



IMES

Instituut voor Migratie- en Etnische Studies

MPMC Programme

*Multicultural Policies and Modes of
Citizenship in European Cities*

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Introduction

This Newsletter is presented to you by the IMES. It is meant to inform all participants of and those interested in the UNESCO-MOST MPMC-project on topics and developments concerning the programme. It appears as many times a year as necessary, depending on the developments of the programme.

The MPMC project is formally adopted by the UNESCO-MOST programme since 1996. In the research project social scientists from a variety of disciplines have undertaken research and comparative analysis within selected urban contexts characterised by a substantial presence and activity of immigrant and ethnic minority groups. Working with policy makers and members of local organisations, their task has been to assess the development and interplay of both 'bottom-up' (community led) initiatives and 'top-down' (municipality created) policies aimed at better integrating immigrant and ethnic minorities in public decision making processes. Of central concern to the project are what we term 'channels of activation and mobilisation' in European cities; organisations, actions or institutions through which immigrant and ethnic minority communities (are supposed to) make their interests and concerns known to municipal decision-makers and other significant actors in the various societal domains. The key-questions answered by all research teams can be summarised as follows; how do local authorities activate immigrants and ethnic minorities to participate in political decision making in general and in relation to their position in particular; how do immigrants and ethnic minority members mobilise to improve their position and to influence policies relating to that position; how do activation policies of authorities and mobilisation of immigrants and ethnic minorities interact?

The MPMC project is co-ordinated by Dr. Marco Martiniello (CEDEM, Liege), Prof. Dr. Rinus Penninx (IMES, Universiteit van Amsterdam) and Dr. Steven Vertovec (Oxford University). The secretariat of the MPMC project is founded at the IMES under co-ordination of Mrs. Karen Kraal.

The MPMC Workshops.

In November 2001 the MPMC project organised its fourth and final workshop at the Sixth International Metropolis Conference in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The Metropolis project creates opportunities for discussion among government decision-makers, researchers and non-governmental agents on ways of improving policies and programmes for effectively managing migration and the impacts that migration and diversity produce for life in our cities. The Rotterdam conference aimed to further intensify discussions through interactive plenary sessions and highly focused workshops. In the MPMC workshop results of our research were presented and discussed with policy makers and practitioners. It was the fourth and final workshop of a series that had the following building up:

The first MPMC workshop (Amsterdam, October 1997)

Inspired by the urgent call for sound international comparative research on the Metropolis-conference in Milan of November 1996, the MPMC project took the initiative to organise a workshop of researchers and a number of policy makers.

A common framework for comparative research and an organisational structure for the project were established. The leadership has since then been exercised by a Steering Committee of dr. Steven Vertovec (University of Oxford); dr. Marco Martiniello (University of Liege) and Prof dr. Rinus Penninx (IMES, Universiteit van Amsterdam). IMES was asked to function as the co-ordinating institute of the project.

The second MPMC workshop (Liege, October 31st-2nd of November 1999)

This workshop built further on the first workshop and took stock of the progress, both in the empirical and theoretical sense. This workshop prepared two publications on 'local government and ethnic minorities'. The first volume is published by Ashgate (see paragraph publications). The second volume will appear end 2002.

The third MPMC workshop (Zeist, March 2000)

The third workshop took place as a workshop of the UNESCO Conference on Social Policy and Research organised by the UNESCO-Netherlands. The major objective of the conference was to further the discussion about the various ways social science research and policy interact. The central question of the MPMC workshop was how the relationship between researchers, local level policy makers and the population concerned had developed over the course of the project in various cities. Three partners of the triangle were invited: representatives of social research, policy and immigrant organisations, of three cities participating in the project: Amsterdam, Lisbon and Zurich. The

workshop led to the publication of several discussion papers.

Report of the fourth MPMC Workshop at the Sixth International Metropolis Conference, November 26-30, 2001, Rotterdam, The Netherlands

In the MPMC workshop at the Metropolis Conference 3 research teams presented their findings and a member of a relevant NGO's acted as respondent. The workshop underscored the conditioning factors and policies that seem to determine differential outcomes in immigrant and ethnic minority political participation across Europe. It consisted of following presentations:

- 1) Presentation of an analysis of diverse local political structures by Michael Alexander (visiting researcher by AME, municipality of Tel Aviv)
- 2) Presentation of a comparative study of Lille, Roubaix and Birmingham by Romain Garbaye (University of Warwick)
- 3) Presentation of a comparative study of Zurich and Liege by Meindert Fennema (Universiteit van Amsterdam)
- 4) Discussant Halim Madkouri (Multicultural Institute Utrecht, The Netherlands)

The various presentations and a description of the workshop and overall Metropolis conference can be found on the following website: www.international.metropolis.net (workshop No. 57). Below a short summary of the three presentations and discussion is given. For the full presentations please refer to the mentioned website.

Comparing local policies towards migrants, by Michael Alexander

Michael presents preliminary results from a literature survey of municipal policies toward migrants in some 25 European cities. His database of local policies served as 'raw material' for the development of a theoretical framework to compare local policy reactions to labour migrant settlement. The framework includes 1) an ordering of the various policies into policy domains and issue areas (e.g. housing, education), and 2) a typology of local migrant policies. Michael argues that migrant policies can be seen as an expression of Host-Stranger relations, specifically, of the local authority's attitudes regarding the migrant population and its Otherness. The framework makes it possible to compare different kinds of policies in various local situations, and relate these to a common explanatory context that can be applied to all the cases.

Michael first gives a short background of labour migrant settlement in European cities and local policy reactions, the need for a broad (multi-city, multi-domain) comparison at local level, and the relevance of Host-Stranger Relations, as a theoretical framework that allows for such a comparison. In the following section he presents the typology and in the last section he demonstrates possible uses of this typology.

He proposes two ordering schemes for the various policies. The first ordering scheme distinguishes four policy domains: Juridical-Political, Socio-Economic, Cultural-Religious and Spatial (subdivided into issue areas). The second ordering scheme distinguishes between alternative policy reactions within each issue area: Transient, Guestworker, Assimilationist, Pluralist and Intercultural. Combined the two ordering schemes result in a typology classification system of actual (or potential) local migrant policies. This classification scheme can be used as a framework to compare the policy reactions of different cities in one or several policy areas, or to follow one city's policy reactions over time. Michael illustrates the use of the framework with preliminary findings from research conducted in Amsterdam and Rome.

He concludes that classifying local migrant policies according to Host-Stranger Relations does not prove a direct cause-effect relationship. Instead, he proposes the HSR-framework is one among several factors shaping the response of local authorities to the settlement of migrants.

Ethnic minority local councillors in French and British cities: social determinants and political opportunity structures, by Romain Garbaye

Romain wants to analyse the social and political processes that shape both the success or absence of success, of ethnic minorities in electoral competition, and their role as councillors once they are elected. He places the election of ethnic minorities to local councils in the context of social trends, mobilisation movements and party politics that preside over it. The focus is on the general characteristics of migrant populations and the local political opportunity structures. He shows how these help to shape the conditions of access to elected assemblies of certain groups of immigrants, as well as help to account for the role played by these once they are elected, and underpin the differences between the degree and style of political incorporation from one city and country to another.

He compares the situation of ethnic minority councillors in three cities, Birmingham (UK), Lille and Roubaix (France). He first traces the historical and social profile of ethnic minority populations in each country and shows how they have impacted on the social profiles, and political competence of emerging ethnic minority elites at the local level. Then he turns in more detail to the local political opportunity structures, focusing on local political traditions, electoral systems, and patterns of alliances within parties, and examines how the two processes produce the environment for ethnic minority candidates.

Romain argues that a series of factors play a primary role in shaping the profile of ethnic minority political leaders, and their capacity to participate in the political game of cities: time of migration,

economic conditions of migration, citizenship regime of the host state, and the way in which the political culture imported by immigrants from their countries of origins has combined with native political cultures.

Romain shows how the differences between the three cities are shaped by both the social and cultural characteristics of migrant populations, and by the institutional frameworks that shape the politics of these cities.

Does politics matter, by Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie (presented by Fennema)

Fennema and Tillie regard political participation of immigrant groups not only as a key value in multicultural policies in various European cities but also a key value of multicultural *democracy*. They define multicultural democracy as a democracy where ethnic minorities participate in the democratic process, thus providing the political elite with reliable information about the political preferences of these minorities and providing the democratic institutions with popular legitimacy among the minority groups. The more ethnic groups participate in decision-making processes the higher the quality of multicultural democracy. They argue that variables that explain the political participation of ethnic groups thus explain variation in the quality of multicultural democracy.

Previous research of Fennema and Tillie has demonstrated that an important predictor of the political participation of ethnic groups is the degree of (ethnic) *civic community*. The concept of civic community refers to voluntary associations of free citizens that are set up to pursue a common goal or a common interest. The social participation in ethnic voluntary associations is crucial for democracy for at least three reasons. In the first place it is its *voluntary* character, secondly the importance of *horizontal* relations and a third reason is *trust*.

In their paper Fennema and Tillie analyse the effect of institutional structures on ethnic organization formation by studying local immigrant policies and activities and networks of ethnic organizations in two European cities: *Liege* and *Zurich*. They first describe some basic data on Liege and Zurich. Next they study the institutional opportunities for immigrant communities in each city. They summarize the policies in terms of its policy objectives and the expected effects on ethnic networks. These policy objectives and expected effects are then used to study their (potential) influence on the activities and networks of ethnic organizations.

Thirdly they describe and compare the activities and networks of ethnic organizations in each city looking at; activities of ethnic organizations; activities of Italian organizations in Liege and Zurich; density of Italian organizations and key organizations in networks of ethnic organizations in Liege and

Zurich. Finally, Fennema and Tillie present some hypotheses on the relation between local institutional opportunity structures and networks of ethnic organizations.

Discussant Halim Madkouri.

Halim recognizes the relation between institutional structures and ethnic organizations. He identifies a three-phase trajectory in the Netherlands:

- 1) In the beginning, the 60's-70's, there was still the notion of temporary presence and there was no outspoken migration policy. Ethnic organizations were mainly involved in creating cultural space similar to that in the home country
- 2) Beginning of the 80's migration policy is aimed at integration while maintaining the specific cultural background. Ethnic organizations are regarded as vehicles for integration and therefore allowed and stimulated to organize a range of activities
- 3) Recently policy is moving away from group specific to more common arrears fighting policy. Ethnic organizations are not allowed to fulfill tasks of common welfare work and do not receive subsidy for cultural activities.

Halim finds it interesting to observe that the ethnic groups themselves, especially the Moroccan second generation, are now emphasizing their specific cultural backgrounds (via various activities as cultural festivals) contrary to developments in politics.

Publications MPMC project

Following documents can be found on the website of the IMES (www.pscw.uva.nl/imes) or UNESCO (www.unesco.org/most):

- The city templates of the 17 cities
- The newsletters of the project (including reports of the workshops)
- Flyer of the project
- Key notes of Prof. Dr. Rinus Penninx
- Discussion Papers

Further there is one volume published:

A. Rogers & J. Tillie (eds.) 2001 *Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in Ten European Cities*. Oxford: Ashgate.

This volume is based on the city templates of: Athens, Barcelona, Birmingham, Brussels, Marseilles, Oeiras, Stockholm, Tel Aviv, Zurich and Amsterdam. The various teams have rewritten the templates as chapters for the volume.

Upcoming Clusterbook

Whereas the City Template book presents the data, the Clusterbook will give analyses on specific topics.

The presentations in the fourth MPMC workshop will be part of this publication.

The publication should be ready end 2002.