)**
English	46,957
Australian	46,310
Irish	15,704
Scottish	12,340
German	4,934
Italian	3,062
Dutch	1,549
Chinese	1,379
Burmese peoples	881
Indian	871

Table 4: Immigrants by selected country of birth (2016 Census)

Bendigo	
Country	**Number (count)**
United Kingdom	2,381
New Zealand	735
India	697
Burma	448
Thailand	408
Philippines	403
China	304
Germany	250
The Netherlands	244
South Africa	228

1 Figures prior to 2001 for the immigration population is not reliably available.

SHEPPARTON

Profile

Population: 129,971

Distance from metropolitan centre (Melbourne to Shepparton Centre): 190 km

Travel time by car: 2 hours 10 mins

Immigrant Population: 17,156

Immigration history

Greater Shepparton, a service town located in regional northeast Victoria, is known for its successful irrigation-based fruit growing, dairy, and agricultural industries. The area has a rich history of European immigration and recent arrivals from Asia and the Middle East. The Traditional Owners of the land, the Bangerang people of the Yorta Yorta Nation, comprise almost three per cent of Greater Shepparton's population (ABS 2016; Greater Shepparton Council 2020) and also contribute to the region's diversity. Similar to Bendigo, the gold rushes in the 1850s attracted Chinese migrants. From 1913, Jews from Russia arrived and established farming settlements in Shepparton, followed by Albanians and Greeks who established orchards in the 1920s and 1930s. Following World War II, Italians, Yugoslavs, Albanians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and Macedonians arrived in large numbers – they contributed to

Shepparton's economy by setting up small businesses such as hotels, clothing stores, restaurants, and cafes (Moran and Mallman 2015). More recently, Shepparton has welcomed migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers, as temporary workers and skilled migrants who have sought employment in the area's thriving horticultural, education, health, and service industries. Since 2010, there have been migrants settling in the area from Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Moran and Mallam 2015).

Between 2011 and 2016, the Australian Census uncovered that the number of people in Shepparton who were born overseas increased by almost 20 per cent. The most significant changes in countries of birth of the Shepparton population (between 2011 and 2016) were those born in India, Afghanistan, Taiwan, and the Philippines.

Regionalisation policies

Shepparton has had sustained growth over the last two decades. The population has more than doubled since 2011, growing from 60,449 to 129,971 in 2016 (ABS 2011; 2016). Despite this growth, Greater Shepparton has no specific, streamlined population policy in place (Denny & Pisanu, 2019), but has benefitted from federal and state regional migration policies. Recently, the Shepparton and Mooroopna 2050 Regional City Growth Plan (Victorian Planning Authority 2020) was released; the plan outlines key strategies to promote growth. These strategies include the expansion of the industrial sector, the growth of the business sector, and strengthening of the tertiary education and health service hubs. Together, these strategies seek to highlight Shepparton's 'unique attributes to attract people and investment to enhance strategic advantages' (Victorian Planning Authority 2020). However, these strategies, along with the others outlined in the plan, overlook plans for population diversity.

Immigration services and partnerships

Despite a lack of specific policy around regional migration in Shepparton, the Ethnic Council of Shepparton and District Inc. is a non-profit community service that was established to promote and represent the social, cultural, and economic well-being of diverse communities in the region. The council provides refugee and migrant (re)settlement support, community development, information, and advocacy services. This peak body complements the Regional City Growth Plan, since it accounts for the diversifying and growing population.

Table 5: Period of immigration

Period[2]	Shepparton total pop'n	Shepp immigrant pop'n
2001-2005	55,082 (census 2001)	5,677 (census 2001 people born overseas)
2006-2010	57.089 (census 2006)	3,130 (census 2006, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)
2011-2016	60,499 (census 2011)	3,804 (census 2011, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)
2011-2016	63,837 (census 2016)	4,372 (census 2016, top 5 countries of birth other than Australia)

2 Figures prior to 2001 for the immigration population is not reliably available.

Table 6: Ethnic origin (top 10) (2016, ancestry, Census)

Shepparton	
Ethnicity	**Number (count)**
Australian	22,381
English	22,343
Irish	7,437
Scottish	6,071
Italian	4,928
German	2,059
Indian	1,237
Dutch	1,003
Albanian	769
Chinese	716

Table 7: Immigrants by selected country of birth (2016 Census)

Shepparton	
Country	**Number (count)**
India	1,202
United Kingdom	1,061
Italy	846
Afghanistan	755
New Zealand	715
Iraq	464
Philippines	394
Albania	264
Turkey	247
Pakistan	227

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CASE STUDY REPORTS

CANADA

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CANADA

SELECTION OF CASE STUDY SITES IN CANADA: PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO AND CHILLIWACK, BRITISH COLUMBIA

For Canada, the cities of Peterborough, Ontario and Chilliwack, British Columbia, have been selected as regional sites for investigation. Peterborough has a population of 81,032 and is just over 139 kilometres from the metropolitan city of Toronto. Chilliwack has a population of 83,788 and is just over 100 kilometres from the metropolitan city of Vancouver. Both sites have sizable and diverse immigrant populations with evidence of recent migrant arrivals as well as a history of migration in the last two to three decades. Whilst data has been separated out for each regional city, both are comparable with similar population sizes, educational institutions, newcomer settlement organisations, and immigration partnerships. Despite featuring similar characteristics, our preliminary research suggests that Chilliwack has had a little more success in attracting and retaining immigrants than Peterborough. It would be interesting to explore the factors which contribute to that difference.

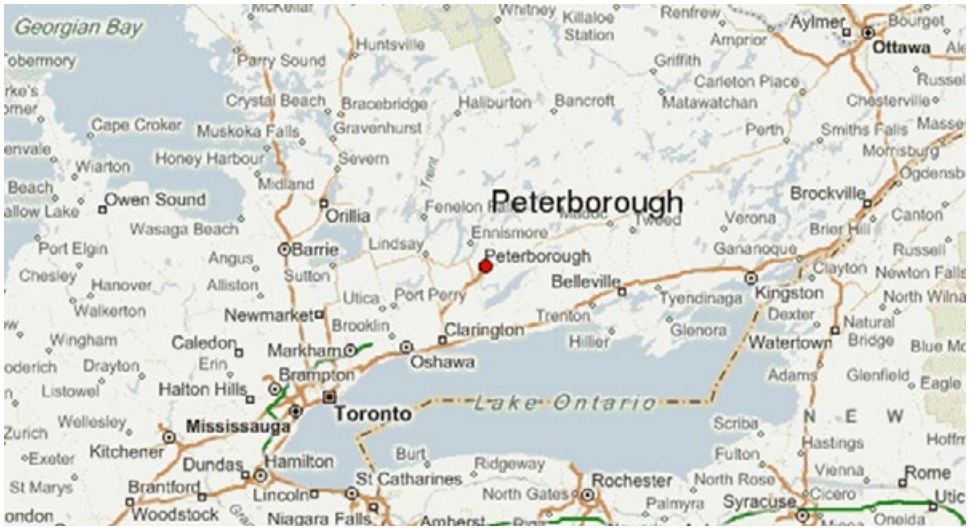
Regional migration policy initiatives

Over the last few decades, the federal department responsible for immigration in Canada, Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), has introduced multiple immigration programs designed to "spread the benefits of immigration to all parts of the country" (Economic Pilot Programs, Government of Canada). These programs are, for the most part, focused on meeting economic imperatives. Through the attraction of high and medium-skilled immigrants they aim to address population decline in certain parts of the country and boost regional economic development (Blower 2020). The most established of these regionalisation initiatives is the Provincial Nominee Program which was rolled out in the late 1990s. The program allows Canadian provinces to nominate candidates for immigration, based on their own labour market needs and sometimes also other criteria. The program is primarily geared toward workers, although some provinces have also opened pathways to other categories of migrants such as international student graduates and entrepreneurs. The Provincial Nominee Program has been utilised the most in provinces that struggle to attract newcomers, while it is used to a much lesser extent in provinces such as Ontario and British Columbia which are popular destinations for federally selected immigrants.

Canada has built on the success and popularity of the Provincial Nominee Program by introducing additional pathways for migrants to move to more rural and remote locations. The Atlantic Immigration Pilot (AIP) was rolled out in 2017; it offers selected skilled workers and international student graduates the opportunity to settle in the Atlantic Provinces (Atlantic Immigration Pilot - Canada.ca). This was followed by the introduction of the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) in 2019. This community centred pilot aims to attract migrants to eleven rural and remote destinations across the country. Migrants are selected by meeting both federal requirements, as well as the criteria set by individual communities.

Canada has a federally funded settlement program and all provinces (excluding Quebec) receive funding to deliver services which are generally provided by third party NGOs. These services are often complemented by provincially funded settlement supports. All landed immigrants who have not yet received citizenship are eligible to receive federally funded settlement services. Those arriving through the Provincial Nominee Program (or through Canada's federal programs), are expected to seek out the services that they need. This is sometimes facilitated through the presence of a Local Immigration Partnership (LIP), which coordinates services in a specific community or region. Those arriving through the AIP or RNIP pilots receive additional settlement supports from their employers (in the case of the AIP) and their community (in the case of RNIP).

PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO



Profile

Population: 81,032 (municipality)

Distance from metropolitan centre (Toronto): 139.3 km

Travel time by car: 1 h 25 mins

Immigrant Population (Census subdivision/city, 2016 Census): 7,085

Immigration history

Peterborough is on the traditional and living territory of the Mississauga Anishinaabe people. The first settlers arrived in 1818 and turned it into a European settlement in 1825. Some of the earliest immigrants in the 1800s included the Irish, English, and Italians. They were followed by the Americans in the early 1900s and more Chinese, Japanese, and Korean people in the late 1900s. The founding of Trent University in 1964 and Fleming College also allowed for more diversity as international students arrived. Towards the late 1970s, sponsor groups and churches helped to resettle Indochinese refugees, including Vietnamese, Cambodians, and Laotians. Indochinese resettlement spurred the founding of Peterborough's only newcomer settlement organisation, the Peterborough Newcomer Language Orientation Committee in 1979, which became the New Canadians Centre (NCC) in 1987. While there has been some immigration to Peterborough in the last few decades, the majority of the population in Peterborough is still white, Anglo-Saxon, and Canadian-born.

Regionalisation policies

Policymakers in Peterborough are primarily concerned with its ageing population and lack of youth. However, there are few regionalisation policies that directly target Peterborough. As noted above, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) allows provinces to select immigrants for settlement based on their labour market needs. In addition, the City of Peterborough is part of The Growth Plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GPGH), which aims to implement Ontario's vision for managing population and

employment growth in the region through a planning policy framework. This requires the municipality of Peterborough to plan for growth in the suburban and downtown areas as well as to accommodate incoming residents in existing built-up areas. While this does not focus explicitly on immigrants, it does expect outward movement, or labour migration, from the more urban centres to the Peterborough area, with the extension of a major highway. Ultimately, from 2006 to 2031, Peterborough's population is expected to grow by 13,000 people and to have 1300 jobs created, for a total of 42,000 jobs (Peterborough Social Planning Council.)

Immigration services and partnerships

Despite the lack of regionalisation policies focused on Peterborough, the NCC and the Peterborough Local Immigration Partnership (PLIP) aim to attract, support, and retain immigrants. In the late 1990s, the NCC assisted in the resettlement of Polish refugees during the Kosovo crisis. According to the NCC website, they welcome over 800 new Canadians each year. Furthermore, the Peterborough Partnership Council on Immigrant Integration consists of more than 30 partner organisations to develop immigrant integration strategies for Peterborough City and County. Some research on newcomers' settlement experiences in Peterborough suggest that they felt welcomed and could build a sense of home but had to work hard to achieve that, which involved navigating the challenges of finding work and overcoming barriers related to immigration status, English language ability, gender and race (McNab, 2018). Immigrants stressed the importance of paid work, the ability to develop diverse social networks, support from friends, family, employers, and neighbours.

Peterborough immigration trends

Table 8: Period of immigration

Period	Peterborough
Before 1981	5670
1981-1990	1135
1991-2000	1125
2001-2010	1380
2001-2005	745
2006-2010	640
2011-2016 (May 10)	750

Table 9: Ethnic origin of population of Peterborough (top 10)

Peterborough	
Ethnicity	**Number (Count)**
English	46,480
Irish	38,660
Scottish	31,220
French	14,315

Peterborough	
German	12,180
Dutch	6965
Italian	4855
Polish	3450
Welsh	3135
Ukrainian	2535

Table 10: Immigrants by Selected Place of Birth (Census Profile, 2016)

Peterborough	
Country	**Number (Count)**
UK	2970
US	855
Germany	575
Netherlands	575
India	400
China	395
Poland	335
Philippines	330
Italy	215
South Korea	135

CHILLIWACK, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Profile

Population: 83,788 (municipality)

Distance from metropolitan centre (Vancouver): 102.1 km

Travel time by car: 1 h 14 mins

Immigrant Population (Census subdivision/city, 2016 Census): 10,985

Immigration history

The presence of Aboriginal people on Sto:lo territory, now Chilliwack, or the Fraser Valley, was recorded 10,000 years ago. In 1782, the Sto:lo people came into contact with Europeans and were devastated by diseases and the population declined. Over 20,000 miners passed through the area during the Gold Rush of 1858, and throughout the mid-1860s developed small farms.

Some of the immigrant groups that were documented in the literature on Chilliwack's immigration history include Dutch and Chinese immigrants. Dutch immigrants that worked in agriculture were attracted to the Lower Fraser Valley because of the available farmland (Ginn, 1963). Chinese immigrants established themselves in Chilliwack as they opened businesses beginning in the late 1800s, including laundromats, boarding houses, and grocery stores. Nonetheless, due to repeated fires and discrimination of Chinese immigrants, many Chinese residents moved to larger urban centres, such as Vancouver.

Today, Chilliwack farmers and greenhouse operators hire migrant workers on temporary visas. Furthermore, the University of Fraser Valley's Chilliwack campus and Canada Education Park attracts international students. Chilliwack Community Services, a registered charitable society, was founded in 1928 and delivers services to newcomers through Chilliwack Newcomer Connections, which has been available for more than 30 years. In 2011, Chilliwack's immigrant population came from 38 different countries and spoke 24 different languages (Freeman, 2011).

Regionalisation policies

Like Peterborough, Chilliwack receives immigrants and asylum-seekers through the Provincial Nominee Program and Refugee Sponsorship Programs, and enjoys in-migration from other cities in British Columbia. The City of Chilliwack also has its own Official Growth plan with strategies to increase the number of residents, dwellings, and jobs. To accommodate residential growth, it also plans to expand utilities, transportation systems, and amenities. For example, in the past 30 years, its population doubled from 41,000 to over 80,000 and is expected to reach 132,000 by 2040 (City of Chilliwack, 2015). While the official plan does not explicitly address the attraction or retention of newcomers, it does emphasise the importance of creating an attractive and healthy community that promotes people's social well-being and ensures access to education and public spaces.

Immigration services and partnerships

Chilliwack Newcomer Connections is funded by Immigration, Refugees, Citizenship Canada and the Province of British Columbia. The Chilliwack Local Immigration Partnership has a Partnership council that oversees the development of a collaborative framework to find and execute sustainable solutions to immigrant integration in the city and surrounding area. Their goals are to improve newcomers' access

to local services, better coordinate available settlement services, and strengthen the participation of community stakeholders.

(Please see below for tables comparing Peterborough and Chilliwack's immigration trends and a list of sources)

Chilliwack immigration trends

Table 11: Period of Immigration

Period	Chilliwack
Before 1981	6695
1981-1990	1320
1991-2000	1785
2001-2010	2280
2001-2005	1010
2006-2010	1275
2011-2016 (May 10)	1180

Table 12: Ethnic origin (top 10)

Chilliwack	
Ethnicity	**Number (Count)**
English	29,870
Scottish	21,865
German	21,220
Irish	17,100
Dutch	13,660
French	10,420
Ukrainian	6300
Russian	4450
Norwegian	3445
Polish	3410

Table 13: Immigrants by Selected Place of Birth (Census Profile, 2016)

Chilliwack	
Country	**Number (Count)**
UK	2895
Netherlands	1465
Germany	1210

Chilliwack	
US	1165
Philippines	575
India	390
China	380
South Korea	350
Poland	275
South Africa	250

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CASE STUDY REPORTS

ITALY

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ITALY

BOLOGNA

Figure 1: Emilia-Romagna Region

Figure 2: Bologna and its Metropolitan Area

Profile

Table 14:

Bologna	Bologna Metropolitan Area	Emilia-Romagna Region
Area: 140.9 km²	Area: 3,703 km²	Area: 22,453 km²
Population: 391,400	Population: 1,019,539	Population: 4,471,485
Immigrant population: 60.698	Immigrant population: 122,126	Immigrant population: 551,222
% Immigrant population: 15.5%	% Immigrant population: 1.0%	% Immigrant population: 12.3%

Selection of case study site

For Italy's case study site, we have chosen Bologna. Although Bologna falls into the category of a larger metropolitan city, the selection of this city represents well the connections between the main city and other smaller cities and towns located in the area in terms of regionalization policies in the field of migration. Moreover, the Bologna Metropolitan Area was created recently, in 2015, unifying distinct urban and non-urban areas. Therefore, the inclusion of the city of Bologna allows us to analyse how specific areas have gradually converged (due to migration and urbanisation) towards becoming part of a broader metropolitan area. Indeed, Bologna has a migrant population of approximately 60,698. This figure is relatively high in comparison to the national average (15.4 per cent of migrants live in Bologna), hence why it is an interesting and unique case study that relates to the aims of this project. Bologna has a population of 391,400, while the Bologna Metropolitan Area has a population of 1,019,539.

National migration policies

Between the 1980s and 1990s, and due to a number of reasons (the crisis of the Soviet bloc, demographic and economic change, etc.), Italy has been receiving flows of migrants from different countries all over the world. Italy belongs to the so-called "Mediterranean Southern European model of migration" (King 1999)

characterized by a lack of immigration policies, a large underground economy attracting undocumented immigrants, a strong segmentation of the labour market and the use of regularisations. First, migration flows came from North Africa, while at the beginning of the 1990s flows of migrants came primarily from the Balkans countries. Since 2007, a large part of the migrant flows is composed of those coming from Eastern Europe. More recently, flows from Asian countries started to be relevant in Italy. From 1996 to 2019 the migrant population increased from 737,793 to 5,255,503 people.

In Italy, the Presidency of the Council of Ministries coordinates the migration and integration policies, while the Ministry of Interior is responsible for enforcing the immigration issues (immigration and asylum, citizenship and religious confessions). The link between the central government and local entities is represented by the Territorial Councils for Immigration, set up in each prefecture, with the task of conducting a needs analysis and promoting interventions to be implemented at the local level. Integration policy is based on a multilevel national working group in the Department of Civil Liberties and Immigration of the Ministry of the Interior. The Protection System of Beneficiaries of International Protection and for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors (SIPROIMI) is managed by the network of local authorities that carries out "integrated reception" projects by accessing to the national foundation for asylum policies (AMIF) and services.

Given that Italy became a country of migrants only recently, the country did not have any laws to explicitly address migration. The first of these laws in the '80s regulated immigrants' access to the labor market while, following the union-led protest in 1989, Law no. 39 (known as the Martelli Law) was passed in 1991 and recognized both rights and obligations of immigrants. With these laws, Italy's first comprehensive immigration legislation was set in motion. The bulk of the legislation that currently regulates immigration and integration matters in Italy is the result of two laws: The Single Act no. 286 of July 25, 1998 and Law no. 189 of July 30, 2002, called the Bossi-Fini Law. A recent important change in the Italian regulatory system is represented by the Minniti-Orlando Decree aimed at "curtailing illegal immigration" (Esposito 2017).

As for asylum seekers, the Italian legal system provides for a complex framework of assistance and reception (Giacomelli 2021). Italy is among the few European countries to proclaim a right to asylum in its Constitution. Another important document that has relevant consequences on the Italian reception system is the Dublin Regulation (III), which defines which State has the obligation to evaluate the asylum claims presented by people who arrive in Europe. However, recent "Security Decrees" (Decree Law 113/2018, implemented by Law 132/2018), have abolished permits for humanitarian protection, making renewals and new releases impossible. At the same time, it has established special permits that are more labile and difficult to renew which has reduced humanitarian permit quotas and made the residence of humanitarian migrants in Italy more precarious (Musarò and Parmiggiani 2017).

The increase of immigration in Italy is strongly linked with the arrival of consistent inflows of labour migrants. The possibility to easily enter the labour market has constituted an important pull factor for migrants. The growth of immigrant stock in the last few years is due also to migration networks and family reunification, caused by the stabilisation process of some communities (Ambrosetti and Cela 2015). However, they are mainly employed in low-skilled jobs and a relevant amount of immigrant workers are over-educated for their employment position.

Immigration history

Bologna, due to its geographical location, has been at the crossroads of migratory flows that cross the peninsula and from further abroad. During the last 150 years, the city has first of all been the protagonist of an extraordinary demographic growth, increasing from 101,500 inhabitants in 1861 to 493,933 residents

in 1973. This was followed by a period of population reduction that stopped in the new millennium with a slight population recovery in recent years. This migratory phenomena have greatly influenced the demographic transformation of the city, being the main cause of the intense urbanisation that occurred in the first half of the 20th century and continued in the 1960s and 1970s. Starting from the end of the 19th century, Bologna initially had a strong attraction of the rural and mountain areas of the Bolognese district, then extending its potential attractiveness to the rest of the national territory. In the last thirty years of the last century there has been a gradual decrease in the population caused by a migratory balance that has become heavily negative, together with a worsening of the natural balance following the decline in births. Since the second half of the 1990s, a completely new migratory phenomenon has begun in the Emilian capital: the progressive intensification of foreign immigration, which represents almost a third of the incoming migratory flow. The new incoming flows have contributed significantly to a marked improvement in the migratory balance, which has become constantly positive; thus, in recent years the resident population of Bologna has slightly increased again.[1]

The Emilia-Romagna region is the Italian region with the highest number of resident migrants (12.3%, while in Italy is 8.7%), while in the municipality of Bologna lives the majority of the migrants (60,352 people), where they represent 15.5% of the resident population[2]. In Bologna, the number of asylum seekers is high as well. At the beginning of 2020, 2,037 asylum seekers are hosted in the reception system of the Metropolitan City of Bologna. In the sole municipality of Bologna, for example, 1,161 asylum seekers are hosted.[3]

Historically, Bologna represents a diverse and welcoming city – it is a city that promotes the direct participation of its citizens and sustains their intervention in the public sphere. After WWII, the citizens of Bologna highly participated in post-conflict reconstruction plans (Varni, 2013). More recently, Bologna represents the first city in Italy where the "Regulation on collaboration between citizens and administration for the care and regeneration of urban common goods" has been applied (2014). This Regulation provides for forms of collaboration between citizens and administration for the care and regeneration of urban common goods, concretising the principle of subsidiarity and direct intervention of citizens in the care of public space and in the regeneration of the city, taking care also of the participation of diverse groups of citizens. Another specificity of the Emilian territory is the presence of a very high number of cooperatives and associations. In the Bologna Metropolitan Area, for example, a last study on the participation of migrants to public life showed how they were included in 55 different associations, half of them composed of only migrants (Osservatorio delle Immigrazioni 2003). Another aspect that has certainly contributed to making Bologna a diverse and welcoming city is the presence of the University of Bologna, which attracts a large number of students every year because of its prestige - it is in fact the oldest university in the western world. Secondly, although the historical moment has changed, one of the main roles of the University of Bologna has remained that of attracting a great capital not only of a cultural nature, but also of an economic and social one (Putnam, 1993), and of contributing to the creative potential present in it - both for the high number of students enrolled at the University of Bologna and for all students who decide to stay in Bologna once they have finished their studies. In 2018, for example, almost the 10% of the University's students are foreigners, while the institution is also promoting the support of refugees students through the programme "Unibo4refugees".[4]

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1 Comune di Bologna, I flussi migratori a Bologna (2012).

2 https://sociale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/immigrati-e-stranieri/temi/osservatorio-regionale-sul-fenomeno-migratorio/cittadini-stranieri-residenti-e-dinamiche-demografiche-dati-al-1-1-2019.

3 Asylum seekers are hosted in the following reception centres in Bologna: 284 in CAS, 594 in the SPRAR/SIPROIMI for adults, 46 in the SPRAR/SIPROIMI for vulnerable adults, 222 in MSNA/FAMI/SAMB for minors and 15 people in family accommodations. https://www.bolognacares.it/dati/

4 http://ustat.miur.it/dati/didattica/italia/atenei-statali/bologna

Therefore, Bologna is a diverse, active and cooperative city. The presence of an enabling type of social capital, a cultural capital spread throughout the territory, bonds of trust, the tendency to cooperation and participation, are not the only characteristics that have stimulated the arrival of people from all over Italy in a first phase, and from all over the world in a second phase. Indeed, the city's position has also had an influence in maintaining a certain centrality of the city within the Italian and international panorama. This centrality has also been supported by the development of a dense network of infrastructures in which Bologna represents one of the nodal points, such as the presence of the railway as a connection centre between North and Central-South Italy and the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian coasts and, more recently, the Bologna airport. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that Bologna was historically positioned on the Via Emilia, benefitting from this centrality from a geographical and infrastructural point of view.

Another major transformation that has affected the city of Bologna in recent years has been the establishment of the Metropolitan City of Bologna in 2015. As the site of the Metropolitan City reports, "in this path we try to encourage, enhance and put to work the creativity, intelligence and energy of the city, institutions, citizens, research and culture, the productive world by adopting a method that gives space and breath to participation, involvement and empowerment for all".

Regionalisation policies

The interrelation and dialogue between the different levels of governance in the Italian system makes it hard to position Bologna at one end of the continuum between coping with diversity or calling for it. In a virtuous circle, the regionalisation policies influence and are influenced by the local reality.

Overall, the structure of Italian governance is characterised by high fragmentation and pluralism of initiatives and actors. In order to have a complete scenario of the regionalisation policies, it is essential to take into consideration the influences and directions given by the regional level and the implementation at the local level, specifically by the Metropolitan Area of Bologna.

Firstly, through the regional law n. 5/2004 "Rules for the social integration of foreign immigrants"[5], the Emilia Romagna Region has the merit of recognizing the phenomenon of migration as an organic and structural component of its territory. The Region also devised regulatory and evaluation tools for policies of social integration of foreign citizens. Specifically, the Regional Observatory for Research and Documentation on Migration develops every three years a Progress Report on the Evaluation Clause recording the evolution of migration in Emilia-Romagna and the effectiveness of the "Emilia-Romagna model", looking at the conditions of immigrant life, based on the integration policies put in place by the Region.[6]

In terms of employment policies, with Regional Law 14/2015 Emilia-Romagna has chosen the integration of labour, social and health systems to foster the introduction or reintegration of vulnerable people to the work force and to fight against marginalization and poverty. In the framework of the Regional Operational Program of the 2014-2020 European Social Fund, regional planning of training and labour policies identifies objectives which bring together community, national and regional resources. The Emilia-Romagna Region is also a partner organisation in the Erasmus + MILAR (Modelli Inclusione Lavoro Rifugiati - Models Inclusion Refugee Labour) community project to promote learning and experimenting with innovative ways to approach refugee labour, by adopting the model of Community Social Enterprise, as well as active policy measures including internships, apprenticeships and vocational training, "Garanzia Giovani" (Youth Guarantee programme).

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5 https://sociale.regione.emilia-romagna.it/immigrati-e-stranieri/temi/norme-programmi-e-atti-amministrativi/clausola-integrazione_170x240_web.pdf

6 Specifically, the Triennial Program "For an intercultural community".

As for political participation, the Region is committed to providing migrants with the opportunity to make their voices heard in local policies, and specifically with the FAMI project "CASP-ER - Participation and Associations". This project plans to promote migrant participation in public life through the implementation of regional actions such as communication, training and sharing of different experiences in the active political participation.

Moving to the local level, and in particular to the Metropolitan City of Bologna, these regional lines of directions are implemented and supported with activities and measures carried out by local associations, stakeholders and actors. Despite the fragmentation that characterises activities and partnerships of immigration services, the Metropolitan Area of Bologna, recognising the value of diversity, aims to attract, support and retain immigrants. However, policies that cope/call diversity and transformation of social, cultural and economic life of foreign citizens are quite difficult to map, as at local level there are problems of lack of coordination and of duplication of the tasks covered. In line with this, the Office of Cooperation and Human Rights of the Municipality of Bologna in 2017 carried out an investigation of cultures, practices and places of participation of foreign citizens in Bologna. The research was carried out within the AMITIE CODE (Capitalizing on Development) project[7], a development education project coordinated by the Municipality of Bologna involving six European countries. Among the objectives, there was the creation of Local Action Plans to improve services and relations with new citizens, using a human rights-based approach. The Plan articulates a series of objectives and actions, based on three axes: well-being, non-discrimination and participation.

Immigration services and partnerships

Cultural organisations, associations and especially NGOs play a pivotal role in the social integration of migrants and asylum seekers. In the Metropolitan area of Bologna, there are many NGOs involved in the reception system[8]. Most of these organisations assist the management of migration flows in the local area and provide help with basic needs, psychological assistance and supplies, in collaboration with local institutions. Some of them also provide social and economic integration programmes, which may help migrants and refugees to find a hobby, temporary job and to connect with the host society. Some of them, for example, intervene in the management of SPRAR/SIPROIMI: the Lai-Momo cooperatives, Mondo Donna, Camelot and those belonging to the Arcolaio consortium.[9] Lai-Momo social cooperative[10] takes care of the reception of asylum seekers rejected in Italy by other European countries in the application of the Dublin III Regulation and, together with other associations, of the management of some extraordinary reception facilities located in the province of Bologna and the Mattei HUB. The Consortium Arcolaio[11] was formed by the union, in 2010, of three cooperatives of the social sector of Bologna and a non-profit organisation: La Strada di Piazza Grande, La Piccola Carovana Coop. Sociale, Arc-en-Ciel Onlus and the Arca di Noè cooperative. Together with the Mondo Donna Onlus association[12], they are the two managers of adult SPRAR structures in Bologna. Finally, the Camelot social cooperative[13] plays a major role in the management of the HUB for minors in the Municipality of Bologna.

As for cultural organizations, there are some interesting projects that try to foster social integration of

7 http://amitiecode.eu/
8 To see in detail, please visit: https://www.bolognacares.it/dati/
9 https://www.bolognacares.it/
10 http://www.laimomo.it/a/index.php/it/
11 http://www.arcacoop.com/
12 http://www.mondodonna-onlus.it/
13 http://wp.coopcamelot.org/

migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in the local society through music, art, theatre and, in general, through cultural activities, such as Cantieri Meticci[14], Arte Migrante[15], NextGeneration Italy, Altro Spazio[16], etc. (Moralli, Paltrinieri, Parmiggiani, 2020). In addition, VESTA is a solidarity project which gives the opportunity to families within the territory to host unaccompanied foreign minors and young refugees. Finally, the Bologna cares![17] campaign represents the communication section of the project SPRAR/SIPROIMI. Realized by Lai-Momo, it includes awareness raising and communication activities directed at citizens. In collaboration with the regional Center of Anti-discrimination, the Municipality of Bologna also carries on innovation in the fight against social inequalities and racial discrimination at work, home, and in regards to access to basic public services. Moreover, through the Social Development and the Metropolitan Social Development Area Operational Unit, the Metropolitan Area is carrying out integration and intercultural education activities, trying to avoid assimilationist or segregationist logic and instead valuing cultural differences. In collaboration with other local actors, Bologna organises meetings, aggregation, networking activities on the topic of intercultural dialogue and migration. In particular, Centro Interculturale Zonarelli[18] supports local associations aimed at intercultural dialogue, social visibility and participation. The Centre is a real reference point of the city for migrants and refugees, associations and citizens, with the aim of promoting intercultural dialogue and diversity.

The Metropolitan area of Bologna carries out different activities together with local associations and actors, such as, among others, Italian courses for foreigners; intercultural tours, activities focusing on the needs of religious communities and a Manual for Anti-discrimination Activists[19], funded by the Metropolitan City of Bologna for high-schools students.

As for employment, in the metropolitan city of Bologna, the foreign workforce has been a consolidated presence for several years: approximately one in eight workers in the area is of foreign citizenship. They are mainly citizens from third state countries: 38,953 representing 8.4% of the employed in the area.[20] However, as noted at a national level, the population from third countries mainly corresponds with unqualified and low-paid employment.

Period of immigration

Table 15:

Period	Non-Italian new residents	Italian new residents
1971-1980	104	20.000
1981-1990	600	20.269
1991-2000	5.267	31.629
2001-2010	35.525	55.731
2011-2016	22.062	18.013

Source: "I flussi migratori a Bologna" (2012) and "I flussi migratori a Bologna nel quinquennio 2012-2016", Municipality of Bologna

14 http://www.cantierimeticci.it/
15 http://www.artemigrante.eu/
16 http://www.laltrospazio.com/
17 http://www.bolognacares.it/eng-versione/
18 https://centrozonarelli.wordpress.com/
19 https://www.cittametropolitana.bo.it/immigrazione/Engine/RAServeFile.php/f/allegati/manuale_per_attivisti_per_sito_cittametro_per_sito.pdf
20 https://www.lavoro.gov.it/documenti-e-norme/studi-e-statistiche/Documents/La%20presenza%20dei%20migranti%20nelle%20aree%20metropolitane,%20anno%202018/RAM-2018-Bologna.pdf

Table 16: Ethnic origin of population of Bologna (top 10)

Ethnicity	Number (count)
Romanian	10,105
Bangladesh	5,121
Philippines	5,070
Pakistan	4,214
China	3,999
Ukraine	3,841
Morocco	3,608
Moldova	3,480
Albania	2,634
Sri Lanka	1,384

Table 17: Immigrants in Bologna by selected country of birth

Country of birth	Number (count)
Romania	10,105
Bangladesh	5,121
Philippines	5,070
Pakistan	4,214
China	3,999
Ukraine	3,841
Morocco	3,608
Moldova	3,480
Albania	2,634
Sri Lanka	1,384

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APPENDIX

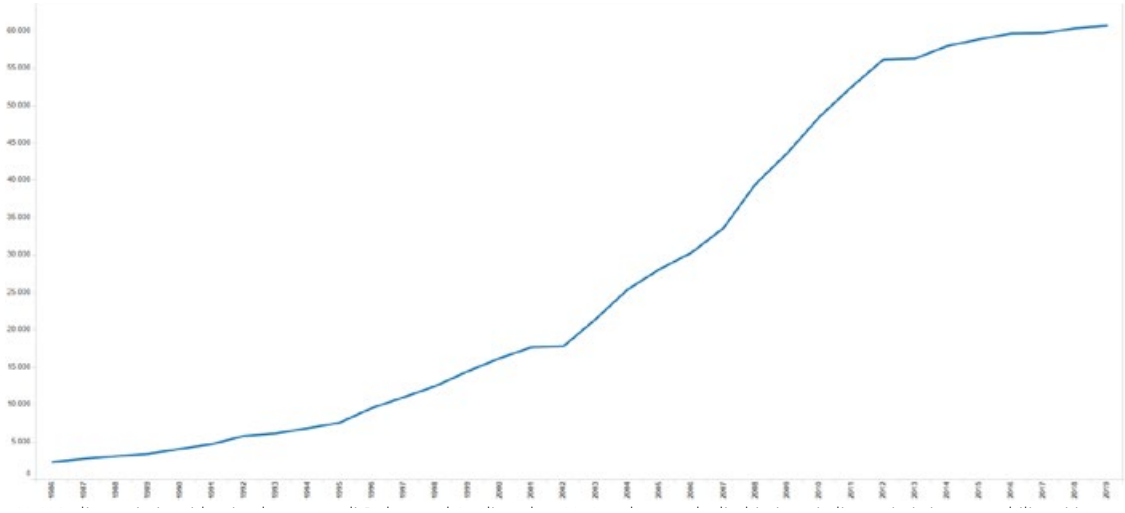


Figure 3: Foreigner residents in Bologna from 1986 to 2019. Source: Municipality of Bologna

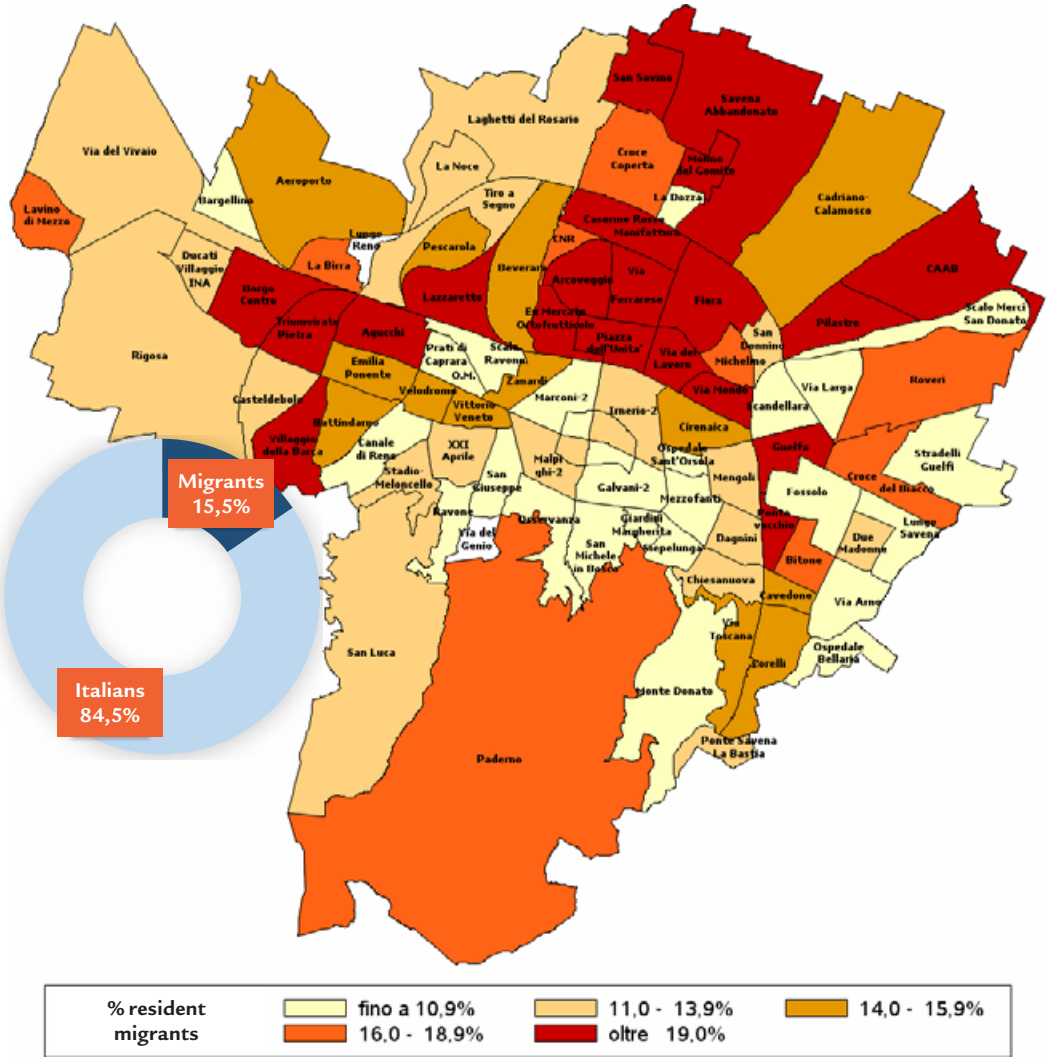


Figure 4: Migrants' areas of residence in Bologna (31 December 2019). Source: Municipality of Bologna.

POSTI D'ACCOGLIENZA NEI COMUNI DELL'AREA METROPOLITANA DI BOLOGNA
(divisione per Distretto socio-sanitario, Comune, Progetto) - al 31/05/2021
Fonte dati: Prefettura di Bologna, Comune di Bologna, Nuovo Circondario Imolese (valori assoluti)

	Comune	Popolazione al 31.12.2020 *	CAS **	SAI Ordinari	SAI DS-DM	SAI MSNA	Totale SAI	Totale posti CAS e SAI
	Accoglienza in famiglia			5		10	15	15
1	Bologna		284	553	46	200	799	1083
	tot. Bologna	**394.463**	**284**	**558**	**46**	**210**	**814**	**1098**
2	Argelato	9.724	30				0	30
3	Baricella	7.129					0	0
4	Bentivoglio	5.733		4			4	4
5	Budrio	18.106	3		2		2	5
6	Castel Maggiore	18.529	15				0	15
7	Castello D'Argile	6.576		18			18	18
8	Castenaso	15.801		39			39	39
9	Galliera	5.525		12			12	12
10	Granarolo dell'Emilia	12.422	30	12	6		18	48
11	Malalbergo	9.094	16				0	16
12	Minerbio	9.009		12			12	12
13	Molinella	15.710		16			16	16
14	Pieve di Cento	7.082		5			5	5
15	San Giorgio di Piano	9.147	18	7			7	25
16	San Pietro in Casale	12.708	7	8			8	15
	tot. Pianura Est	**162.295**	**119**	**133**	**8**	**0**	**141**	**260**
17	Casalecchio di Reno	35.956		26			26	26
18	Monte San Pietro	10.736	14				0	14
19	Sasso Marconi	14.791			6		6	6
20	Zola Predosa	19.153	14	12			12	26
21	Valsamoggia	31.834	6	41		8	49	55
	tot. Reno, Lavino e Samoggia	**112.470**	**34**	**79**	**6**	**8**	**93**	**127**
22	Anzola dell'Emilia	12.347	7	25			25	32
23	Calderara di Reno	13.404		6		2	8	8
24	Crevalcore	13.693					0	0
25	Sala Bolognese	8.478					0	0
26	San Giovanni in Persiceto	28.002	32				0	32
27	Sant'Agata Bolognese	7.416					0	0
	tot. Pianura Ovest	**83.340**	**39**	**31**	**0**	**2**	**33**	**72**
28	Loiano	4.357		20			20	20
29	Monghidoro	3.722				25	25	25
30	Monterenzio	6.182		20			20	20
31	Ozzano dell'Emilia	14.044		10			10	10
32	Pianoro	17.503	18	23			23	41
33	San Lazzaro di Savena	32.616	14	40			40	54
	tot. San Lazzaro di Savena	**78.424**	**32**	**113**	**0**	**25**	**138**	**170**
34	Alto Reno Terme	6.933		0			0	0
35	Camugnano	1.831					0	0
36	Castel d'Aiano	1.868					0	0
37	Castel di Casio	3.349					0	0
38	Castiglione dei Pepoli	5.462					0	0
39	Gaggio Montano	4.789					0	0
40	Grizzana Morandi	3.887					0	0
41	Lizzano in Belvedere	2.184	45	6			6	51
42	Marzabotto	6.766				4	4	4
43	Monzuno	6.358					0	0
44	San Benedetto Val di Sambro	4.256	14				0	14
45	Vergato	7.684		17			17	17
	tot. Appennino Bolognese	**55.367**	**59**	**23**	**0**	**4**	**27**	**86**
46	Borgo Tossignano	3.236					0	0
47	Casalfiumanese	3.378	14				0	14
48	Castel del Rio	1.185					0	0
49	Castel Guelfo di Bologna	4.513					0	0
50	Castel San Pietro Terme	20.768	0	17			17	17
51	Dozza	6.595					0	0
52	Fontanelice	1.960					0	0
53	Imola	70.392	104	44			44	148
54	Medicina	16.504					0	0
55	Mordano	4.649					0	0
	tot. Nuovo Circondario Imolese	**133.180**	**118**	**61**	**0**	**0**	**61**	**179**
	Totale complessivo	**1.019.539**	**685**	**998**	**60**	**249**	**1307**	**1.992**

*Fonte: popolazione Residente al 31/12/2020 - Iperbole - I numeri di Bologna Metropolitana
** Dato al 30.09.2020

Figure 5: People hosted in the reception system in Bologna at the beginning of 2020 (geographical distribution). Source: Bologna Cares.

CASE STUDY REPORTS

GERMANY

Prepared by

Dr Sakura Yamamura, Paulina Henningsen and Professor Steven Vertovec

GERMANY

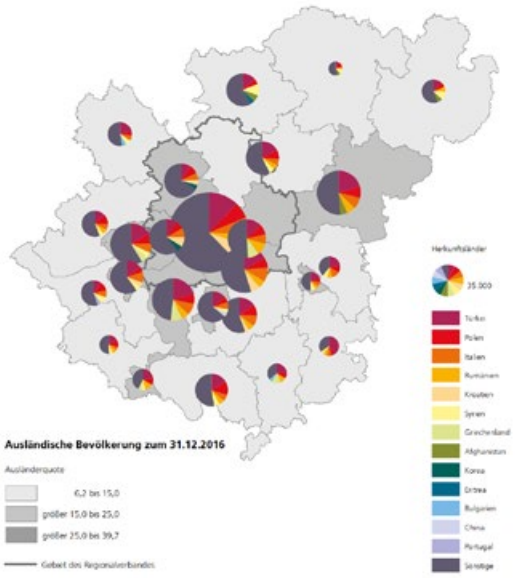
SELECTION OF CASE STUDY SITES IN GERMANY: GIESSEN, HANAU AND BAD HOMBURG

There are three case study sites chosen for Germany: Gießen, Hanau and Bad Homburg. Gießen is a regional town comprising over 88,000 residents, 32,000 of these residents being students. Gießen is located approximately 52 kilometres from the centre of Frankfurt. Hanau, located approximately 26 kilometres from Frankfurt, has a population of 99,669 with a high number of foreign residents and migrant backgrounds. Bad Homburg is located over 20 kilometres from Frankfurt and has a population of 55,884. These sites are all within the inclusion criteria for the project, but their attraction for a range of migrants – whether for study or professional occupations – makes them interesting case studies.

Immigration history and policies

The metropolitan region around Frankfurt (2,458 km²), the superdiverse global city in Germany, is regionally highly integrated. The state of Hesse adopted a law in 2011 to create the *Regionalverband (regional authority) FrankfurtRheinMain as* a supra-local authority to better coordinate actions and developments within the urban region as well as to represent its regional interests on the national and international level (see Fig. 1, violet region). It encompasses Frankfurt and 75 neighbouring communities (*Gemeinden*). Moreover, this core region is embedded in a larger region, the so-called *Metropolregion FrankfurtRheinMain* (see Fig. 1 in green) which covers large areas of Hessen (Hesse), the Land (state) in which Frankfurt is located, and parts of the adjacent *Rheinland-Pfalz* (Rhineland-Palatinate) and *Bayern* (Bavaria). This larger metropolitan region with 5.8 million residents is one of the eleven functional European metropolitan regions (EMRs) designated by the resolution of the Ministerial Conference for Spatial Planning on April 28, 2005 for interregional planning purposes, and act as 'motors of societal, economic, social and cultural development' for the European integration process.

As the implementation of diversity and integration policies is heavily dependent on the Land within the Federal Republic of Germany, the selection of the case studies has been first limited to cities within Hesse to ensure comparability. However, to allow interesting comparative analysis between the larger and the core regions, cities from both *Regionalverband* and *Metropolregion FrankfurtRheinMain* have been selected (case 1: *Gießen*). Furthermore, to accommodate the research interest on the different patterns of superdiversities in regional cities, two similarly diverse, yet socio-economically divergent cities within the *Regionalverband* have also been selected (case 2 & 3: *Bad Homburg* and *Hanau*). The latter two cities are economically and socio-culturally more closely connected to Frankfurt, whereas Giessen is more independent in this regard, yet plays an important role in the regional migration of Hesse (see further below).



		Ausländer 2016	Ausländerquote 2016
Hessen	Darmstadt	32.575	20,7
	Frankfurt am Main	215.925	29,3
	Offenbach am Main	49.515	39,7
	Wiesbaden	58.360	21,0
	Kreis Bergstraße	35.795	13,4
	Kreis Darmstadt-Dieburg	42.540	14,4
	Kreis Groß-Gerau	59.905	22,3
	Hochtaunuskreis	39.345	16,7
	Main-Kinzig-Kreis	64.725	15,5
	Main-Taunus-Kreis	42.405	18,0
	Odenwaldkreis	12.800	13,3
	Kreis Offenbach	73.245	20,9
	Rheingau-Taunus-Kreis	22.970	12,4
	Wetteraukreis	36.600	12,0
	Kreis Gießen	35.780	13,5
	Kreis Limburg-Weilburg	19.825	11,5
	Vogelsbergkreis	6.605	6,2
	Kreis Fulda	18.485	8,4
Rheinland-Pfalz	Mainz	37.565	17,6
	Worms	14.415	17,5
	Kreis Alzey-Worms	11.775	9,2
	Kreis Mainz-Bingen	21.715	10,4
Bayern	Aschaffenburg	11.575	16,7
	Kreis Aschaffenburg	15.220	8,8
	Kreis Miltenberg	13.230	10,3
Region FrankfurtRheinMain		**992.895**	**17,4**

Quellen: Statistisches Bundesamt (Ausländerzentralregister); Berechnungen des Regionalverbandes

Figure 6: Foreign Residents in the regional districts of Hesse (as of 31.12.2016)

(Source: Regionalverband FrankfurtRheinMain, 2018, p. 10)

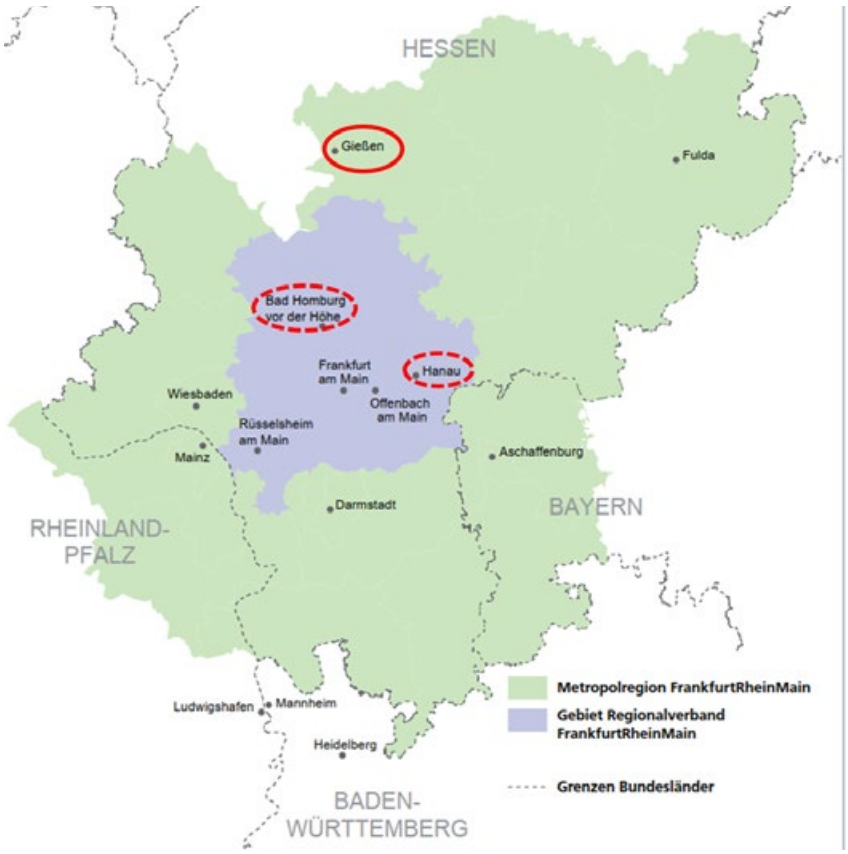


Figure 7: Metropolitan region of Frankfurt with important regional cities

(Source: Regionalverband FrankfurtRheinMain, 2018, p.5)

CASE 1: GIESSEN

Population size: 88,424 (2019)

Distance from Frankfurt: 52.5 km (crow flight) or 71.3 km (by car), approx. 1hr drive

Migrant population: 18.19 % foreign residents (2018); 32.9% migration background (2011)

Immigration history

Giessen, with its 32,000 students, is the largest student town in Germany (by ratio of students to residents) and accommodates inhabitants of 140 different nationalities. However, the prominent role in migration issue of the state of Hesse derives from its history as the location of the post-WW2 transit camp for *Heimatvertriebene* (homeland expellees) and displaced persons as well as one of the three main *Bundesnotaufnahmelager* (emergency reception camps) of GDR-refugees in the German-German history, and its current administrative function as the organization and management centre of refugees with its central *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung* (initial reception facility) for Hesse. Due to this administrative role, Giessen observed a population growth by 5.8% through the recent refugee inflow in 2015, with an extraordinarily high number of asylum-seekers per 1,000 residents (47.5%), compared to the average of 10.8% in the Frankfurt Rhein Main region.

CASE 2: HANAU

Population size: 99,669 (June 2020)

Distance from Frankfurt: 16.9 km (crow flight) or 26.3 km (by car), approx. 35min drive

Migrant population: 25.6 % foreign residents (2017); 42.6% migration background (2011)

Immigration history

Hanau has recently received attention as the scene of far-right-extremist terrorist shooting spree on 19 February 2020, killing ten people with migrant backgrounds (Hanau shootings). Apart from this recent event, the city is known for its diverse population, which mostly comprises working-class migrants, with a particularly large community of persons with Turkish origin, but also Polish, Italian, Romanian and Afghan backgrounds. The percentage of low-income households is very high (48%).

CASE 3: BAD HOMBURG

Population size: 55,884 (2018)

Distance from Frankfurt: 13.6 km (crow flight) or 20.3 km (by car), approx. 30min drive

Migrant population: 18.6 % (2017); 28.3% migration background (2011)

Immigration history

Bad Homburg is primarily known as a town in one of the wealthiest districts in Germany. Having its roots in the spa town and imperial summer residence in the 19th century, Bad Homburg is characterized by its residential areas for the upper classes (44% high-income households as a contrast to Hanau), in particular for those working in higher managerial positions in the financial industry of Frankfurt. It is one the most popular residential districts of the highly skilled migrants, respectively 'expats' of Frankfurt with vicinity to international schools.

Regionalisation strategies

Whereas migration policies are decided on the national level (*Bundesebene*), the actual migration management administratively coordinated by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees through its outposts (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF* with local *Ausländerbehörde*) and also budgets for integration and diversity measures provided through different projects of the national government, e.g. "*Integration durch Qualifizierung*" (support for skill attainment by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and EU funds), each state sets out its own guidelines and programs at the state level (*Landes-/Länderebene).*

The Hesse integration policy is based primarily on the findings and policy recommendations of the committee of inquiry for migration and integration (*Enquête-Kommission "Migration und Integration"*) and agrees on guidelines at the Integration Conference (*Hessiche Integrationskonferenz*) at the beginning of each legislative period (last being 3 Dec 2019). The regular "Integrationsmonitoring" provides comparisons of data on migrants and natives regarding social issues, such as education, employment and social environment. The state of Hesse obliges any municipality with more than 1,000 foreign residents to install foreigner councils in their district (*Ausländerbeirat*) and, in 2005 Hesse, has introduced a central Office for Anti-discrimination (Antidiskriminierungsstelle) at the HMSI under the direct auspices of the Undersecretary of the State, signalizing the significance of superdiversity in its political agenda.

Immigration services and partnerships

The Hesse Ministry for Social Affairs and Integration (HMSI) supports municipalities and initiatives through its main program "*Wegweisende Integrationsansätze Realisieren*" (WIR; 'realizing ground-breaking integration approaches') since 2014, which helps stakeholders to network and exchange best practices, and to develop a recognition and welcoming culture ('*Anerkennungs- und Willkommenskultur*') in society (overview of projects: https://integrationskompass.hessen.de/). The WIR program acknowledges integration issues as a 'cross-sectional task for society as a whole' and aims to involve residents with and without migration backgrounds as well as refugees in municipalities. One of the recent focuses of HMSI is to provide support to mid-sized municipalities with between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants, i.e., regional towns (program: '*Förderung von Vielfalt und Integrationsstrategien in hessischen Kommunen*'), where participative developments of local diversity and integrations strategies are aided. Moreover, there are programs to support migrant organizations and layperson translators. The Hesse government also annually awards 20,000EUR as integration prizes to local projects and measures which 'enforce the feeling for belonging and togetherness' ("*Zugehörigkeit* und *Zusammengehörigkeit"*).

At the municipal level, each city or community coordinates federal aided projects through its local offices at its municipal government, e.g. Office for Integration coordinating support and aids within the regional board of Giessen (*Regierungspräsidium Gießen, Büro für Integration*), Office for Intercultural Affairs in Main-Kinzig-Kreis (district office) in case of Hanau, or Coordination Center Integration and Service Point Migration in Hochtaunuskreis (in case of Bad Homburg). Moreover, the regional cities of Hanau and Bad Homburg also have their own initiatives and offices to coordinate projects at the communal level. Hanau for example, was one of the ten designated Arrival Cities in the national urban development program ('*Stadtentwicklung und Integration*') from 2017-2019, developing an integrated action plan to accommodate newly arrived migrants, in particular refugees and asylum-seekers; the city is also self-committed to its own anti-discrimination guideline. Bad Homburg, too, has its own Integration Office ('Integrationsbüro') where integration measures and projects for migrants in different districts of the city are coordinated and networked. The main focus of the office is to provide events and activities that promote intercultural encounters, and create opportunities for language development and education.

As in German society in general, the presence of non-governmental charity organizations and non-profit associations is strong in integration initiatives. These operate locally, supporting urban districts with needs in urban social development, such as in Stadtteilbüro in Hanau, and are organizationally embedded in larger national networks, e.g. Caritas, German Red Cross or Diakonie, which are active in all three regional cities. Further NGOs and individual initiatives for supporting migrants and refugees independent from these larger organizations are also existent, in particular Giessen with its young population, where NGOs and start-ups flourish, like Angekommen eV. and Codedoor.

Period of immigration

Statistics not available.

Ethnic origin of population of Gießen, Hanau and Bad Homburg (top 10)

Statistics not available.

Immigrants in Gießen, Hanau and Bad Homburg by selected country of birth

Statistics not available.

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CASE STUDY REPORTS

THE NETHERLANDS

Prepared by

Angelique van Dam with Professor Peter Scholten

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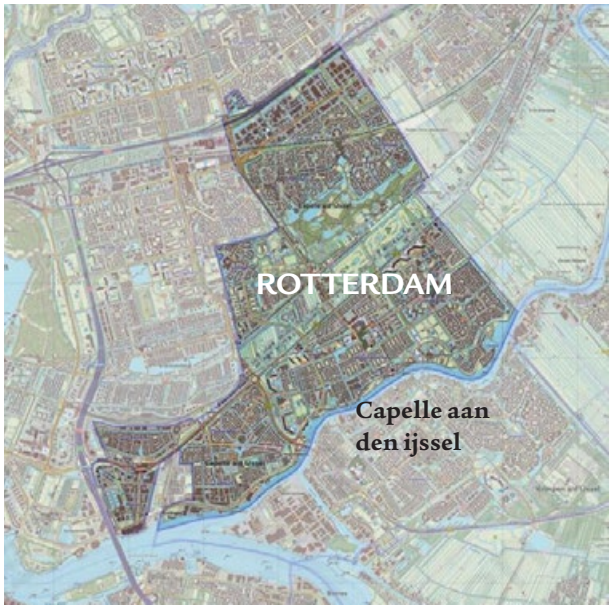
THE NETHERLANDS

CAPELLE AAN DEN IJSSEL



Profile

Population: 67,142

Distance from metropolitan centre (Rotterdam to Capelle aan den IJssel): 8.1 km

Travel time by car: 13 minutes

Immigrant Population: 5.03% of the population are born overseas, 35% of the population are first- or second-generation migrants.

SELECTION OF CASE STUDY SITE IN THE NETHERLANDS: CAPELLE AAN DEN IJSSEL

The city of Capelle aan den IJssel (Capelle) has a population of 67,142 and is considered one of the most diverse and densely populated middle-sized cities in the Netherlands. Capelle is classified as a Dutch 'non-metropole', or regional site. The Netherlands is a relatively small country, which leaves distances between metropole and non-metropole areas quite small. The closest 'metropole' or metropolitan city that influences regional migration to Capelle, is Rotterdam, which is located 8.1km away. Despite its proximity to Rotterdam, Capelle attempts to identify itself as a non-metropole city, distinguishing itself from Rotterdam in the areas of cultural and environmental, or greening policy and practice. However, Capelle follows the migratory patterns of the metropole city of Rotterdam because of the close geographical connection between the non-metropole and metropole sites. The driver of settlement and mobility to and between both Rotterdam and Capelle for residents, including migrants, is the water and port setting offering economic opportunity, where collaborative and connecting infrastructure facilitates mobility between these two sites. Our case study of Capelle aan den IJssel in its geographic proximity to Rotterdam shows numerous historical but also geographical, social, economic and political connections between migratory patterns.

Regional migration policy initiatives

The migratory patterns associated with Capelle, have been very much influenced by those of the metropole city of Rotterdam given its close geographical proximity. As a large port city, Rotterdam has been historically shaped by migration, particularly by labour migrants. More recently, migration patterns have been diversifying with the continuation of its tradition of hosting a large number of labour migrants, but also as a destination for international students, expats and as a city of refuge for humanitarian migrants. It has come to be a clear example of what can be characterized as a 'super diverse city' with more than half of the Rotterdam population being first or second generation migrant (52%), including over 170 nationalities.

Although Rotterdam is a superdiverse city, it has struggled to come to terms with this new reality. Migration and integration have often been issues of contestation in the city. In this contestation, three different, but over time consistent, discourses shape the city's governance of migration and diversity.

First, there is a discourse that problematises migration and prioritises migrant integration. The city has witnessed a strong rise of populism and anti-immigrant attitudes. Since the 2000s, the city council has even been led by the local populist party Liveable Rotterdam for three coalition periods. This has led to policies of desegregation (the so-called Rotterdam Act) and to a strong focus on local belonging and social 'rules of the game' (specified in the so-called Rotterdam Code). In this discourse, cultural diversity is often problematised and integration prioritised in order to preserve social cohesion in the city.

Secondly, there is also a strong discourse of Rotterdam as a world port city, harbouring cultures from all over the world. The term superdiversity is now even formally acknowledged in the latest government program 'Relax, this is Rotterdam'. This discourse is reflected in strong connections between the city and minority organisations, a strong presence of cultural and religious diversity in urban architecture (featuring two of Europe's most magnificent mosques in the urban skyline) and a strong promotion of diversity festivals (such as the famous Rotterdam street carnival).

In between these two discourses, there is a third discourse that reflects the working class history of the city. This discourse does not focus on culture at all but on work, housing and to some extent education, meaning that migrants are expected to be economically independent and have a job. The idea of labour migration as temporary, gave way to the realisation that migrants wanted to settle permanently in the city.

Rotterdam, as a traditionally social-democratic city, has been more interventionist when it comes to furthering migrant integration than most other Dutch cities. Migrant integration here mostly means participation in the city and is very much focused on the economic dimension of integration, such as housing, education (including language training) and the labour market. The aim was to provide all migrants with housing. This was reflected in several policies of the cities on a national level as well as a local level. For example, on a national level the strategy was to fairly distribute the reception of refugees, proportionally. This means that the number of refugees was equitably distributed over the municipalities in the Netherlands on the basis of the number of inhabitants of these municipalities and municipalities were required to provide them with housing. In addition, it was determined at the national level that in order to obtain a full residence permit, an integration test and language level had to be met. Although this is partly left to the free market (e.g. language schools), municipalities have been made responsible for quality control, and for working together with refugee agencies in order to get the basics right in order to promote refugee participation in society as quickly as possible. In this case, participation is mainly understood to mean progression to work and economic independence.

While we have provided the example of policies and practice around refugee integration, other groups of migrants were also encouraged (and expected) to integrate, where integration policies were again geared towards an economic rationale of economic self-reliance. Language was seen here as an important mediating factor to help people get a job. Only for a brief period (in the 2000s and early 2010s) did the Rotterdam

approach focus more explicitly on cultural aspects of integration. Policies were often shaped into action plans and active initiatives in this respect (see Appendix A for a full list of initiatives)

Each of these discourses from the city of Rotterdam are reflected in Capelle aan den IJssel as well. This is not only due to proximity and to the connections between migration patterns in both places and to the similar socio-structural background of both places. It is also due to often direct political and administrative relations between the two cities. There is close collaboration between both municipalities and there is a long history of exchange of persons between the main political parties in both places.

Capelle aan den IJssel profiles itself as a regional area and seeks reinforcement through cooperation with the other small village towns in the vicinity, such as the municipality of Krimpen and Nieuwekerk aan den IJssel. For example, matters of safety and waste disposal are regulated together. In the area of dealing with diversity, the municipalities also work together and try to learn from each other. This can be seen in shared initiatives on language promotion for migrants (Zingen aan de IJssel) and social contacts with local residents (bakkie in de buurt), which are financially supported by the municipalities. There is also a regular meeting of the municipality's policy makers to discuss issues around housing, economic integration and labour participation (3 monthly, and monthly in the period of a larger influx of refugees).

In spite of this cooperation and the strong profile it creates for the regional character of the city, Capelle aan den IJssel is influenced by the choices made by the city of Rotterdam and the municipality responds to this in various ways, for example by adopting similar laws and policies. The most obvious example is the Rotterdam law, an initiative of Rotterdam in which an income requirement for settling in some neighbourhoods applies. In addition to an income requirement, settling in certain neighbourhoods is only possible if one has been in Rotterdam (and/or the Netherlands) for a longer period of time, and has a permanent job or can demonstrate a higher level of education. Because this initiative encouraged the less-privileged (and problematic) population to move to nearby areas such as Capelle aan den IJssel, Capelle aan den IJssel eventually adopted the law itself.

Immigration history

Archives show that the name Capelle first appeared in 1278. Until 1950 Capelle was a small village where labour was mainly focused on shipping and fishery. The migration related diversity in this area is considered to be linked to the activities that a waterfront like the port city of Rotterdam brings. The growth of the harbour of Rotterdam and the employment opportunities that came with that is tightly linked between the number of residents, employment ratio and motives for migration and migrant settlement in Capelle aan den IJssel.

Before World War II, the studying migrant as well as the wealthy merchants from richer middle classes mainly from Surinam and Indonesia were welcomed to Rotterdam. These groups of migrants offered trade possibilities and created more industry and customers for local entrepreneurs. In times before and after the War, migrants from these areas were seen as desirable for creating industry in the city, which attracted a response from Capelle. When Moluccas arrived from the Moluku Islands, Indonesia after WWII and joined the networks that already existed in the Rotterdam region, Capelle aan den IJssel formed an active policy to gain advantage of this new migrant community establishing in Rotterdam. This policy highlights the tensions between Rotterdam and Capelle in responding to non-metropole migrant settlement. In 1951, the association of employees in Capelle joined forces and built a neighbourhood especially for the Moluccas so they could form their own community. It was the motivation of several entrepreneurs to actively house these people so as to develop their business. This was good for trade. Capelle and its entrepreneurs saw this as such a success that they wanted to establish another neighbourhood, however, Rotterdam blocked this development, exposing a point of tension between Rotterdam and Capelle in competing for Molucca

settlement. The Moluccan neighbourhood of Capelle is still in existence and remains one of the few areas known to allow for this specific migrant group to separate themselves and have their own church. At this moment there are several diversity employees active to stimulate certain forms of integration as this is a shielded area that is not actively approached.

Since the 1950's, Capelle has been growing neighbourhood by neighbourhood. City planning and expansion has not always been in response to migration, mobility and the need for living space, but from a collaboration with Rotterdam around the development of infrastructure to facilitate mobility, and better link the two sites, including housing, employment and work. These tools have often been used to proactively create a more desirable population as will be shown in the next paragraphs.

The Netherlands began to develop its governance structure around managing temporary migration labour flows in the 1970s, which included the settlement of Surinamese migrants following Surinam independence. There was a lot of public discrimination towards this migrant group, including from local entrepreneurs, compared to the pre-war welcoming of students and (richer) middle class Surinamese and Indonesians. This discrimination was also shown in terms of housing opportunities, where some advertisements (both renting as buying) explicitly excluded the Surinamese. At a macro policy level, Rotterdam began pushing for suburbanisation via housing plans with the goal of population, social and economic growth, but these plans included pushing this migrant groups out to smaller, surrounding municipalities with inhabitants between 25,000 and 50,000 people. Under this planning, Capelle aan den IJssel was the number one city that Rotterdam wanted to direct the people from Suriname to. On national level, policy was formed to allow for certain non-metropole cities, close to metropole cities to accommodate migrants, to allow for more growth. This initiative was called the groeikernenbeleid. Capelle aan den IJssel was appointed as one of the 16 growth metropoles (groeikernen). Regional areas like Capelle, were designated to build low-rise buildings to avoid urbanization and to maintain its green character.

During the 1980's this suburbanisation policy shifted. The big cities, including Rotterdam, were impacted by the negative effects of these growth incentive policies. The relatively spacious and green low-rise buildings that Capelle built in the 1970s attracted a lot of families, higher educated people and middle and higher income classes away from the city, which is a demographic development that was experienced as negative because people that remain (elder, poor etc.) pushed too heavily on the city's facilities.

From 1995 to 2005, Capelle (because of its expansion) influenced the so called Vinex policy which has come to characterise this as a period of 'white flight' from Rotterdam to Capelle. This policy facilitated the development of a few cities in the Netherlands, including Capelle aan den IJssel, to build a large-scale housing estate. Vinex policy was formed out of the desire to accommodate the population growth around the big cities whilst maintaining the regional, non-urbanised, green non-metropole cities, where parts of the city population was 'pushed and pulled out' to Capelle because of its green spaciousness and low rise developments. The special scheme of homes, the promotion of green and a country-side characters and the strategic positioning of Capelle in relation to Rotterdam, is still being used to attract high-income groups. In reality, from the Vinex policy, statistics show that the expansion of Capelle from the 'white flight' is combined with period of diversification. From a district level, the newer luxurious districts such as Fascinatio, Paradijsselpark and villa districts are built next to the s'gravenweg (a long road connecting Rotterdam and Capelle, known for the status and expensive houses that are built on this road) to expose a diversification of the population. Mostly second-generation migrants or mixed households are in these upper income classes and live in the districts with more mobility and the most relocations. At the same time the image becomes clear that the poorer group of people with a migration background in Rotterdam, are dealing with gentrification in districts such as Katendrecht, Kralingen and Crooswijk resulting in their movements to Capelle.

As a result of these historical migration patterns and policy shifts, Capelle aan den IJssel has grown from a small village to a middle large city, consisting of 8 districts, making it one of the most densely populated cities within the Rijnmond area and the Netherlands. On an urban level, it is clear that there is an increasing diversification of the population, but on neighbourhood level there is a strong segregation between poor and rich on one hand and homogeneous and diverse on the other hand. Migration related diversity is a clear characteristic of the population of Capelle. 35% of the population has a migration background. However, in religious terms, Capelle still maintains a protestant character reflected in the statistics of places of worship. In the 15 square kilometres, there are 28 religious' buildings, including 25 protestant churches, one catholic church, one Molokan church, and one Jewish community centre.

Regionalisation strategies

Strategies around housing, infrastructure and urban development have shaped the migration and settlement dynamic between Rotterdam and Capelle as illustrated above. Since 2015 the Netherlands has faced a large flow of refugees. The national policy dictates a remit to local municipalities to adopt a specific ratio of refugees to the city. For a densely populated area such as Capelle this provided for new challenges in housing and integration. Research in the field shows that there are big struggles and that Capelle is one of the municipalities that will not be able to realise the assigned yearly quota of newcomers.

Again, a battle between Rotterdam and Capelle, this time around settlement and integration of 'the desired refugee' is shown if we look at the practices of a housing official of the Centraal orgaan asielzoekers (translated: Central Organisation for Asylum Seekers), who decides which refugee will be forwarded to Capelle. Families are popular because it is expected that they will be accepted in the local context and have a high potential of integration by contact with schools and via the children. In 2016 a new private foundation was founded by a well-known Rotterdam family. The foundation, Nieuw Thuis Rotterdam bought 200 houses in Rotterdam to place 200 Syrian refugee families, totalling 650 people. Next to housing, the foundation offered their own integration programme with language classes, future coaching, job coaching and cultural and emotional support. One of the exclusionary criteria for refugee settlement is that the single men, the most unwanted refugee, are housed in surrounding municipalities such as Krimpen and Capelle aan den IJssel. This also resulted in tensions between Rotterdam and Capelle.

Immigration services and partnerships

From conversations with policy makers, politicians and practitioners within the social organisations aiming for living with diversity and related issues (i.e. integration projects and refugee organisations) shows that Capelle aan den IJssel faces similar urban issues regarding diversity and experiences struggles just like the metropole cities characterised by superdiversity, such as Rotterdam. In 2015 Capelle was able to implement Rotterdam's laws for integration to four problematised neighbourhoods (Hovenbuurt, de Hoeken, Operabuurt and Gebouwenbuurt, also known as the Ghetto of Capelle). Capelle also does not have structural integration or diversity policy and social organisations working with diversity or migration organisations are small in number. Capelle has one team focussed on refugees, one team of neighbourhood mothers and, as preparations for the 2022 integration policy, one team on integration. Together, these are 27 people from which 12 are (partly) paid. They all fall under a broader social organisation. All activities related to diversity are considered to be at the hand of the civil society management.

To support the refugee population, Capelle has an invisible team of refugee workers that focus on integration. Projects such as buurtmoeders started, where women from different backgrounds are used to support people of their own ethnicity and assist in integration. Two employees were appointed who bring expertise

from Rotterdam. One of the employees had years of experience in the municipality of Rotterdam in the area of integration and one has years of experience with migration organisations in Rotterdam.

Lastly, we see that in this area local companies are actively uniting and collaborating with this refugee integration project. Here, integration is understood from a dimension of economic independence and unburdening the care of the municipality for these people. Practitioners in Rotterdam as well as Capelle aan den IJssel claim that the register of methods and knowledge for integration shows that the municipality of Capelle lacks related experiences, as well as money, capacity (i.e. migration organisations) and of work opportunities. However, Capelle has a list of organisations and entrepreneurs that are active to support integration, which is an advantage to support the settlement of the refugee population.

Capelle aan den IJssel immigration trends

Table 18: Period of immigration

Period	Capelle total population	Capelle immigrant population
1999	63877	13919
2000	64253	14393
2002	65222	15660
2005	65483	17340
2006	65605	17786
2010	65345	19741
2015	66475	21923
2016	66489	22314
2017	66391	22553
2018	66858	23206
2019	66815	23652
2020	67125	24333

Source: https://allecijfers.nl/gemeente/capelle-aan-den-ijssel/#migratie

Table 19: Ethnic origin of population of Capelle (top 10)

Ethnicity	Number (count)
Moroccan	2819
Turkey	3289
Antillean	7115
Surinam	12687
Other	20205
Western	20943

Source: https://allecijfers.nl/gemeente/capelle-aan-den-ijssel/#migratie-achtergrond

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https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Bart_Wissink/publication/254793728_Met_het_oog_op_de_omgeving_Een_geschiedenis_van_de_zorg_voor_de_kwaliteit_van_de_leefomgeving_-_het_ministerie_van_VROM_1965_-_1995/links/5804a56508ae73d9d6147f13/Met-het-oog-op-de-omgeving-Een-geschiedenis-van-de-zorg-voor-de-kwaliteit-van-de-leefomgeving-het-ministerie-van-VROM-1965-1995.pdf

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https://www.wrr.nl/publicaties/verkenningen/2018/05/29/de-nieuwe-verscheidenheid

Sociaal Cultureel planbureau (SCP)

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https://www.kis.nl/publicatie/arbeidsmarktdiscriminatie-aanpakken-naming-faming-en-andere-maatregelen-voor-gemeenten

https://www.kis.nl/publicatie/samenleven-met-verschillen

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https://www.kis.nl/publicatie/sociale-verbinding-tussen-nieuwkomers-en-andere-wijkbewoners

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https://reliwiki.nl/index.php/Categorie:Gemeente_Capelle_aan_den_IJssel

Archive and history:

Gemeente archief Capelle aan den IJssel

Gemeente archief Rotterdam

Historische vereniging Capelle: https://hvc-capelle.nl/hvc-fotografen-de-wijken-in/

Digitale archief Capelle aan den Ijssel: https://hvc-capelle.nl/collecties/archief-van-de-gemeente-capelle-aan-den-ijsselvada/

Nederlandse database religieze instellingen: https://reliwiki.nl/index.php/

Geschiedenis vereniging Zuid-Holland: https://geschiedenisvanzuidholland.nl/locatie/geschiedenis-van-capelle-aan-den-ijssel

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Interviews:

Centraal opvang orgaan vluchtelingen (COA)

Bas van den Bighelaar, plaatsingsambtenaar. Verantwoordelijk voor spreiding statushouder regio Zuid-Holland

Gemeente Rotterdam

Beleidsmaker (s) discriminatie, samenleving, inburgering en vluchtelingen

Lida Veringmeijer, Carolien Vogelaar en Jeanelle Breemer Gemeente Rotterdam

Gemeente Capelle aan den IJssel

Afdeling directie samenleving Capelle aan den IJssel (Leonie Bandell)

Projecten ontrent de bevordering van migratie diversiteit in de samenleving, inburgering en migrantenorganisatie:

Nicolette Lima, prohject inburgering Capelle aan den IJssel

Iskander salman en Johan Breukels (Rotterdam en capelle aan den IJssel)

Project buurtmoeders, Capelle aan den Ijssel

Other:

Politici Capelle aan den Ijssel, Omroep Capelle, Francio Guadeloupe over werk met paul van de Laar slavernij en (de) kolonisatie verleden Rotterdam

APPENDIX A

ACTION PLANS AND ACTIVE INITIATIVES FOR INTEGRATION, ROTTERDAM

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APPENDIX B

NETWORK OF EXCELLENCE MEMBERSHIP

Monash Migration and Inclusion Centre

Professor Rebecca Wickes

Associate Professor Alan Gamlen

Associate Professor Helen Forbes-Mewett

Professor Dharma Arunachalam

Dr Francesco Ricatti

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