

MIGRATION ENERGY FOR THE PLANET FEEDING CULTURES

Outcomes of the 2014 International Metropolis Conference

edited by Roberto Cortinovis





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1. Foreword

by *Vincenzo Cesareo*

The choice to have the 2014 edition of the International Metropolis Conference hosted in Italy, and specifically in the city of Milan, was particularly appropriate for a number of reasons. To start with, the scale of migration challenges currently faced by Italy is impressive: during 2014, more than 170,000 people landed on Italian Southern shores after a dangerous, and in many cases, fatal journey across the Mediterranean. Public opinion has been struck by daily media coverage of rescued migrants, while authorities are struggling to strengthen our reception system in order to accommodate the needs of such a high number of people, which include among them a significant number of asylum seekers. In this regard, Italy should be considered as a mirror of the challenges currently faced by Europe, as it appears clear that managing a phenomenon of these proportions is not something that can be achieved by a single Member State and that a common response on the part of the European Union as a whole is urgently needed.

But Italy, and in particular the city of Milan, is also an image of the opportunities that migration offers. Regarding Italy, some data show the impressive evolution of the migration phenomenon in our country over the last three decades. Foreigners were about 300,000 in the 80s, one million in the mid-90s, two million around 2000, four million in 2008, and five million and a half in 2014. Out that total number, over one million migrants are minors and 800,000 are foreign students (not including the many who have already acquired Italian citizenship), while only 300,000 are irregular (the lowest level in a decade). As a consequence and in spite of the huge migration flows through the Mediterranean in the last years, it is possible to conclude that the migratory phenomenon in Italy has become ever more embedded in the structure and composition of the Italian society.

Milan is the most multi-ethnic Italian city and the “laboratory” of the migratory phenomenon in Italy. In its province, counting about three million inhabitants, almost half a million are foreigners. The capability to attract and integrate migrants has surely been a key to the development of the city and

has contributed to its role as a major hub of innovation and economic activity in Europe.

Turning to the outcomes of the 2014 Metropolis International Conference, what one is struck by at first is the sheer magnitude of numbers: about 740 participants, most of them coming from abroad (about 55% of participants), more than 200 journalists, 8 plenary sessions featuring high level speakers from academia, international and national institutions, think tanks, NGOs and, more than 80 workshops, covering the entire spectrum of migration issues currently explored by the research and policy-making communities.

In this volume, however, we have tried to go beyond numbers by collecting the ideas, arguments, challenges that were put forward by participants during the five days of the Metropolis Conference. In other words, we attempted to emphasise as much as possible the role of the Metropolis Conference as a privileged venue for the debate on international migration and for the advancement of the knowledge on migration issues.

A considerable part of this volume is dedicated to the eight plenary sessions of the Conference and, indeed, it could not be otherwise. The plenary sessions touched upon some the “hot topics” of migration, which are exposed in details in the following part of this book. Here, I would like to focus on two of those many issues, which highlight some of the rationales around which we built this edition of the conference. The first one is the linkage between food and migration, which was studied through a dedicated plenary, organized in line with the main themes of EXPO 2015, titled “Feeding the Planet. Energy for life” and dealing with the role of food in fostering development and wellbeing worldwide. A central point that emerged from that plenary is the connection between food security and migration. Indeed, while for many people in developed countries food is understood primarily as a way to enhance the quality of their lives and also as a privileged channel to get in contact with new cultures, for hundreds of million people in the world food means first of all survival and, often, migration is the only way available to get enough food for them and for their families. Exploring the issue of food security, as emerged during the plenary, also allowed taking into consideration several related issues, such climate change, which is becoming a primary cause of food insecurity, and to single out new ways to address those issues and the implications they have on global migration in a comprehensive way.

The other point I would like to highlight here is the focus on European governance of the 2014 edition of the Conference, to the point that one of the plenaries devoted to this topic was included among the official events organized by the Italian Semester of the Presidency of the European Union. In particular, that plenary concerned one of the issues at the top of the agenda of

the Italian Presidency, namely migration in the Mediterranean. Beside, another plenary focused on the future of EU migration policies, addressing the new framework in the field of migration agreed upon by the European Union in June 2014, the so-called “Strategic Guidelines for the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice”. Our hope is that the debate that took place during the Conference was useful for policy-makers at the national and European level and provided them with conceptual tools and stimulating perspectives to face the urgent problems that are ahead of Europe.

Another aspect of this book I would like to outline is the choice to include a series of papers that were awarded with the Metropolis Scholarship. Those papers were selected by the Advisory Board of the Conference among the many works that were sent by young researchers from different nationalities. We thought it was important to further value the effort of these young scholars by including their work in this volume. Indeed, fresh views and different perspectives that only young people can bring are of fundamental importance in order to keep up with the rapidly evolving landscape we are living in, and to provide innovative insights on migration phenomena.

Let me close with some acknowledgments. A special thanks goes to the Metropolis Steering Committee for the constant support they provided us during the long and sometimes difficult organization process of this event. Besides, the Cariplo Foundation provided a fundamental contribution for the realization of the Conference. My gratitude goes also to the Italian Ministry of Interior, the Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, and the Italian Ministry of Education, for their contribution and for their active participation in the debate. Let me also thanks the City Hall of Milan for the enthusiasm they showed in having the Metropolis Conference hosted in Milan. Finally, a special tribute goes to the Staff of the ISMU Foundation: working with them day by day, I can personally testify of the passion, constant effort and expertise they put to make this event possible and successful.

2. The Metropolis Project

by *Cecilia Lindenberg*

The International Metropolis Project¹ consists of a set of coordinated activities promoted by research institutions, government bodies and non-governmental organizations with the purpose of sharing best practices and developing more effective policies for the management of migration. The main strength of Metropolis and the key of its success has been precisely the demonstrated ability to forge links between academic research and policy development, especially by providing an international venue for the exchange of ideas and the elaboration of policy proposals between researchers and policy makers. Along the years, more than thirty countries and several international organizations have joined the Metropolis project.

2.1 The History of the Metropolis Project

The International Metropolis Project was launched in 1995 by the Carnegie Foundation, the American and the Canadian governments, later on joined by the Italian Government. Sergio Marchi (of Italian origin), then-Minister of Citizenship and Immigration of the Government of Canada, was particularly keen in having Italy participating in the project and pursued this objective until an agreement with the Italian government was reached. In the same year, Italy constituted a national working committee, chaired by the department of Social Affairs of the Presidency of the Council, which set as its objective that of hosting the first International Metropolis conference in Italy. Institutions like the ISMU Foundation, Censis and CNEL, were invited to work with the committee.

The ISMU Foundation was then chosen by the Presidency to take charge of the organization of the event and to represent Italy, together with the

¹ See: <http://www.carleton.ca/metropolis/>.

Presidency itself, in the International Management Committee of Metropolis. During the years 1998-1999, ISMU acted as the head of the Secretariat of the European branch of the Metropolis project, managing international activities from its headquarters in Milan.

The great commitment of the Italian working committee was rewarded with the assignment of the First International Metropolis Conference, which took place in Milan in November 1996.

2.2 Past International Metropolis Conferences

After the first edition in Milan, International Metropolis Conferences have taken place yearly, soon becoming one of the most renowned venues gathering policy makers and researchers dealing with migration worldwide. Below is a list of the editions of the International Metropolis conferences held so far:

- Milan, 1996 (founding Conference). Focus on: urban economic restructuring and what this entails for the integration of immigrants; the impact of changing demographics on social cohesion; the management of diversity.
- Copenhagen, 1997. Focus on: social cohesion and tolerance; spatial concentration and mobility; economic integration and labour.
- Israel, 1998. Focus on: the role of NGOs in the integration process; immigration and education in divided cities and societies; citizenship policy and the problem of integration; strategies for developing urban areas dominated by immigrants in metropolitan regions; political participation across immigrant and ethno-racial communities.
- Washington, 1999. Focus on: community, civil society and citizenship; neighbourhood development, housing and labour markets; governments and NGOs in partnership.
- Vancouver, 2000. Focus on: building social, cultural and economic capital through migration; creating opportunity: growth, access and equity; managing gateways and managing change; investing in the future, the changing face of youth.
- Rotterdam, 2001. Focus on: migration policies: balancing admission and restriction; citizenship, equality and diversity; local integration policies; migration and the cultural transformation of cities.
- Oslo, 2002. Title: *Togetherness in Difference*.
- Vienna, 2003. Title: *Gaining from Migration – A Global Perspective on Opportunities for Economic and Social Prosperity*.

- Geneva, 2004. Title: *Co-operative Migration Management; International, National and Local Answers*.
- Toronto, 2005. Title: *Our Diverse Cities: Migration, Diversity and Change*.
- Lisbon, 2006. Title: *Paths and Crossroads: Moving People, Changing Places*.
- Melbourne, 2007. Title: *Migration, Economic Growth and Social Cohesion*.
- Bonn, 2008. Title: *Mobility, Integration and Development in a Globalised World*.
- Copenhagen, 2009. Title: *Migration and Mobility, National Responses to Cultural Diversity*.
- The Hague, 2010. Title: *Justice and Migration: Paradoxes of Belonging*.
- Azores Islands, 2011. Title: *Migration Futures: Perspectives On Global Changes*.
- Korea, Malaysia and the Philippines, 2012. Title: *Migration, Cultural Diversity and Urban Development*.
- Tampere, 2013. Title: *The New Mobility: Managing Growth, Security, and Social Justice*.

2.3 Metropolis 2014 in Milan

The 2014 edition of the Metropolis International Conference, titled *Migration: Energy for the Planet, Feeding Cultures*, was held in Milan from November 3 to 7, at Mi.Co., Milano Congressi venue. During the five days of the conference, 8 plenaries (in the morning) and 81 workshops (in the afternoon) were held. Following the tradition of Metropolis, cultural tours and social evenings were also offered to participants. The organization of the conference was in charge of the staff of the ISMU Foundation, coordinated by the Secretary General Prof. Vincenzo Cesareo and by the Project manager Prof. Marco Lombardi.

2.3.1 Participation

The International Metropolis Conference was attended by 741 participants, most of them coming from abroad (55% of participants from 49 different countries). Here are some more data regarding participation:

- 386 people attended the Conference throughout the 5 days;

- 159 people participated for one or two days;
- 56 participants were students who attended for one or more days;
- 285 other participants included sponsors, stand managers, scholarship holders (scholarships were offered by the ISMU Foundation, the University of Bergamo, and the Clinical Institute Humanitas), plenaries speakers, ISMU Foundation guests and staff;
- 22 students of the Journalism School of the Catholic University of Milan assured the media coverage of the event through social media, such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube;
- 200 journalists attended the Conference thanks to an agreement with the Italian Association of journalists. In particular, 120 journalists attended the final plenary session on the theme “Media and Immigration”.

2.3.2 Plenaries and workshops

The Conference program included two plenaries for each of the four morning sessions of the Conference, for a total of eight plenaries. Each plenary involved 2/4 speakers plus a moderator.

There were also two keynote speeches from special guests: Ambassador William L. Swing, Director General of the International Organization for Migration, and Prefect Mario Morcone, Head of Department of Civil Freedoms and Immigration of the Italian Ministry of Interior. During the afternoon sessions, 81 workshops were held, of which 20 proposed by the ISMU Foundation, 20 arranged on the basis of individual paper submissions, and 41 on the basis of workshop proposals submissions.

2.3.3 Social evenings

Three social evenings were organized:

- Monday, November 3: Concert “Orchestra dei popoli” and dinner buffet of Italian quality products at the Hall of the Caryatids, Palazzo Reale, Milan;
- Tuesday, November 4: Concert “Bel canto” at the Catholic University of Milan, followed by refreshments;
- Thursday, November 6: Gala dinner at the restaurant “Ca ‘Bianca” in Milan.

2.3.4 Cultural tours

The participants to the Conference were offered five cultural tours to places of artistic interest or linked to migration issues:

- Visit at the Teatro alla Scala Museum;
- Reception places for asylum seekers in the city of Milan;
- City Hall of Milan's House of Rights (a one-stop-shop created by the City of Milan that provides information and orientation on rights and actions against any kind of discrimination, with emphasis on ethnic discrimination);
- Intercultural walks in the Brera gallery;
- A migrant walk in Via Padova (one of the most multi-ethnic streets of Milan).

2.3.5 Advisory board

An Advisory board was set up to supervise the organization of the Conference, which was composed of the following members:

- President: Vincenzo Cesareo, Secretary General of the ISMU Foundation;
- Project Manager: Marco Lombardi, ISMU Foundation;
- Patricia Frias, Cariplo Foundation;
- Caterina Sarfatti, City Hall of Milan;
- Stefania Congia, Italian Ministry of Labour and Social Policies;
- Maurizio Falco, Italian Ministry of Interior;
- Antonio Cutolo, Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research;
- Giancarlo Blangiardo, ISMU Foundation;
- Laura Zanfrini, ISMU Foundation.

2.3.6 Sponsors

The 2014 International Metropolis Conference was made possible thanks to the support and contributions of the following sponsors:

- Official sponsors: Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, Ministry of Education, University and Research, Cariplo Foundation, the City Hall of Milan, Lombardy Region, the Chamber of Commerce of Milan

- Other sponsors: Amadori, Caseificio Airoli, Cantine “Planeta”, Cantine “Pra del Re”, Consorzio Grana Padano, Consorzio Radicchio Igp, Consorzio Salumi Igp, Consorzio Speck Alto Adige Igp, F.lli Pinna Industria Casearia S.P.A., Italcanditi Bergamo, Milano Official Store, Pastificio Di Martino, Pizza+1, Pupiricchiello, Tosatto, Unione Commercianti Piacenza.

2.3.7 Stands

During the conference, 14 exhibition stands were set up by publishers, government departments and other organizations in order to exhibit their work, research, and products. All conference materials are available on the ISMU Foundation website: <http://www.ismu.org/2014/10/conferenza-internazionale-metropolis-2014/>.

2.3.8 Next edition: Mexico 2015

The 2015 edition of the International Metropolis Conference will be held in Mexico City, from 7 to 11 September. The title of the Conference *Migrants: Key Players in the 21st Century* attempts to draw the attention of all participants to the human factor as the core element to be considered by migration experts, policymakers, and activists².

² More information is available on the website of the event: <http://www.metropolis2015.mx>.

3. *The Outcomes of the Conference*

by *Veronica Riniolo, Roberto Cortinovis and Pierre Georges Van Wolleghem*

3.1 Towards EXPO 2015: “Migration: Energy for the Planet, Feeding Cultures”

The 2014 International Metropolis Conference and the 2015 Universal Exposition, both hosted in Milan, are linked by a *fil rouge*, which becomes apparent when looking at the titles of the two events. Indeed, the title of the Metropolis Conference, “Energy for the Planet, Feeding Cultures” bears a clear resemblance with the one chosen for the 2015 Universal Exposition “Feeding the Planet, Energy for life”. Through this analogy, the organizers of the Metropolis Conference wanted to express their intention to anticipate some of the main themes of EXPO 2015 and to create a line of continuity between the two events.

Before delving into the themes that are common to Metropolis and EXPO, which relate to the multiple interconnections that exist between food and migration, it is important to stress another point that links together the two initiatives: namely, the ambition to act as global *fora* to promote the exchange of ideas and experiences as well as the elaboration of common strategies to address global challenges. In doing so, they both encourage a whole and comprehensive understanding of the issues at stake, by involving academics, policy-makers and civil society actors. In particular, the two events share the mission of supporting policy makers at different levels of government by translating theoretical discussions and research findings into policy oriented proposals. To that regard, it should be recalled that, for the first time in the history of Universal Expositions, EXPO 2015 explicitly pursues this role of “incubator of ideas” through the drafting of a comprehensive document, the so-called “Charter of Milan”, which includes priorities and recommendations to be dealt at the global level on issues such as food sustainability, the relation between food and identity, and urban

development. The Charter, drafted with the contribution of a variety of experts from different backgrounds, will be handed over on October 2015 to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, as a long-standing legacy of this edition of the Universal Exposition.

In addition to the previous, one specific theme represents the main linkage between the two initiatives: *food*. Food is by itself an issue that is prone to different perspectives and that poses peculiar challenges in different socio-economic and geographical contexts. It suffices to recall that, while hundreds of million people in the world still experience the plague of under-nutrition, food problems in the developed world are mainly associated with diseases related to obesity and overweight. This paradox underlines the complexity of dealing with food problems and the importance of developing comprehensive strategies to provide for more sustainable food production and consumption patterns worldwide.

The link between food and migration, in particular, is manifold: food security, sustainability, the impact on new technologies on lifestyles, the use (and abuse) of natural resources, environmental challenges, coexistence and relations between different cultures are just some of the issues where those two concepts intersect.

Some of these issues were explored during this edition of the International Metropolis Conference through a dedicated plenary session, titled “Sustainable Linkages: Migration, Food and Culture”, and through a workshop, titled “Food, Migration, Identities and Marketplace”. During the plenary session, in particular, some central issues came to the fore. As a starting point, it was highlighted the role of food as a marker of identity for migrants communities living abroad and as an instrument to facilitate integration between those communities and the receiving society. As the diffusion of ethnic food and the proliferation of ethnic restaurants testify, food acts as a bridge between different cultures, and as an opportunity to get in contact with the “Other”. But food is not only linked to the symbolic world of identity. It also represents an important channel of employment: many people – natives or migrants – find jobs in food-related sectors, such as agriculture or the catering sector.

Another “hot issue” on the agenda is that of food security. During the plenary, in particular, it was stressed how climate change is having important negative impacts on food availability in many rural areas in less developed countries. Migration is often the only solution for people living in those countries to escape the most negative effects of climate change.

The issue of food security, however, does not affect only people living in rural areas: indeed, rapid and inexorable urbanization in the Global South, especially in large urban areas or so called “mega cities”, poses formidable

challenges in terms of food availability for the hundreds million people living there.

The linkage between migration and food is even more evident when taking into consideration the patterns and trends of migrants' remittances worldwide: indeed, available research shows that the largest part of global remittances is currently used for buying food and that remittances' recipient families in poor countries can allow to regularly purchase basic goods such as food and milk, while this is not the case for those families that do not receive remittances.

Some of the main themes described above are at the centre of the agenda of EXPO 2015: in particular food sustainability, the impact of climate change on food production and availability, and the role of food in fostering exchange and solidarity between cultures. It is of paramount importance to keep attention on these pressing issues, which deserve new and bold political answers by policy-makers as well as increasing awareness among public opinions. Those are indeed the main objectives (and challenges) that, through different instruments and formats, were pursued by the 2014 Metropolis International Conference and will be pursued by EXPO 2015.

The following part of this book is structured as follows. The next two sections of this chapter present the main topics dealt with during the plenary sessions and the workshop programme of the conference. The next chapter collects some of the interventions of the plenary sessions speakers, as provided by themselves upon request of the editor of this volume. A final chapter collects a series of papers that were awarded the Metropolis scholarship, a special prize addressed to young researchers from different nationalities dealing with migration issues.

3.2 The Plenary Sessions: Challenges and Ideas for Managing Global Migration

The 2014 edition of the Metropolis International Conference hosted eight plenary sessions with the aim of addressing some of the central aspects of the multifaceted phenomenon of international migration. To accomplish that challenging but highly stimulating objective, the plenary program was built around two central concepts, which were considered by the Advisory Board of the Conference as pivotal to disentangle and recognize the most pressing challenges posed by migration flows worldwide. The two driving concepts are those of governance and linkage.

Starting with the concept of *governance*, it has to be reminded how the lack of effective governance mechanisms to deal with migration movements at the global level has been fuelling a heated discussion among policy-makers, academics and practitioners. Such discussion, however, has so far failed to deliver a shared agreement on the main features that such global migration system should assume. In spite of that, shortcomings associated with unilateral responses on the part of Nation States to address migration phenomena, which are transnational in nature, have been widely recognized by all relevant actors. Furthermore, the inadequacy of national policies to manage international migration flows is likely to become even more apparent in the future due to the deepening of the globalization process and its interrelation with major phenomena unfolding on a global scale, such as climate change and socio-demographic trends in the Global South.

The issue of global migration governance was the specific object of one of the plenary sessions of the conference, titled “*Can Regional Trade Arrangements Create a Path to Global Migration Management?*”, which explored different paths and suggestions to bring about the most needed governance responses to international migration. While the creation of a World Migration Organization has so far been frustrated, not least due to the high sensitivity of migration issues and their strict association with the core of national sovereignty, contributions of the session explored if and to what extent lessons and practices developed in the context of regional trade agreements, such as the EU, ASEAN and MERCOSUR, could lay the foundations for renewed and hopefully more successful efforts in institution-building in the next future.

In this regard, the European Union has been always considered as a model of regional integration worldwide, including in the field of migration, due to the peculiarities that characterize its legal and institutional configuration and the far-reaching competences it has been delegated by its Member States. However, as stressed in the plenary “*What Comes after 2014? Migration Governance in the EU Post-Stockholm Program*” the EU construction in the field of migration faces great challenges due to high migratory pressure at its external borders and to long-term demographic trends that will see its active population drastically shrinking in the next decades. In addition to those exogenous challenges, the EU construction is currently in the process of revising its internal functioning: after having completed a difficult process of legal and institutional reform with the entry into force of the 2009 Treaty of Lisbon, 2014 has been the year for the EU to update its strategic priorities in the field of migration and home affairs.

A crucial test for the EU capacity to deliver effective answers to migration issues is currently unfolding in the Mediterranean region. The topic of trans-

Mediterranean migration was the focus of the plenary titled “***Forced Migration, Tensions and Conflict in the Mediterranean***”. Interventions of the session underlined the complex nature of migration flows in the Mediterranean, which are influenced by broad socio-political dynamics at play not only in the Middle East and North Africa, but also in the rest of the African Continent, especially in the sub-Saharan region. Besides an outlook of current trends in the Mediterranean region, speakers also addressed the governance dimension of Mediterranean migration. In particular, they outlined possible lines of actions to tackle issues in fields such as search and rescue and disembarkation, which could involve both governmental and non-governmental actors.

Shifting from the macro-regional to the national and local levels, specific problems related to migration governance emerge. One of the central issues that is currently addressed by public authorities, civil society organizations, businesses and individual entrepreneurs is how to attract high-skilled migrants that are needed to foster economic growth and how to fully value migrants’ abilities, knowledge, and competencies as a source of enrichment for both businesses and the common well-being. The plenary “***The Competitive Advantage of Diversity***” addressed precisely this topical issue, devoting particular attention to the concept of diversity management, which builds on the idea of strengthening economic competitiveness and social cohesion by favoring the expression of abilities, talents and potential of migrants.

A last central governance issue addressed in the plenary program is that of non-documented migrants. This category of migrants, which represents a consistent part of migrant population in many receiving societies, has been traditionally neglected by policy responses at the national level, which usually preclude access to rights to undocumented migrants and often also criminalize them as “illegal”. Against this backdrop, the plenary “***Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or not to Serve?***” underlined the tension existing between different level of governments on how to deal with this part of the migrant population. In particular, the plenary took into consideration the case of those many cities and local authorities that, inspired by the “Sanctuary Cities movement”, are making public services available to irregular migrants to protect their human rights in outright defiance of national law or at least of its spirit.

As mentioned before, the other main thread around which the plenary program has been built upon is that of *linkage*. Indeed, the study of migration is commonly recognized as a multi-disciplinary effort *par excellence*, which, at least at the academic level, has been fed by contributions and insights from a variety of disciplines, such as sociology, economics, anthropology, psychology, just to name a few of them. The need to think about migration

issues through an inter-disciplinary or “holistic” perspective, however, has started permeating in recent years also the strategies of international organizations and, albeit in a more gradual fashion, national governments. What is important to stress here is that the necessity to widen the understating of migration phenomena through a plurality of approaches works also the other way round: in other words, a good comprehension of migration phenomena can improve the understanding of problems in related areas and, from a policy-making perspective, is functional in elaborating adequate policy responses to the challenges they pose.

Coming to the topics addressed in the plenaries, one of the central narratives that have been developed by academics and the international community in past years is the link between migration and development. While a broad consensus has emerged among experts on the role of migration as an “enabler” of development, due to the role played by remittances and the sharing of human capital to the advantage of less developed countries, more controversial policies have been adopted in recent years, whose rationale is to use development policies in order to manage migration flows: tackling the root causes of migration, so the argument goes, allows reducing migratory pressure towards the most developed countries. Against this backdrop, the plenary “*Development through Migration*” reviewed the debate on the link between migration and development, also taking stock of progress made in international *fora*, such as the United Nations General Assembly, and the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD).

Another central migration “linkage” that has received much attention, and whose understanding is crucial to account for the ways in which migration is framed in public opinion debates, is the one between migration and the media. As vividly expressed by the title of the plenary “*Migration in the Media: a Tangled Love Affair?*”, media play a central role in shaping public perceptions of immigration, immigrants, and refugees. An often generic and unsubstantiated media portrayal of migration as a negative and damaging for receiving societies has also been held responsible for the spread of anti-immigrant or even xenophobic attitudes across Europe. However, media themselves are constantly evolving, bringing in different ways of framing news content and interacting with users. In light of that, the plenary shed light on how migration is framed in social media, asking in particular if social media are contributing to reinforce unsubstantiated negative views of migration and migrants or, alternatively, if they can act as correcting factor to those views by promoting a more plural and rich information on migration matters.

A less developed but surely topical issue is the relation between food and migration, which was addressed in the session “*Sustainable Linkages:*

Migration, Food and Culture". As pointed out above, this argument is made particularly relevant by the link with the theme of the 2015 Universal Exhibition in Milan, which will explore the role that food plays in contributing to the development and wellbeing of people around the globe. Panelists of this session thus took up the opportunity offered by EXPO 2015 to discuss the link that exists between food and migration. In particular, speakers pointed to the fact that, for people leaving their countries of origin, the link between food and migration is often straightforward: migration is a way to assure food availability for both themselves and their families remaining in countries of origin. But migration has an impact on food availability and production also in countries of destination: here, the plenary took into consideration aspects such as cultural industries and productive diversity, underlying the role of ethnic entrepreneurs and transnational businesses in meeting demand for homeland food in migrants' societies of destination, thus shaping consumption and production patterns worldwide.

In the following part of this section, the main arguments put forward by each of plenary speakers that took part in the 2014 International Metropolis Conference are presented. While in this introduction the plenaries were aggregated on the basis of the two macro areas of governance and linkage, the following more detailed presentation will stick to the order provided for by the official programme of the Conference. Moreover, the majority of the speakers that took part in the plenaries accepted to provide us with a written contribution resuming the main points touched in their interventions. Those contributions are collected in chapter 3 of this volume. We would like to thank the plenary speakers for this additional effort that was required from them as we are sure those contributions represent a further instrument for the reader to deepen her knowledge of the topics discussed during the plenary sessions.

Session 1. Forced Migration, Tensions and Conflict in the Mediterranean

The chair of the session, **Sandra Sarti** of the Italian Ministry of Interior, introduced the topic of the session by recalling the role played by the Mediterranean Sea along the centuries as a place of exchange of cultures and civilizations. Ms Sarti stressed that nowadays the Mediterranean Sea is the stage of the epochal phenomenon of migration. Afterwards, she pointed to some of the main changes occurred in migration flows in the last 10 years (2004-2014) due to evolving scenarios in countries of origin. Taking into consideration asylum applications lodged in the EU, only the share of people coming from Sub-Saharan countries has remained constant, while other major

sources of asylum seekers have changed: in 2004, for example, a large share of applicants came from ex-Yugoslavia countries, while today Syrians and people from North Africa represent major components due to political turmoil occurring in those areas.

Philippe Fargues of the Migration Policy Centre in Florence, provided a broad outlook of current migration trends in the Mediterranean. He stated that the Mediterranean border is currently the most dangerous in the world, even more than the Rio Grande and the border between Indonesia and Australia. He also highlighted how migration routes in the Mediterranean have changed continuously in the last decades due to conflicts in source countries but also as a consequence of border controls implemented by European countries. Today the most used route by migrants to cross the Mediterranean is the one from Libya to Italy, also due to the anarchy in which the North African country has fallen after the end of the dictatorship of colonel Gadhafi in 2012. Prof. Fargues also briefly presented an assessment of the Italian Navy-led Search and Rescue operation *Mare Nostrum*, which started in 2013 and was discontinued in November 2014. Prof. Fargues stated that available statistics neither allow to conclude that *Mare Nostrum* has reduced mortality at sea, despite the high number of people rescued in the context of the operation, nor to conclude that the operation has represented a pull factor for migrants, as migration movements in the Mediterranean are shaped by a complex set of factors, so that it is not possible to disentangle the specific impact determined by each of those factors.

Volker Türk, Director of International Protection at the UNHCR, began his presentation by providing a snapshot of data and trends on Mediterranean Sea movements. He stated that 2014 had been an extraordinary year with regard to the number of people that have risked their lives by attempting the dangerous journey across the Mediterranean. A significant majority of those people are fleeing persecution and conflict in their countries of origin, such as Syria or Eritrea. Mr Türk underlined how that phenomenon constitutes a serious protection issue and welcomed *Mare Nostrum*' contribution to Search and Rescue efforts in the Mediterranean. The crisis in the Mediterranean, however, should be seen in the context of the global displacement crisis currently unfolding: 51,2 million was the number of forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2013 according to the UNHCR. According to Mr Türk, in order to find an answer to this huge humanitarian crisis, it is necessary not only to step up search and rescue efforts in the Mediterranean, but also to develop comprehensive approaches addressing the drivers of dangerous sea movements—strengthening asylum systems in ‘transit’ states, providing alternative pathways to protection, and increasing cooperation to combat smuggling and trafficking. In this regard, Mr Türk illustrated the UNCHR-led Central Mediter-

anean Sea Initiative, a 12-point plan of practical measures that could be taken within the EU, in ‘transit’ countries and in countries of origin, with a view to avoiding further deaths at sea in the Mediterranean. Mr Türk concluded by underlining the role that the research community can play in strengthening the available evidence base on migration and flight by sea and in generating workable proposals for meeting the challenges associated with that phenomenon.

Laura Corrado, from the DG Migration and Home Affairs of the European Commission, described the main initiatives developed at the EU level to face migration and asylum in the Mediterranean and pointed to some possible future actions that could be taken to make the EU response more effective. First of all, Ms Corrado mentioned the establishment of the Task Force Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Lampedusa tragedy in October 2013. The Task Force identifies five lines of action around which the EU should focus its effort, namely: building partnerships with third countries, reinforcing Regional protection programs, tackling human smuggling, improving border surveillance, assisting Member States that face migratory crises, and solidarity among Member States. Ms Corrado stressed that full compliance with human rights is a priority for all initiatives developed at the EU level, and in particular the respect of the principle of *non-refoulement*, as testified by relevant provisions included in the 2014 Regulation on Frontex Sea operations. In spite of the actions already undertaken by the EU, Ms Corrado underlined how EU action should be strengthened in several areas: in particular, she stated that resettlement activities, still carried on only by a minority of Member States, should be increased and that the Commission is also considering the possibility to propose a coordinated EU approach to the issuing of humanitarian or asylum entry visas, an initiative that however requires the political will of Member States in order to be adopted.

Session 2. Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or not to Serve?

Howard Duncan, Executive Head, Metropolis Project, recalled how the Metropolis Conference had discussed the challenge of managing undocumented migration in the past, but that in 2014 it was decided to look at it from an altogether different angle: namely, to consider the position that local authorities face not only in having undocumented migrants living in their cities, but doing so in an environment of national legislation that can be not only hostile to these migrants but that is usually enforced only with lengthy delays if at all. The delays in national authorities deporting irregular migrants mean that they continue to live in municipalities and are the

responsibility of local authorities that must manage their cities and those who live there. Apart from any political or moral dimensions of these situations, the fact is that local authorities cannot ignore the presence of undocumented migrants. The question then is how best to address this issue for optimal outcomes for all.

Prof. Duncan underlined how some municipalities have adopted policies that defy national policy and law by offering health, educational, and social services to all residents regardless of their legal status in the country. Sometimes referred to as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” policies, these approaches to the presence of undocumented migrants are chosen for political or ethical reasons or on straightforward grounds of effective policy making, namely, that the effects of denying services to some residents will be worse than offering services to all. Then, Prof. Duncan referred to the Sanctuary City movement, which has grown considerably in the United States and Canada since the 1980s but particularly since 2000, as the number of undocumented migrants rose to the point that the issue could not be ignored. Indeed, the Sanctuary City movement is a reflection of this sometimes pragmatic, sometimes principled response to undocumented migration. In countries where the status of undocumented residents is further clouded by the potential for regularizations or amnesties, these situations are prolonged, deepening the challenges that local authorities face. This has been especially the case in the United States, where inaction on comprehensive immigration reform had become endemic and only recently has the Obama administration taken some limited action.

Sarah Spencer of COMPAS at the University of Oxford described the results of her EU-wide study of municipal responses to irregular migrants and found a mix of motivations including the pragmatic, the moral, and the humanitarian. Some of the issues of greatest concern for municipalities were humanitarian, child protection, homelessness, domestic violence, social cohesion, managing voluntary returns, and public health. Protecting public health, for example, requires treating all those with communicable diseases regardless of their status. Infectious disease does not discriminate on the basis of documentation. A German official interviewed during her study offered a principled view of health care: “We cannot live in a country which keeps very highly its value of the dignity of human beings and then have people who do not even have a birth certificate and who if they are ill cannot get treatment”. A Dutch official explained to her that: “The underlying reason why we are involved in these activities with irregular migrants is that we don’t want trouble, social disorder [...] For politicians in the city, though, the humanitarian reason for helping irregular migrants is most important”. And with regard to protecting children, a Dutch official emphasized: “Child

protection is another imperative. If there is a child protection issue, period. End of discussion. They must be helped”.

Spencer found rational self-interest among the motivations for including undocumented residents in their service provision. As she explained with regard to education: “[...] they do not want these young people to become drop-outs. The reality is that most of them will stay, so it is better they are trained so they can get a job [...] For the municipalities it is better that they go to school”. On sex workers: “The objective of clearing the streets to make them suitable for all residents and to make the city attractive for tourism is still part of the reasoning [for services to sex workers]”. And with regard to overall social cohesion, a Spanish official said: “We are very, very worried about their integration. We do not want them hidden in ghettos, without connection with the majority society because that ends up in divisions, the end of cohesion, and poverty”. Because municipalities are expected to conform to national law, offering services to those who are present illegally must be handled quietly, and in some jurisdictions, having non-governmental organizations do the work has been expedient. Again, a Dutch official stated: “NGOs are so helpful, enabling us to provide services in grey areas where not too many people are aware of it. If it is not too visible it is OK”. Spencer concluded with the hope that European cities can mutually support each other by sharing experiences and solutions to problems that are common to so many of them.

Eva A. Millona, Executive Director of the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition, offered a view of the United States from the point of view of the state of Massachusetts and the cities of Boston, Cambridge, and Chelsea. She opened by strongly questioning the appropriateness of the term “Sanctuary City” in the US context, arguing that many cities by that name cannot and do not in fact offer sanctuary from federal law enforcement agencies. But at the same time, she tempered this view by acknowledging that: “when cities and states act to advance policies that avoid unnecessary inquiries into immigration status and promote integration, their residents can benefit through improved outcomes in public health, public safety, educational attainment, and economic prosperity”. The nature of the US as a federal republic with strong powers held by the individual states is highly significant in understanding the situation in that country. Their Constitution supports the doctrine of “anti-commandeering” in which the national governments is prevented from requiring state and local government to enforce federal law. This is especially relevant in terms of immigration policies and who has the responsibility and/or the authority to enforce them”.

The federal government has passed legislation limiting the autonomy of individual states, some of whom have responded with their own legislation protecting their autonomy in these regards. For instance, many states offer drivers' licenses to undocumented residents, offer education and other social services to them. Cities that designate themselves as Sanctuary Cities cannot, in fact, prevent federal officials from enforcing immigration law; but they can and do provide an inclusive and welcoming environment for all its residents to thrive and feel safe.

Maurizio Ambrosini of the ISMU Foundation and the University of Milan noted that, in Italy, municipalities have three choices with regard to the treatment of undocumented migrants: local governments can follow the restrictionist turn, tolerate the activities of NGOs, or cooperate with them in providing social support also for irregular immigrants. He contextualized his discussion by noting the increasingly hostile environment towards immigration of any sort, let alone undocumented flows, a public sentiment in part driven by the large number of irregular boat arrivals on the Italian territory including the islands in the Mediterranean. These attitudes have fed the success of political parties opposed to immigration and given widespread support to policies restricting the flow of immigrants to Italy. Despite the strong rhetoric, actual practice has been rather more lenient and has included a number of regularizations in Italy and elsewhere in Europe. Prof. Ambrosini argued that irregularity is, in fact, a changeable status in Italy, and many migrants live in the shadows until the next regularization takes place. As had been also noted by Ms Spencer, Prof. Ambrosini explained that for many local authorities, it was prudent to provide services to undocumented residents through NGOs. Local authorities could either ask NGOs to do this work or simply turn a blind eye. Some NGOs help irregular migrants by supporting them during regularization procedures, offering health care, Italian language courses, serving them meals, and helping them find jobs, such as those in the home care sector. Interestingly, in the context of Italy, serving the undocumented enhances the role of civil society actors, which step in to offer social services and to protect human rights.

Session 3. Can Regional Trade Arrangements Create a Path to Global Migration Management?

This panel was introduced by a keynote speech of Ambassador **William L. Swing**, Director General of the International Organization for Migration. Ambassador Swing started by saying that we are living in an era of unprecedented human disasters, not only humanitarian crises unfolding due to

conflicts and wars, such as the one in Syria, but also due to other factors, such as epidemics (e.g. the spread of Ebola in West Africa) and climate change. Ambassador Swing added that migration, and particularly forced migration, is one of the major outcomes of those large-scale disasters. According to Ambassador Swing, in order to address the issue of forced migration, governance responses at a regional and even global level are required. However, past experiences show that such responses cannot be imposed on Nation States, due to still high sovereignty concerns associated with migration issues. On the contrary, global migration governance should be built bottom-up starting from already established initiatives, such as the Global Forum for Migration and Development and several other regional dialogues, and should try to involve as many actors as possible, including NGOs and local actors. Ambassador Swing concluded by saying that international migration is not only inevitable due to demographic trends and humanitarian crises currently unfolding, but also necessary, in order to assure sustained economic development and highly desirable, if accompanied by adequate policy responses.

After the keynote intervention by Ambassador Swing, Ms ***Elizabeth Collett***, Chair of the session and Director of the Migration Policy Institute Europe, underlined how not only a “WTO of people” is far from being created, but also the issue of free movement, one of the main achievements of EU integration, is becoming highly contentious. She pointed in particular to the UK, where a harsh debate is taking place on the costs and benefits of free movement. She then shifted to consider the nature of regional trade agreements such as NAFTA and ASEAN and the role they could play in fostering increased workers’ mobility. In particular, she outlined three possible arguments for discussion: first of all, the symbolism associated to those agreements, which express trust not only for contracting States but also for workers that benefit from them to be treated in a fair and equal manner. Second, she invited the audience to reflect on the limitations of those agreements in terms of labour mobility, as they have so far generally focused only on temporary and high-skilled workers. Third, she pointed to the long-term evolution of regional trade agreements, asking if they should be considered as a step towards deeper forms of cooperation, also including increased possibilities for labour mobility, or if they should be considered as an end in themselves, thus putting aside any ambitious extension of their scope.

Sergio Alcocer, Under Secretary for North America at the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs, provided a description of the main features of the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Assessing the achievements of NAFTA from its signing in 1994 to nowadays, Mr Alcocer stated that

NAFTA has to be considered without doubts as a success story in terms of increased trade volumes and economic interdependence among contracting parties. However, Mr Alcocer recognized a missing point in the NAFTA framework, which is labour mobility. While the three contracting parties (US, Canada and Mexico) have established some bilateral mechanisms for managing circular migration among them, what is lacking is a comprehensive and modern regime for labour mobility. Mr Alcocer concluded by stating that, while including a comprehensive framework for labour mobility in NAFTA is surely a challenging step, it is nevertheless required by both demographic and labour market dynamics, which will further increase interdependence among the economies of NAFTA members.

The last intervention was provided by **Giovanni Capannelli** of the Asian Development Bank Institute in Tokyo. Focus of his intervention was the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), founded in 1967 and now including ten countries. Mr Capannelli started by drawing the attention to the relevance of the bloc in both demographic and economic terms: currently, ASEAN countries include a population of 620 million people, represent 7% of total world export, and are registering an average annual GDP growth of 6%. While underlying positive results achieved in the context of ASEAN, Mr Capannelli also pointed to the great imbalances that exists between the bloc's members, as it includes economies as diverse as those of Myanmar and Brunei. Shifting to the issue of labour movement, Mr Capannelli pointed out that the ASEAN agreement only includes limited provisions to regulate temporary movement of skilled workers. Moreover, some agreements between the bloc and third countries have been signed that deal with mutual recognition of requirements to exercise a circumscribed list of professions. Mr Capannelli concluded by stating that there is ample room for manoeuvre to harmonize labour market regulations in ASEAN countries, support migrants workers through assistance programs, and fostering well managed migration, for example through students' exchange programs.

Session 4. The Competitive Advantage of Diversity

Walter Kindermann of the Land of Hessen in Germany introduced the session. Mr Kindermann highlighted the contradictory way in which migration is perceived in today's European societies. On the one hand, a large majority of people recognize the positive role that past migration movements played in shaping the contemporary world: migrants who left Europe to Americas or Australia in the last centuries, for example, are depicted as pioneers and associated with an imagination of heroism. This "mythical"

image of migration is in stark contrast with the negative perceptions associated with contemporary migration in our societies. According to Mr Kindermann, it is of paramount importance that all those that have responsibilities in the field, including public authorities, NGOs and the research community, work hard in order to dissipate unjustified fears about migration, proposing alternative narratives about the role of migrants in our societies based on reliable and well-documented evidence.

Laura Zanfrini, Professor of Sociology of Labour at the Catholic University of Milan and Senior Researcher at the ISMU Foundation, presented the rationale and main findings of the EU-funded project DIVERSE, which she is coordinating as Director of the WWELL Research Centre of the Catholic University of Milan. Prof. Zanfrini identified the starting point of the project in the “unresolved paradox” that still characterizes the European labour migration model. Under this model, migrants are conceived as temporary or guest workers, while at the same time they are provided with a series of rights, without however fully integrating them in the community of citizens. According to Prof. Zanfrini, this logic is no longer sustainable not only because of its negative effects on social cohesion, but also because it precludes the opportunity to take advantage of migrants’ contribution to the long-term economic, social and institutional development of the European society. As an alternative to the out-dated logic at the basis of the guest worker model, Prof. Zanfrini proposed an overall “rejuvenation” of the European integration model, which understands migrants as active players in the process of construction not only of their life projects but also of an integrated society.

Ratna Omidvar, Executive Director of the Global Diversity and Migration Exchange, introduced her intervention by pointing to the fact that when we speak of migrants’ diversity we are dealing with just one kind of diversity. Instead, diversity is a multifaceted concept that is made of several layers: class, economic status, tribal affiliations, religion. Diversity is magnified in large urban centers such as New York, Toronto, and Berlin, so that the academic world has coined the term of hyper diversity or super-diversity to describe the reality of those macro urban aggregations. Building on this premise, Ms Omidvar dealt with the role that diversity can play in fostering economic growth and well-being. She referred to several studies that have pointed to the advantages of diversity for businesses in terms of better economic performances and she also outlined some good practices in recruitment from both the public and private sector. Those practices aim at granting equal opportunities to workers that could otherwise be discriminated due to their “diverse” background. Ms Omidvar concluded by pointing to the

urgency of having a serious discussion about new policies and governance arrangements to deal with the challenges of super-diversity in our cities.

Khalid Koser, Executive Director of the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund (GCERF) and Associate Fellow at GCSP, pointed to the challenges that governments worldwide are facing in relation to migration, due to a confidence crisis from the side of the public regarding the effectiveness of policy responses, which is often exacerbated by an aggressive and misinformed media agenda. The same confidence crisis also affects the business sector: there is currently a lack of trust in the capacity of businesses to manage migration in a way that is able to deliver benefits to the society as a whole. Despite this diffused mistrust among the public, there is now ample evidence that diversity generated by migration brings about entrepreneurship, employment and open new markets. In order to fully reap the benefits of diversity, however, it is crucial to assure the proactive engagement of the business community. According to Mr Koser, this is because businesses have a general interest for more open and expansive migration policies and have the resources and advocacy weight to support these policies vis-à-vis the governments. Mr Koser concluded his intervention by stressing the importance of building confidence among businesses on the role they can play in fostering a well-managed labour migration, also through existing forums such as the Global Forum for Migration and Development, relevant international organizations and stakeholders involved in the field.

Session 5. Sustainable Linkages: Migration, Food and Culture

Jan Rath, chair of the session, introduced the topic by pointing to the many interconnections that exist between food and migration. First of all, he recalled the high number of migrants that take up jobs in food production-related sectors, pointing to the case of Italy, where many migrants are employed in the agricultural sector. Secondly, he underlined the role of food as a marker of identity: pointing to the case of the Indonesian community in the Netherlands, he stressed how homeland food continues to be one of the central elements that shapes belonging and identification of that community with their home country traditions and culture. Besides, Prof. Rath stressed how food could also be a bridge between different cultures: to that regard, he recalled how ethnic restaurants are often the first point of contact between cultures and a privileged venue of exchange.

Koko Warner of the United Nations University focused her intervention on the impact of climate change on migration. First of all, she introduced the broad debate about climate change, referring to the case of the United States,

where public opinion is still dealing with the question if climate change is a real thing or not. In spite of different opinions on the real impact of climate change, Ms Warner presented the results of a recent research which concludes that climate change poses a severe threat to future sustainable development worldwide. She then concentrated on the link between climate change and migration. Basing her arguments on case studies from different regions, she underlined how climate stressors, namely the impacts of climate change on food and job availability, affect whether and when people decide to move. In this respect, she underlined how many households choose migration as a risk management strategy to ensure themselves against the predicted effects of climate change. However, not all householders use migration in the same way: resilient households migrate according to patterns that reduce climate sensitivity, while more vulnerable households do so in a way that is erosive and heightens susceptibility to a range of ills, including human rights violations. She concluded by stating that efforts should be targeted at providing people with the possibility to choose, whether to migrate or not, as forced migration produces important negative effects not only at the individual but also at the collective level.

Jonathan Crush of the Wilfrid Laurier University in Canada presented his main research interest as the attempt to bridge the gap between two different research agendas: the agenda that explores the link between migration, and development and the global food security agenda. Regarding the issue of food security, he stressed how current efforts developed in global *fora* have mainly focused on one central objective, which is the eradication of extreme hunger. That objective is based on the central tenet that under-nutrition is concentrated in rural areas in the Global south and that fostering an increase in agricultural production by small farmers in those rural areas is the best strategy to eradicate hunger and to meet the UN Global Development Goals. At the same time, Prof. Crush underlined how that agenda is missing one central trend that characterizes migration patterns in the Global South, which is a rapid and inexorable increase in the process of urbanization, especially in so-called mega cities, which are defined as a metropolitan areas with a total population in excess of ten million people. Prof. Crush illustrated the huge problems associated with food insecurity in those large urban areas and concluded that a fundamental challenge for the future will be to assure that the hundreds millions of people living in those areas can have proper access to food.

Ching Lin Pang of the University of Leuven presented the results of her research on coffee production and consumption in China, a topic that is still in its infancy due to the relative recent emergence of this phenomenon: in fact, while the introduction of coffee in China dates back to 1990s, it has not been since 1989 that Coffee production started in the country. Then, Ms Ching Lin

Pang moved on to describe the main patterns of coffee production in China, which are concentrated in the Yunnan province in the South of the country, also providing a detailed description of the main actors involved in the global Coffee Chain in China. Ms Ching Lin Pang also outlined the impact of increase in coffee production on the migration-development nexus. In particular, she explained how coffee production increases the income of farmers, who are mostly of minority background, so that they not need to migrate to other provinces to earn money.

Ezra Rosser of the American University focused on the link between migrants' remittances and food security. He provided data on the relation between remittances and food security, underlying how the large part of money sent through remittances goes to food and basic consumptions. He also underlined the result of a research that showed how remittances recipient families in three countries – Guatemala, El Salvador and Jamaica – can afford to regularly purchase basic goods such as food and milk, while this is not the case for those families that do not receive remittances. Prof. Rosser also analyzed the effect of the Global recession in 2009-10 on remittances flows. He explained how global remittance flows suffered in the most acute phase of recession but that started to stabilize in 2011. Prof. Rosser concluded by raising attention on the cost of sending remittances (e.g. the average global cost of sending remittances is about 8% of the total amount sent) and pointed to some recent projects involving different cities around the world aimed at reducing the costs of sending remittances.

Session 6. What comes after 2014? Migration Governance in the EU Post-Stockholm Programme

Alberto Martinelli, Chair of the session, introduced the topic by outlining the context in which migration to the EU takes place (economic crisis, political conflict, demographic changes) and criticised the fact that migration policy is not yet a single EU policy. He then introduced the questions to be discussed in the panel: a stock-taking of common migration-related policies in the EU since the 1999 Tampere meeting of the European Council and in the light of the 2009-2014 Stockholm Programme provisions. He asked specifically whether the Stockholm Program has been actually relevant; what do the discussions behind its implementation tell about the new institutional dynamics affecting the areas of Freedom, Security and Justice, and of Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities; whether the EU needs a new post-Stockholm multiannual programme for the period 2015-2020 and if such a programme would be enough to meet the migration challenge or,

alternatively, if migration-related policies should be decided at the supranational level. Prof. Martinelli further asked what role should the European Parliament play in this policy area and which are the relations between EU institutions and Member states' governments in implementing migration-related policies. He argued that at a time when European demographic trends and labour market shortages foster the demand for immigrant workers (although in an uneven way in the various EU regions) the social integration of immigrants is a key aspect of the EU strategy of change. Furthermore, he pointed out that while nationalist-populist parties get a growing consensus in many EU Member states and questions related to migration become more sensitive and politically controversial, there is a growing need to carefully assess and effectively communicate the benefits and costs of immigration and how they are distributed among Member states.

Yves Pascouau of the European Policy Centre in Brussels analysed the Strategic guidelines on the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice adopted by the European Council in June 2014. Aimed at defining the orientations and actions to address the future of EU immigration and asylum policies, the results achieved, according to him, are not at the level expected. Mr Pascouau analysed the process leading to the adoption of the strategic guidelines by the European Council that has taken place in an outstandingly complex situation where different and sometimes conflicting parameters, past and future, have played a role. He criticized the guidelines for bad timing and weak consultation, as well as for providing little guidance for government policies, for not being forward-looking and for not addressing several issues related to migration, like demographic changes, scarcity of natural resources, climate change, political radicalism and extremism, digital technologies. Pascouau argued that the future implementation of the Strategic guidelines should understand the main challenges that the EU should face in the next ten to twenty years; identify the key policy objectives (mobility to and within the EU and protection of people inside and outside the EU); connect the various policy fields related to migration; organize the institutional coherence of the EU governance. He concluded that the rules are good, but policies are weak, and remarked that the recently appointed Commission is more knowledgeable and interested in migration issues

Kristof Tamas, Director of The Migration Studies Delegation – Delmi in Stockholm, argued for a renewed European labour migration policy based on true partnerships. He summarised the EU multiannual programmes in this area from the 1999 Tampere Conclusions to the 2004 Hague Programme, to the 2009 'Stockholm Programme, to the 2014 European Council Strategic guidelines for legislative and operational planning for the next five years within the area of Freedom, Security and Justice. According to Mr Tamas,

despite many years of cooperation in this area, a number of fundamental questions remain for the next phase, as there is a mismatch between the demand and supply side of migration. Two questions, in particular, need then to be answered: 1) How can the European Union design a more viable European migration policy, taking into account both internal challenges, and relations with non-EU countries? 2) How can the EU further consolidate a global approach to migration and strengthen trust in the dialogue and cooperation with partner countries? In reviewing this area of cooperation, Tamas' conclusion is that future European migration policy needs to build on long-term, solid partnerships with non-EU member states based on a 'more for more principle'. More strategic collaboration will be necessary to facilitate labour migration at the adequate skills levels, and with the intended mutual gains for the concerned stakeholders. As legislation on the EU level has turned out to be a 'slow track' for change, there is a need now to focus on consolidation and implementation as well as improved coordination and exchange of good practices, with the aim of the EU speaking with a single voice on migration issues.

Andrew Geddes, Professor of Politics at the University of Sheffield and principal investigator for the ERC Project for International migration governance, focused his intervention on two main topics: the drivers of migration policy and politics and the political context of Europe. Regarding the first point, he stressed political instability and demographic changes, the link between migration and climate change and problems of urbanization as central issues to be dealt by policy-makers, which however are hardly mentioned in the EU Strategic Guidelines. Besides, he pointed out that lack of trust and satisfaction for integration policies currently implemented in European countries are key worries for the sustainability of migration flows in those countries. With regard to the current political context in Europe, Prof. Geddes stated that such environment is less favourable to invest in effective and comprehensive migration and integration policies precisely at the time when those policies are most urgently needed.

Session 7. Development through Migration

The panel was opened by Secretary **Imelda Nicolas**, Chairperson of the Commission on Filipinos Overseas. Ms Nicolas began by summarizing the debate on the link between migration and development unfolded in the past decade, stressing the need for innovative policy approaches and institutional cohesion in order to assure that migration is a triple-win: for countries of origins, for countries of destination and for the migrants themselves. Later on,

Secretary Nicolas presented some of the major initiatives launched by the Philippine government in order to take advantage of the migration development link, in particular the mainstreaming of several migration priorities in the country National plan for development. Secretary Nicolas concluded by stating that migration cannot be managed unilaterally from above but that efforts should be made to empower local governments and local actors in mainstreaming migration in their policies and that the Philippine government is making efforts to achieve that aim.

Liu Yanguo, Deputy Secretary-General of the China Association of International Exchange of Professionals, introduced his presentation by affirming that, while China is traditionally not a country of immigration, the process of economic development it has experienced in the past decades has had the effect of making China increasingly a country of destination for migrants. Mr Yanguo then shifted the attention on two categories of migrants that are at the centre of the Chinese government's policies, due to their importance for the economic and scientific development of the country. The first category is represented by Chinese overseas students, which were 400.000 in 2013. Mr Yanguo described the initiatives launched by the Chinese government to incentivize former foreign students that work abroad to help in supporting China's development through consultancy and other activities. He also pointed to a significant trend recorded in recent years, namely the increase in the number of Chinese students that decide to return to China after having studied abroad. Mr Yanguo stressed how the majority of overseas students came to hold key positions in education, technologies and business once returned in China.

The second category of migrants taken into consideration by Mr Yanguo's intervention is that of foreign experts. He recalled how the Chinese government started an active policy of recruitment of highly qualified foreign workforce starting from the 80s, which has been stepped up in recent years. Mr Yanguo concluded by presenting some suggestions in order to improve the governance of highly skilled workers on a global level. According to his proposal, priority should be given to policy dialogues between country of origins and destination and to exchange of information directed both to potential migrants and among States to increase trust and predictability.

Hein De Haas of the International Migration Institute at Oxford University introduced his presentation by expressing his scepticism about the triple win formula that is at the center of both theoretical and policy arguments on the link between migration and development. In his view, this narrative lays its roots in the neo-liberal paradigm, which sees non-intervention by governments in migrants' freedom of movements as a sufficient condition for bringing about development. Then, Prof. De Haas

moved on to question some of the recurrent assumptions about migration and development. First of all, while it is undoubted that migrants and their families generally benefit from migration, the idea that international migration is a strong driver to reduce global poverty is a far less solid statement: in fact, most international migrants come from middle income countries, such as Mexico and the Philippines, while people from low income countries are largely excluded from migration movement due to lack of resources. According to Prof. De Haas, also within single countries, it is possible to distinguish between “migrants have” and “migrants have not”, that is between those who have the resources to undertake the relatively costly enterprise of migration and those who lack such resources.

Prof. De Haas then came to consider the policy implications of the previously described scenario. Regarding destination countries, restrictive policies implemented in past decades have reinforced the exclusionary dynamics towards the poorest, as those who lack economic resources are often precluded from circumventing strict access requirements imposed by the majority of developed countries. Regarding countries of origin, Prof. De Haas stated that remittances flows cannot suffice in bringing about development if they are not accompanied by far-reaching policies that improve basic access to policies and create a friendly business environment. Against the main assumption of the neo-liberal paradigm, Prof. De Haas concluded by stressing the role that governments hold in creating the conditions for development.

Session 8. Migration in the Media: a Tangled Love Affair?

The last plenary session of the 2014 Metropolis International Conference was chaired by **Jon Simmons**, Head of Migration and Research at the Home Office in the UK. Mr Simmons introduced the panel by pointing to a recent episode occurred in the UK press that testifies of the dysfunctional relation between the media and the press in that country. The episode was about a Report on the fiscal Impact of migration on British welfare state published by a research institute. While the report was covered broadly by UK newspapers, Mr Simmons stressed how headlines differed widely between conservative and liberal journals, and how data extrapolated from the report were selectively used to emphasise the costs or benefits of migration for British taxpayers according to each newspapers’ position on the political spectrum. According to Mr Simmons, this episode reflects a media coverage of migration which provides readers with a lot of noise but little light. This lack of reliable information in turns feeds a vicious circle of distrust between the public, the media and the government.

Rob McNeil of the Migration Observatory at Oxford University began his presentation by asking three main questions: a) what does “truth” mean in a media story about migration? b) what does media coverage about migration in the UK actually look like and c) what motivates media organisations to report about migration in particular ways? In order to answer those questions, Mr McNeil provided examples of coverage by UK newspapers of migrants stuck in the French port of Calais and trying to access the UK in spite of border controls enforced by UK authorities. Mr McNeil underlined how the narrative provided by the majority of UK newspapers was to portray those migrants as “people lured by the soft touch of the UK welfare state”. Mr McNeil underlined the lack of objectivity of that narrative, recalling how other EU Member States received the majority of asylum applications in 2013 and pointing to the specific circumstances of Calais, which acts a “bottleneck” and then cannot be taken as a general picture of migration to the UK. Afterwards, Mr McNeil presented the results of an extensive research conducted by the Oxford Migration Observatory on migration coverage in the UK newspapers: the results of the research show how the main narrative on migration developed by the UK newspapers is that of illegality. Asking why this is the case, Mr McNeil pointed to the business logic that dominates the UK media industry: in this scenario, news is treated as a commodity that is produced to meet demand of a segmented market. This situation implies that newspaper editors just give to the public what the public wants: a strong anti-immigration coverage in the case of conservative newspaper and a pro-migration coverage in the case of liberal newspaper. Mr McNeil concluded by stating that just pointing the finger to the press does not work. On the contrary, he stated that to reach media with your messages you need to consider the commercial motivations of the outlets you are dealing with, and develop content that speaks to their audience.

Kaarina Nikunen of the University of Tampere underlined in her presentation the challenges and opportunities of the changing media environment we are living in. To understand the dynamics of such environment we have to ask the following main question: how do media engage us as political subjects? To answer that question, it is important to distinguish between traditional media and new media. Traditional media are usually weak in addressing us as political subjects. They present facts in a quite fragmented way and without linking major global events to local circumstance, then asking: “what I can do about that”? In this respect, new media have introduced a change in the way they address the political subjectivity of users: for example, they have provided new avenues of participation for activists, migrants, NGOs providing them powerful channels to circulate information about their stories and activities. At the same time,

Prof. Nikunen pointed out how the “post-deferential era” opened by the advent of the new media has also given a voice to hate speech and anti-immigrants movements, which have been able to increase their membership thanks to social media. The broad picture that emerges from the analysis of new media and migration is that of a landscape characterized by fragmentation, circulation of rumors and widespread mistrust. Prof. Nikunen concluded by stressing the need for a “responsible host” to organize media content in a way that allows organizing the co-presence of multiple voices in a shared space of responsibility. Given the business nature of large part of current media environment in several countries, however, Prof Nikunen suggested that the role of responsible host should be assumed by the public or by non-profit foundations.

Paolo Lambruschi of the Italian newspaper “Avvenire” focused his intervention on the relation between media and migration in Italy. He pointed to a recent survey, the so-called “Ignorance Index”, which revealed some huge misperceptions of Italian public opinion about migration. He then provided an overview of the last decade of migration debate in Italian media, underlying the strong anti-immigration campaigns that have been carried on by several media sources, especially television broadcasters. While ten years ago the main target of anti-immigrants campaigns was the alleged high crime rate among migrants, in 2014 asylum seekers have become the new target. Asylum seekers are depicted as “invaders” and often associated with a narrative of irregularity as reflected in the word “clandestino” or stowaway, Mr. Lambruschi described the word “clandestino” as a sheer non-sense, arguing that EU countries have not foreseen viable entry channels for people without a visa, being them asylum seekers or people escaping from wars, prosecution or hunger. Another central weakness of the Italian media coverage of migration underlined by Mr Lambruschi is the lack of coverage of stories about migration, which are central to inform the reader and raise awareness on the harshness encountered by migrants fleeing persecution and war. He pointed to the case of human smuggling in the Sinai region, a topic he had dealt with in some of his articles in 2011: through interviews with some witnesses, he was able to shed light on the kidnapping of thousands Eritreans and Sudanese by Bedouin gangs, who were tortured, beaten and raped to force their families to pay high ransoms. Mr Lambruschi concluded by stating that the duty of a good journalist is to collect as many stories as possible as the one described above and to tell them with honesty to the readers.

3.3 The Workshops Program: Trends and Emerging Issues in Migration Studies

While high profile speakers dealt with the most salient migration issues at the international level during the eight plenary sessions, the workshops program proposed insights into more specific topics. With more than 600 participants, representing about 50 countries, sitting in one or more of the 81 selected workshops that took place this year, dedicating a section of this book to workshops is more than summarizing the international Metropolis Conference³. It is sounding out the state of affairs of migration issues worldwide. It is taking the temperature of current problems and starting to find solutions. In a nutshell, it is giving the Metropolis Project its true importance: mirroring ground reality and its challenges.

As an international conference featuring so many different thematic and geographic perspectives, the themes dealt with in the Workshop program are extremely numerous and varied. Some of those focused on the representation of migrants and migration in the media or in party politics, some others concentrated on identity change and permanence, resilience and integration processes, some were otherwise focused on target groups such as unaccompanied minors, women or ethnic or religious groups. But out of the 81 workshops, four themes were somewhat recurrent. Some figures are here in order to highlight the most treated topics during the last year's conference⁴: about 21% of the workshops brought into focus labour-market-related topics; about 18% looked into integration policies broadly conceived; a bit farther behind, 8% of them regarded migration governance; and a tad more than 6% delved into asylum and international protection.

Labour-market-oriented workshops not only treated migrants' labour market integration but also migrations of skilled workers for whom states are competing. Debate on integration policies had an ample scope, encompassing local level policies, healthcare or education policies, and citizenship rules. Workshops on governance dealt with the multiplicity of actors involved at

³ A full list of the workshops that were held in the four days of the 2014 Metropolis International Conference – along with content, participants, and related PowerPoint presentations - is available at the following link: <http://www.ismu.org/2014/10/conferenza-internazionale-metropolis-2014/>.

⁴ The figures reported here stem from the list of selected and actually held workshops and the key-word they proposed to describe them. Please note that the categories labor market and integration policies are exclusive: labor market integration policies were not counted twice but only as labor-market-related workshops. Please also note that workshops on integration policies may sometimes include under their umbrella asylum seekers. The fourth category therefore counts the workshops only addressing asylum-related ones.

different levels in the design of migration and integration policies. Finally, workshops on international protection reviewed both forced migrations and ensuing protection policies. This year's conference is thus decidedly imbued with a policy focus rather than with a focus on migration/integration processes. These four themes will be examined in turn.

3.3.1 A focus on the labour markets-migration nexus

There are many ways to approach the linkage between migration and the labour market. Two, mostly, were represented at the conference. The first one regards labour market integration: i.e. the process whereby migrants are led to occupy professional positions and how much such positions corresponds to their skills, expectations and potential in spite of potential barriers such as language, discrimination, etc. Another one is to look at migration with another lens, namely as a way to fill labour shortages in receiving societies, that is favouring high-skilled migration.

Let us begin with the first aspect. Integration into the labour market is a fundamental step towards full-fledged integration. That is not to say that labour is more important than other aspects of integration (cultural, linguistic, religious, civic or legal) but that it often plays the role of enabler, a point from which other integration aspects may stem. Moreover, employment is regarded as the best way to foster integration in other domains as it avoids poverty. That is, poor economic conditions may lead to concentration in poor housing areas and further isolation from work and education opportunities, to poor health and problems of disaffection. This conference's workshops treated the topic from different angles with a leaning towards gender issues. Minorities and diversity at work to be considered as a resource or as an economic advantage were also fairly represented.

As for the second aspect, that of high-skilled migration, it looked at migration as a competition for talents in ever more competitive economies. It highlighted the regulatory race some countries are engaged in to attract talented migrants and the administrative and legal obstacles companies may face in recruiting foreign skills due to restrictive policies implemented by states. In a similar manner, attention was paid to how international trade agreements could favour the circulation of skilled workers.

3.3.2 Integration as a policy focus

Beyond mere labour market integration and related policies, integration policies broadly understood was the second most treated theme in the

Conference's workshops. To be more specific, one of the most represented topics when talking of integration policies related to local integration policies. If the challenges migrants face in their integration process call for responses on the part of public authorities, these responses may come from different levels of policy-making: national, regional and/or local authorities. However, these challenges are mostly felt at local level since practical difficulties are first encountered there and local institutions are migrants' first interlocutors. Indeed, it is at the local level that migrants find housing, employment, education, and other basic services. For such reasons, local policies draw much of the attention at the academic and policy-making levels, be it with respect to practices to be replicated elsewhere or to proposals to better existing policies.

Great attention was also paid to healthcare and welfare systems with respect to care provision at city level and to migrants' legal entitlements to that regard. Health is indeed a fundamental aspect of integration and also a pre-condition for migrants' successful participation in the labour market. But migrants may have difficulties to enjoy their right to healthcare, and that for several reasons. Language barriers, communication problems, socio-cultural factors, or cultural factors may hamper proper medical treatment. Intercultural policies are therefore of the utmost importance and thus concentrate a lot of scholarly attention.

A similar statement also holds true for education. Indeed, education too is a fundamental stepping-stone towards integration, not only for children, but also for adults. For children, education is a way to ensure they enjoy better opportunities, closer, if not equal, to those enjoyed by natives. For adults, it is a way to enhance, recognize or validate their skills in the receiving society. However, education is likely to be hindered by lack of language fluency and recognition of qualifications. Language learning is a necessary step towards integration: for children, so they can make the most of their education opportunities; for adults, so they can improve their job position and maximize their human capital.

Finally, a great deal of workshops approached citizenship and political rights. Political participation, naturalization, voting rights to name but a few issues, were treated in a comparative manner across Europe. Another trendy point of citizenship was that related to the fulfilment of citizenship requirements; that is, what requirements a foreigner has to fulfil in order to be accepted as a citizen in her/his receiving society. Such requirements may perform different roles according to the way they are framed and implemented: they may promote effective integration in some instances, but they may also be used as deterrence to immigration in others.

3.3.3 Governance processes: the role of macro-actors

Governance of immigration and integration has increasingly drawn scholarly attention in the last years. It was thus rightly addressed in the Metropolis 2014 Workshops program. This attention is in part due to the increasing role the European Union plays in immigration issues, and in part to the relevance of international trade negotiations and regional agreements that aim at governing and organizing movements of persons.

The fact that the conference took place in the old continent was certainly not without impact on the treatment of governance. Most of the workshops dealing with it had a strong leaning towards multilevel governance and the role of the EU in immigration policies. To put it in general terms, the EU is a *sui generis* international organization, vested with extended powers that touch upon a wide range of competences. Its competence on immigration, often seen as a corollary to the creation of a single market, is growing wider and deeper: it concerns more and more countries (from the EU 15 to the EU 28); and more and more issues (from the introduction of a common visa policy to the integration of migrants). These workshops insisted in particular on the latter aspect, exploring the nature and scope of EU competence as to integration matters.

In a different manner, governance issues has been treated in the context of international, regional or bilateral agreements, programs or policies regulating movements of persons. International labour migration and ensuing political negotiations has thus been expounded in different contexts such as Africa, Russia, Eurasia, Gulf states, the US, and South America. These workshops looked into workers' rights guarantees, renewed migration routes and destinations against a backdrop of increasing international tensions and forced migrations.

3.3.4 International protection still at the forefront

The upheavals unfolded in the 2010s in North Africa and the Middle East, the "Arab Spring", "Jasmine Revolution" or civil war in Syria, have once again put the Geneva Convention and the ideals it conveys into discussion. Bearing witness of a regained attention to asylum and other international protection statuses, the Metropolis conference featured a number of workshops dedicated to forced migrations, international protection legal frameworks, and life conditions of asylum seekers in their flights. Comparative analysis and case studies are much into fashion in this respect. Comparative studies workshops aimed at illustrating differences encountered as to legal frameworks (most

often) in protection matters and actual implementation (rarer) of asylum and protection policies. Differently, case studies approached the reception conditions of protection seekers fleeing the enduring war in Syria and landing in neighbouring countries such as Lebanon and Jordan, in Europe or resettled in other Western countries (such as North America and Oceania).

3.3.5 Conclusion

If plenaries are the visible tip of the Metropolis conference, where authoritative figures hold their speech, take stock of the most salient issues and challenges, and tell the story of contemporary migrations, workshops are spaces of exchange where researchers, policy-makers, or NGO representatives present their research, expound the issues they face, and discuss envisaged solutions. This year again, workshops proved to be the lively reflection of an international stage in ebullition, a dynamic representation of a world in motion. A large number of workshops for a large number of participants approached a varied series of themes ranging from security matters to integration, from international conflicts to food. Four themes were more represented though.

The most dealt with topic was the nexus labour market-migration, followed by integration policies, governance processes, and international protection. This year's conference was hence decidedly focused on policies rather than on integration processes. A number of other issues were also touched upon and would deserve greater attention. Namely, the representation of migrations and migrants in the media or their instrumental use in party politics are elements underlying integration and migration governance issues. They are therefore of the utmost saliency. Processes of integration, or the process of becoming a part of receiving societies, were also fairly reviewed and discussed as they present great variance from an individual to another, and from a context to another. The need to take care of specific groups of migrants such as minors, women, or other ethnic or religious groups, was also a point of attention.

As the baton has been passed to Mexico City for the 2015 edition of the International Metropolis Conference, it will be interesting to see if the above described issues will remain at the top of the agenda of the scientific and policy making communities or if the rapidly evolving international landscape will bring new challenges and problems at the forefront in the next year Workshops program.

4. Contributions from Plenary Speakers

4.1 Global Migration Governance, Enhancing International Cooperation⁵

by *William Lacy Swing*, Director General, International Organization for Migration

4.1.1 Introduction

We live in an era of unprecedented human mobility. There are more people on the move today than at any time in history. With over 1 billion migrants, migration is this century's megatrend. Global trends indicate that increased migration is inevitable, given demographics and disasters; necessary, for durable and equitable development; and desirable, if well-governed. Good migration governance is the result of actions that create safe, dignified, humane and orderly migration. Efforts to enhance international cooperation continue to contribute to good migration governance.

The Commission on Global Governance (1994), defined governance as the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs. It is a continuing process through which conflicting or diverse interests may be accommodated and cooperative action taken. In this regard, it is vital to build consensus among the many actors in migration governance.

States can support humane and orderly migration by: 1) respecting international standards, and protect the human rights of migrants; 2) developing evidence-based migration policies in close collaboration with partners; and 3) implementing programs and services using partnerships to address the socio-economic needs of migrants and communities, including being responsive and resilient in the face of crises, mitigating the risks

⁵ Guest of Honor Speech.

associated with human mobility, and ensuring access to available regular migration mechanisms.

The standards and practices exist for good migration governance; what is required is coherence through voluntary coordination and integration of migration concerns. There are a number of misperceptions about global migration governance, including the need for a single global governing body and a compliance structure. I will clarify these misperceptions by: 1) setting the scene; 2) presenting the progress in migration governance and the role of voluntary, informal approaches and IOM's role in continuing to facilitate these developments in partnership with all actors; and 3) the steps we need to take to ensure effective and rights-based coordination, notably, including migration into development, climate change and risk reduction policies at all levels.

4.1.2 Developments in migration governance

Twenty years ago, States largely kept migration legislation and policy as their preserve; now, States see that collaboration is possible without risking sovereignty and have supported the creation of more structured regional and global approaches. The number of actors and the magnitude of the challenges mean that no one organization can or should attempt to govern migration

The trend towards increased severity, magnitude and duration of disasters, and the numbers of people they displace and make vulnerable, requires extensive international cooperation to address needs and challenges effectively. In 2014, 1.7 million individuals were newly displaced by the conflict in Iraq. IOM's report "Fatal Journeys" estimates that over 4,000 migrant deaths were reported along land and sea routes. These crises affect both host and migrant populations.

With increased interest in migration, the number of interested actors has risen dramatically. Aside from governments at national, state and municipal levels, current initiatives attempt to engage a variety of actors in migration governance: migrants and their families, diaspora, host communities, private sector companies, recruiters, academic institutions, civil society organizations, and intergovernmental agencies. Unfortunately, with the rise of the actors attempting to improve the lot of migrants, so have the number of criminals, smugglers, traffickers and others who seek to prey upon migrants.

Global migration governance continues to be a work in progress, a construction site, as opposed to a finished edifice. One sign of healthy progress is a robust community of institutions and forms of cooperation across multi-lateral, regional and bilateral levels, working together to ensure that

migration will be beneficial to all concerned. The most successful efforts to include these actors are driven by consensus and cooperation.

4.1.3 IOM's contribution to enhancing international cooperation

In the last two decades, States have overcome their reluctance to collaborate on migration issues, through the confidence and consensus created by informal regional and global bodies in ways that, States have observed, do not threaten national sovereignty.

Regional Consultative Processes (RCPs) paved the way, starting in 1985. RCPs provided informal, State-led regional fora for exploring migration challenges and opportunities. There are now more than 14 RCPs and similar bodies, which IOM has supported since the beginning.

Building on the confidence created by RCPs, the first United Nations General Assembly High-level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (UN HLD) in 2006 led to several global initiatives, among which the Global Forum on Migration and Development, an informal, State-led forum which IOM also supports. Another development was the transformation of the Geneva Migration Group, which IOM co-founded, into the Global Migration Group (GMG), which brings together heads of 18 agencies to promote the application of existing migration-relevant international instruments and standards. Following the second UN HLD in 2013, the Philippines and the United States spearheaded the Migrants in Countries in Crisis initiative, for which IOM functions as a secretariat.

The United Nations post-2015 Development Agenda provides one indicator of how far this confidence has developed: although migration was largely left out of the Millennium Development Goals, it is now included in the State-led Open Working Group proposals for the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals.

IOM's growth from 2001 to 2015 also reflects increased interest in migration governance: from 90 to 157 member states; from 150 to 480 locations in 150 countries; and from 2,600 to 8,300 staff, 95 per cent of whom are based in the field. Annual expenditures on projects have risen from USD 286.6 million to USD 1.5 billion, and IOM remains the only global migration agency dealing with all aspects of migration. In fulfilment of its Member States-approved mandate, IOM acts and cooperates with other actors to help governments address migration challenges, advance comprehensive understanding of migration issues, and uphold migrants' dignity and well-being. As part of its work and governing bodies, IOM hosts biennial International Dialogues on Migration (IDM) to focus on specific and relevant

issues on migration. The most recent high-level IDM was in 2013, the Diaspora Ministerial Conference, and the next one, in 2015, will be the Conference on Migrants and Cities, to bring together mayors and ministers.

4.1.4 The future of migration governance

Given the importance of consensus and partnership, it is unlikely that there will – or should be – a single international body that will regulate migration. Good migration governance standards and practices already exist and need consensus driven by voluntary processes to promote greater integration of migration concerns for a more coherent and effective responses. IOM is the best placed organization to facilitate this partnership-driven approach.

Governments need to pursue evidence-based policy-making through continued knowledge-enhancement and needs assessment. Continued partnership between and among players is required to address migration issues, including sustained public engagement to create a more balanced migration discourse. Ongoing discussions and forthcoming events are useful in highlighting migration governance issues. Post-2015 UN Development Agenda on the SDG targets can emphasize the development potential of migration and how it can contribute to migrants' well-being as well as their communities of origin and destination. In March 2015, Sendai, Japan will host the 3rd World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction. The WCDRR is a potent venue for discussing resilience in disasters which have severe migration consequences. The 2016 World Humanitarian Summit in Turkey covers broader crises including those that involve mass displacement.

To conclude, I have explained that increased migration is inevitable, necessary and desirable, if well-governed. The magnitude of the challenges means that no organization can or should try to do this on its own: consensus and partnership are indispensable. Good migration governance itself is the result of providing practical protection for vulnerable migrants and communities, mitigating risks by reducing forced migration drivers, and ensuring access to regular migration – in ways that respect the rights of all migrants. The national and international legislation and standards exist, as do the good practices, to put good governance into practice. What is required for an effective, coordinated and coherent response amongst all partners is to integrate migration into development, risk reduction and climate change policies at all levels.

4.2 Migration and Asylum in the Mediterranean: the Italian Response⁶

by *Mario Morcone*, Head of the Department for Civil Liberties and Immigration, Italian Ministry of Interior

In the aftermath of the tragic shipwreck occurred on October the 3rd 2013, the Italian Government decided to start a humanitarian operation of extraordinary extent called “Mare Nostrum”, by deploying ships of the Military Navy in the Channel of Sicily, assisted by the Coast Guard and the Financial Police. The main purpose of the operation was to face the extraordinary migratory pressure to the Italian southern shores, caused by the instable conditions in some countries of North Africa, as well as by the crisis situations that are affecting large areas of the Middle East. During 2014, about 160.000 persons were rescued during the Mare Nostrum operation, also thanks to the involvement of transit cargo ships, which were requested to provide assistance to boats intercepted at sea.

Data show that the most of migrants reaching Italy are of Syrian and Eritrean nationality. While Mare Nostrum Operation was characterized by a high humanitarian profile, an important effort was also made to control the Channel of Sicily, cracking down on traffickers’ illegal activities in that area.

The Mare Nostrum operation, the largest Search and Rescue Operation ever deployed by Italy, has been deployed in parallel with three other intervention pillars, developed in conjunction with international organizations and NGOs, such as UNHCR, the International Organization for Migration, the Italian Red Cross, and Save the Children.

The first pillar stems from a decision taken by the Unified Conference of the 10th July 2014, involving the Italian government, Regions and Municipalities. On that occasion, delegates of the three levels of Government decided to share, in a proportional way and according to predetermined criteria, the burden for the reception of asylum seekers and refugees. After a *screening* process carried out in so-called “hubs”, reception centres dislocated in each of the Italian regions, those who are entitled to the international protection are referred to the SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees), managed by Municipalities and in charge of the integration of beneficiaries of international protection.

This agreement represents an important step forward, as in the past asylum crises in Italy have always been managed through extraordinary instruments. The primary objective of the new system is (even if in this phase

⁶ Guest of Honor Speech.

characterized by a remarkable migratory pressure) to build up a stable reception system, by sharing evenly the burden on the territory and by reducing, as a consequence, the social impact on receiving communities. This choice is also aimed at facilitating the path of integration for those migrants who will remain in Italy.

The second pillar concerns the issue of unaccompanied minors. In that regard, it has to be recalled the choice of the Italian government not to repatriate minors in reason of their vulnerability; for the same reason, the Italian government doesn't either take into consideration the possibility to adopt restrictive measures towards unaccompanied minors, in spite of the fact that such possibility is contemplated by relevant law, specifically for those unaccompanied minors who don't lodge an international protection application and reside illegally on the national territory.

The above-mentioned choice implies a remarkable economic effort on the part of the Italian government as well as the need to adapt the legislation in force. The budget law, which the Parliament is currently examining, provides for the same treatment to be ensured for both international protection applicants and for unaccompanied minors who don't lodge an international protection application, including the same reception conditions. According to a report provided by the Police Department, a total of 1.894 unaccompanied minors were granted reception in Italy in the period from January 1st to October 22nd 2014.

The third pillar addresses the number and composition of the Commissions for the evaluation of international protection claims. The very high number of asylum applications lodged during 2014 increased the work of the Commissions, producing considerable delays. Because of that situation, a reform of the system was deemed necessary.

The number of the Commissions was then doubled, from 10 plus 10 additional Sections to 20 plus 20 additional Sections, with a targeted distribution all over the national territory, in order to enable a significant acceleration in the processing of files and, as a consequence, a reduction in the time needed for issuing decisions. The relevant procedures were also simplified, by providing for the asylum interview to be conducted by a single member of the Commission, while the final decision on granting international protection status is taken jointly by all the Members of the Commission.

Undoubtedly, some critical aspects still persist in the system. The Italian authorities are trying to overcome them by strongly investing on training for Commissions' members as well as by means of continuous exchanges of information and best practices with the European Asylum Support Office (EASO). In that regard, several meetings were organized both in La Valletta (the city that hosts EASO headquarters) and in Rome, while other meetings

will be organized with delegates from other countries of the European Union. It is worth highlighting that an official from UNHCR always takes part in the decisions within our Commissions.

After this short outline, let me make some wider observations on the asylum crisis we are currently facing. Words belonging to our culture and our sensitiveness such as borders and frontiers, are progressively changing their meaning, a circumstance that has a great impact on the principles that are at the basis of the so-called “Schengen area”.

At the same time, expectations are mounting from desperate persons coming from territories that, just few years ago, we were used to regard as far away from us. Those people are now openly and vigorously invoking their own rights to universal citizenship. We have to undertake a frank and honest effort in order to overcome this persisting conflict between identity protection and globalization. The Continent that is situated beyond our Mediterranean Sea, the Mare Nostrum, is no longer willing to play the role of the big “container” of human misery.

Let us consider the issue of the rules we have adopted (rules included in the Dublin Regulation are among them) in order to ensure the management of the growing inflow of people that reach our territory every day. On this point, I would like to stress the difficulty in finding shared rules at EU level, since we still insist on perspectives that are merely based on figures, historical comparisons, and that are biased by specific national interests of the Member States. We feel embarrassed if we have to face tragedies such as the one that occurred in October 2013 in Lampedusa, but also the one occurred on September the 10th 2014, which caused approximately 500 casualties, or another one occurred few weeks before, which saw the death of 50 migrants. The central point to make here is that, the “more” misery arises, the “more” arises the need for Europe and solidarity.

I have to say to that regard, that I strongly continue to believe with passion in a European Union based on the full assertion of humanitarian principles and of universal values. A wide “burden sharing” system is a necessary corollary of such European project and also an integral part of a global approach to migration, evoked several times but remained largely on paper due to fears of alleged “invasions” threatening the security of our societies.

The Frontex Joint operation “Triton”, started in November 2014, implies not only a mere sharing of costs among participating States: on the contrary, in order to produce long-standing positive outcomes, it should be understood as the beginning of a credible path towards more responsibility sharing among Member States. Joint operation Triton has the exclusive purpose of policing borders and, consequently, it cannot be expected to solve the problem of reception. However, the circumstances that led to the adoption of this mission

strongly pose the question of an increased commitment by the European Union, also due to the awareness that there is an asymmetry between its objective and the objectives that were pursued by Mare Nostrum. Those objectives, in particular in the field of Search and Rescue, will have to be addressed in the future through different means.

On the issue of reception, it has to be stressed that the Triton operation is, in line with EU law, fully committed to the observance of the *non-refoulement* principle. According to EU rules on Frontex coordinated sea operations, moreover, a vessel intercepted during Frontex operations should be conducted towards the Member State that hosts the operation, in the case of Triton, on Italian coasts. It appears clear that those rules place the burden of reception on coastal countries, on which territory Joint operations are likely to take place. To address this structural unbalance, a review of the Dublin Regulation will be unavoidable, at least in the long period. I perfectly realize the difficulties in reviewing that Regulation, which has been recently amended (the recast Dublin Regulation, or Dublin III, was adopted on 26 June 2013). At the same time, should a revision of the Dublin criteria represents a “moloch” for our partners, I think that “mutual recognition” of asylum decisions throughout the Union to be a viable alternative to promote a more equitable distribution of responsibilities across the Union.

In conclusion, what has to be avoided at all costs is a narrow-minded logic that sets Southern and Northern Member States against each others. All the 28 nations that are part of the European project should feel the duty to show solidarity for those Member States that are mostly affected by asylum flows. There is now increasing consensus for building an EU common position, not least due to recurrent shipwrecks and tragedies mentioned above, and I hope this consensus will translate in policy initiatives to address the challenges we are facing in a comprehensive way.

4.3 Who Serves Whom? Immigration Control, Social Welfare, and the Public Interest in a Federalist System⁷

by *Eva Millona*, Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition

In the United States, principles of federalism create a unique distribution of power between the Federal Government and the individual states in the realm of immigration. While the federal government alone has the power to regulate

⁷ Plenary Session 2 – Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or not to Serve?

immigration to the United States, states and localities have the ability to enact certain policies that promote integration or offer public services regardless of immigration status. The 10th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution provides that “The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.” At the same time, states and localities are legally constrained in many respects by federal and state constitutional principles against discrimination on the basis of immigration status – to a far greater degree than the U.S. federal government. This paper discusses the relationship between immigration controls under the federal government, federal constitutional protections against discrimination, state and local powers and the role of the Sanctuary Movement.

Over the last twenty years, the federal government has implemented legislation that has limited state ability to provide public benefits and services to noncitizens. Such legislation includes restrictions on welfare and public benefits, post-secondary education funding, and ability to attain a federally accepted driver’s license. Despite such regulations, states are able to still provide benefits to noncitizens in programs that are funded solely through the state.

Despite legislative reform that has placed limitations on benefits and services to noncitizens, the federal government also provides protections against discrimination under the U.S. Constitution. Noncitizens and citizens are protected under principles such as equal protection of the law. Many local and state laws that discriminate based on alienage have been overturned by the Supreme Court.

In recent years, more states and local jurisdictions have turned to passing pro-immigrant non-enforcement policies that aim to integrate immigrant residents. Advocates have been at the forefront of promoting policies that look at the needs of the community rather than the “status” of the individual. On the other side of the spectrum, some local jurisdictions have created anti-immigrant policies in an effort to reduce the immigrant populations in their state or town through a policy of encouraging “self-deportation”.

Non-enforcement policies enacted by states that support and promote immigrant integration include: providing eligibility to pay in-state tuition at colleges and universities for undocumented immigrants that graduate from local high schools, issuing driver’s licenses or identification cards to residents regardless of immigration status, providing public health, state-funded cash or medical assistance, and educational benefits to residents irrespective of immigration status, and the passage of pro-immigrant community policing legislation such as local and state trust acts.

Municipalities across the country have designated themselves as a “Sanctuary City.” When looking at the interplay between the national government and the individual states and local municipalities, the formal declaration of city or town as a “Sanctuary City” is often viewed in direct opposition to federal immigration policy. In reality, the term “Sanctuary City” is somewhat of a misnomer in the United States, often used to conjure fear and opposition, when in fact the policies to which the term refers provide no “sanctuary” from federal immigration enforcement actions. When cities and states act to advance policies that avoid unnecessary inquiries into immigration status and promote integration, their residents can benefit through improved outcomes in public health, public safety, educational attainment and economic prosperity and, through localities’ laboratory function, can influence the evolution of federal immigration policy, as well.

In conclusion, immigrant friendly policies are better for the community as a whole. By creating policies that focus on providing for the health, safety, and well-being of its residents, localities are able to serve their constituents without reference to a person’s immigration status. Although pro-immigrant policies seem at odds with the goals of federal immigration enforcement to deter unauthorized migration, immigrant friendly policies align with the constitutional and human rights protections found within the legal framework and have been upheld when contested.

4.4 Irregular Immigration, Local Governments and Civil Societies⁸

by *Maurizio Ambrosini*, ISMU Foundation and University of Milan

Immigration policies have increased their relevance on the political agenda, both in Europe and elsewhere. In this context, the issue of irregular migrations has become crucial. Despite increasingly fierce declarations, reality does not match claims regarding control of migration flows. Recognized or disguised forms of tolerance, only occasional implementation of measures such as deportation, regularization processes of different types and with different purposes, seem to be more the rule than the exception, in Italy as in other developed countries.

Over the last decade, the about 56 million migrants living in the European Union have shifted from an irregular to a regular status. Twenty-two EU countries out of twenty-seven have adopted some kind of regularization. So

⁸ Plenary Session 2 – Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or not to Serve?

irregularity has become a temporary and changeable status for many migrants. It often involves great difficulties and suffering, but it is considered by migrants as a stage in a longer process, the price to pay for entering a world of hope and opportunities.

In this context, Italy is the EU country that has promoted the largest regularization programs, through seven amnesties in 25 years, and through other forms of hidden regularization: as a result of that process, in the last twelve years 1.5 million migrants were legalised, and many other migrants have been legalised by immigration quotas.

Also at the local level immigration policies are gaining salience, especially in the context of a multi-level governance of human mobility, and also here the issue of irregular migration becomes relevant. The gap between national discourses and local problems is often managed thanks to the action and cooperation of civil society actors (NGOs, trade unions, religious organizations, etc.). Those organizations are active mainly on the most politically sensitive issues: asylum seekers, irregular immigrants, dialogue with religious minorities.

To face those issues, local governments can take three main attitudes: 1) Exclusion of irregular immigrants; 2) Tolerance toward NGO's activities; 3) Cooperation with NGOs, also distancing themselves from national policies.

On one side, we can see local governments that actively try to exclude migrants from the legitimate local community, or to weaken their position (as is the case for example of Northern Italy and the US). In this way, national policies reaffirming boundaries, national sovereignty, internal controls on migrants, are reflected in a growing set of local policies.

On the other side, other local governments try to find practical solutions to the issue of irregular immigrants settled on their territory. Benign tolerance or some forms of cooperation between local authorities and NGOs allow access to services also for migrants with irregular or uncertain status (basic health care, shelters, language courses etc.).

In this frame, the enforcement of basic human rights of non-documented migrants is often granted by NGOs. In particular, NGOs enact four main forms of action: 1) Promoting networks; 2) Protesting and lobbying; 3) Producing services; 4) Providing access to rights through legal action (advocacy).

In conclusion, it is possible to state that irregular immigration is a challenge for local societies and local authorities. Restrictions in immigration policies increase the role of civil society actors: in particular, they create more space for non-public providers of social services (and human rights). Local governments can follow the restrictive turn, tolerate the activities of NGOs or cooperate with them in providing social support also for irregular migrants.

4.5 Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or Not to Serve?⁹

by Sarah Spencer, COMPAS, Oxford University

The treatment of undocumented migrants in Europe presents us with something of a paradox. Despite the austerity experienced in many parts of Europe, leading to cut backs in welfare provision, and forceful rhetoric against migrants who lack permission to stay, national governments have granted undocumented migrants a level of access to welfare services, even extending entitlements in recent years.

We have long known that undocumented migrants survive in part through the discretion exercised informally by inclusive service providers. Where the state itself is granting legal entitlements to services, however, we are seeing formal exclusion running alongside intentional inclusion. That requires some explanation.

A mapping of entitlements to health care and education for undocumented adults and children does reveal an uneven geography of entitlements across the EU (Spencer and Hughes 2015). In healthcare this varies from emergency care only to a level of access to primary and secondary care; with entitlements for children on a par in some countries with citizens. Access to healthcare was significantly extended in Sweden in 2013 and, for HIV treatment, in the UK the previous year.

In education, there is variation between countries with an *explicit* entitlement written into law that undocumented children shall be allowed to attend school, and countries in which that entitlement is implicit in an inclusive provision from which undocumented children are not excluded. A minority of states grant no entitlement at all.

While a high level of exclusion from public services undoubtedly remains the norm, this acceptance of the need for a level of entitlements to health care and education is also seen in relation to a broader range of services such as protection for victims of domestic violence, and emergency accommodation for the homeless.

What is striking when we explore the reasons *why* these entitlements are granted is that it is not only the needs of the undocumented migrants that have been considered. Documentary evidence and interviews with policy makers in 14 EU Member States¹⁰ reveal that, while human rights and humanitarian

⁹ Plenary Session 2 – Undocumented Migrants: To Serve or not to Serve?

¹⁰ In a study carried out under the auspices of an Open Society Fellowship. Available: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/welfare/service-provision-to-irregular-migrants-in-europe/>.

considerations are part of the equation, the welfare of the rest of the population has also figured large in decisions to grant access to services, along with the efficient management of public services. Exclusion of one section of the population, however irregular their immigration status, has been found incompatible with achieving other policy imperatives. Thus the driver for the UK's decision on access to HIV treatment was the public health consequences of excluding a high risk group from that service; while the Swedish decision rested in part on concern that a parallel system of clinics was developing to meet the needs of this excluded minority outside of the mainstream, well regulated, health care system.

Most undocumented migrants, however, get by without coming to the attention of the authorities. Where they do it is most likely at the municipal level, where the impacts of their exclusion – not least if they are sleeping rough in the streets – can be keenly felt. As a result there are cities which allow undocumented migrants to access a broader range of services: from food banks and emergency welfare payments to language and skills classes; and enable them to access documentation such as birth and marriage certificates.

As at the national level, we find city policy makers citing their social policy objectives as core reasons for providing access: their need to address street sleeping and prostitution and to foster cohesion amongst all their residents, for instance, which they say they cannot do effectively if this group is ignored. As a Spanish regional official explained when asked why services are provided to undocumented people: “We are very, very worried about their integration. We do not want them hidden in ghettos, without connection with the majority society because that ends up in divisions, the end of cohesion, and poverty”.

As one Dutch official explained, more than one reason often lies behind the decision: “The underlying reason why we are involved in these activities with irregular migrants is that we don't want trouble, social disorder [...] For politicians in the city, though, the humanitarian reason for helping irregular migrants is most important”.

The immediate impact of exclusion at the local level can mean that cities have differing priorities to national governments in relation to providing services. Enforcing immigration controls is not their primary concern. That tension can lead to litigation to establish their right to provide a service, as in Italy (Delvino and Spencer 2014), and to unwillingness to pass on to the immigration authorities details of undocumented migrants who are service users. Some municipalities use NGOs to provide services, helping to keep any controversy at arm's length.

European cities have begun to share their experiences and solutions in relation to residents with irregular immigration status, as they have done on integration of migrants with regular status for many years¹¹. They seek recognition by national governments and the European Union of the challenges they face and of the impediments in national and EU policies to addressing them. Much could also be learnt from the experience of cities in North America. The focus Metropolis gave this issue in its plenary agenda in Milan was a welcome first step in highlighting the need for dialogue on a challenge that cannot be ignored.

4.6 Towards Regional Migration Governance: North America's Experience¹²

by *Sergio M. Alcocer*, Under Secretary for North America, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mexico

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), signed by Canada, Mexico and the United States, came into force on January 1st, 1994. It comprised a framework to increase trade and thus to improve wellbeing in the North American region. The objective was founded on the recognition of the intense exchanges already taking place at that time, and with the promise of further economic prosperity through the opening of goods, services and investment markets. The liberalization of labor flows was not included.

Twenty years after, positive results are undeniable. In 1993, trade between Mexico and the United States was worth 81.4 billion dollars, while in 2013 it reached 507 billion dollars. Trade among the three countries has grown 265% since 1994, reaching one trillion dollars in 2013. The regional economy is so dynamic that North America, with three countries, generates approximately 30% of the global production; this figure is comparable to that of all Europe or all Asian countries working together. North America contributes to 13.2% of total global exports. In addition, NAFTA has considerably extended the manufacturing supplies across the US, Mexico and Canada (Parilla and Berube 2013).

NAFTA was not conceived as a regional integration project. However, economic interdependence within the region has become an unintended, yet

¹¹ See report on a roundtable hosted by Barcelona City Council in October 2014: <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/globalexchange/city-responses-to-irregular-migrants/>.

¹² Plenary Session 3 – Can Regional Trade Arrangements Create a Path to Global Migration Management?

positive, result of NAFTA. Today, Mexico is the first or second foreign market for 22 of 50 US states. In addition, 6 million US jobs depend on trade with Mexico and the United States is the main source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Mexico. Regarding Canada, in 2012, total trade between Mexico and Canada was around 35 billion dollars. Canada is for the Mexican economy the fourth source of FDI, with 18 billion dollars of direct Canadian investment accumulated between 1994 and June of 2014¹³.

Interdependence and integration of the region is the result of a *continuum* of needs and demands in the three economies. Although labor market and labor mobility were not formally included, NAFTA acknowledges that a strong demand for Mexican labor in the United States exists. Such demand is a driver for migration. While negotiating NAFTA, a more ambitious labor mobility agreement was unattainable due to internal political realities, particularly in the US. At the end, two paramount issues were left out of the negotiation: energy (at the request of Mexico) and migration (at the request of the US). Twenty years later, Mexico has already opened its energy sector. Now is the turn of the US to open its labor market. The US faces the challenge of dealing with regional migration and labor mobility in a sustainable manner in the long run. This is what a comprehensive immigration reform is all about.

To satisfy unions and syndicates in the US and minimize their opposition to NAFTA, in 1993, the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC) was signed. NAALC aimed at an effective enforcement of domestic labor standards and laws. While NAALC was the first agreement on labor linked to an international trade agreement, it does not address issues of labor mobility.

So far the three countries have failed in creating a modern framework for labor mobility, such that recognizes the needs of regional markets and the social reality of shared borders. Although clearly insufficient, some formal mechanisms have been established: the Seasonal Workers Agriculture Program with Canada (SWAP); and the H1, H2 and TN visas issued unilaterally by the US mainly to agricultural workers.

From 2007 to 2013, 113,924 Mexican workers have participated in the SWAP program. Mexican agricultural workers are highly regarded and respected in Canada. Proof of this is the annual request for specific workers to return to work in particular farms. Regarding US temporary work visas, demand and trends of visas issued to Mexicans have increased considerably. In 1997, less than 10,000 H-2B visas were issued to Mexicans. Ten years

¹³ Statistics Canada, U.S. Census Bureau and Mexico Ministry of Economy, 2013.

later, more than 80,000 visas of the same type were issued to Mexican nationals. Statistics provide clear evidence of an economy that is thirsty of skilled human resources. Present requirements and rules of execution of those programs make difficult to catch up with the real needs of the labor market.

NAFTA has affected tendencies of trade, foreign and domestic investment, supply chains, value-added integration labor demand and needs across the three countries. To understand and design for the future, demographics should be understood. In 2012, around 34 million people of Mexican origin lived in the US (11% of the population). Almost 12 million were born in Mexico (between 6-7 million are undocumented). In 2050, Latinos will be the first “minority-majority” in the US, representing 30% of the total population. Hispanic population is rapidly growing, as well their economic contribution. Mexicans generate 8% of the United States GDP. Every year, over 800,000 people from Hispanic origin become 18 years old, thus having voting rights. Empirical evidence also shows that whenever the US economy grows, more agricultural and construction workers are needed. In lieu of American workers to carry out such activities, workforce from abroad needs to be imported to the US. We may conclude that labor markets are inevitable complementary.

Besides the economic benefits of immigration, immigration is a complex, yet human, phenomenon. Indeed, migrants should be considered both as subjects of rights and as potential actors for growth and development, innovation and social and cultural enrichment. Migration, as a consequence of labor mobility and as a regional phenomenon exacerbated by lack of economic opportunities at home, should be addressed under the principle of shared responsibility of governments, private and social actors; such attention should include, but not be limited to, empowering migrants through health and education.

Mexico and the United States must initiate frank discussions about bilateral strengths, weaknesses and challenges of the migration phenomenon, not only in its human dimension, but also as an economic advantage for growth and competitiveness of both countries and for the North American region at large. Mexico is already embarked on several strategies aimed at establishing the foundations of a regional mobility model of:

- “Secure Border”: ordering our southern border and establishing a fruitful circularity of regional workers.
- Pacific Alliance: labor mobility among country members (Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru) geared towards making business with Asia.
- FOBESII (US-Mexico Bilateral Forum on Higher Education, Innovation and Research) and “Proyecto 100 mil”: forging regional educa-

tional mobility for an increasingly integrated economy, mainly with the US.

The region is facing new challenges in different sectors (energy, healthcare, agriculture, manufacturing, logistics and transportation, and construction). In order to take advantage of such opportunities, we need to identify the needs of labor markets in the short-to-medium term. Along with this diagnosis, US and Mexico must implement, jointly and independently, actions to empower workers through (accessible and quality) education, English proficiency, recognition of qualifications, as well as granting them political, social, economic and labor rights. In short, Mexico must work to close the breaches that exist between Mexican migrants – document and undocumented – and an American citizen with full rights in the US.

The North American governments should transcend politics and invest political capital aimed at making North America the most exciting, dynamic and competitive region in the world.

4.7 Diversity Improvement as a Viable Enrichment Resource for Society and Economy (DIVERSE). A Project to “Rejuvenate” the European Model of Integration¹⁴

by *Laura Zanfrini*, Ismu Foundation and Catholic University of Milan

The European approach to migration has traditionally been characterized by an emphasis on the labour dimension: this is pivotal for the social acceptance of Third Country Nationals (hereafter TCNS), but has nurtured the idea of *complementarity* between the autochthonous and the foreign labour force, thus favouring the concentration of migrants in low-skilled and low-status jobs. At the same time, European countries, consistently with their historical focus on human rights, have formally extended a wide set of protective measures, rights and opportunities to foreign workers and their family members, with the result of transforming “temporary migrant workers” into “semi-citizens”, and protecting them by means of strong anti-discrimination rules. The attempt to keep these two contradictory philosophies together – the “economicistic” philosophy which regulates the system of entry (and stay) and that of solidarity and equal opportunities – has generated a historical and unresolved

¹⁴ Plenary Session 4 – The Competitive Advantage of Diversity.

paradox, which makes it difficult to fully appreciate the value of migrants' contribution to the economic and social development of European societies.

Actually, the temporary work model, typical of the European experience, contained within itself the reasons for legitimizing a differential treatment towards the *Gastarbeiter* and postponing the problem of the inclusion of non-nationals in the community of citizens, but also to give up the opportunity to take advantage from their contribution to the long-term economic, social and institutional development of the European society. But, with the passing of time, the need to come to grips with the question of the "boundaries" of the political community has become a matter of urgency, as the latter has lost its congruence with the community of residents. Moreover, even when the socio-political compromise has arrived at more inclusive solutions, immigrants and minorities members are in general overrepresented in the categories at risk of exclusion, evidencing "what is not working" in the policies of inclusion and of individual empowerment. Besides all these considerations, on account of the demographic weight of people with a migratory background, their experience evokes a strategic question for the survival of our democracy and the development of our knowledge economies.

Based on these premises, the project "DIVERSE – Diversity Improvement as a Viable Enrichment Resource for Society and Economy" – has chosen to pursue the overall and long-term aim of overcoming the limits of the European approach to immigration, characterized by: *a*) a tendency to collectively represent TCNs' work and economic role in terms of an asymmetric complementarity with autochthonous labour – a perception which is fuelled by, and simultaneously favours, immigrant concentration in specific, mainly low qualified, job sectors; *b*) an over-emphasis on the economic and working dimension, conceived as the key one justifying TCN workers' presence in the host countries, and paradoxically inhibiting the development of migrants' potential and their participation in the public life.

More specifically, DIVERSE has tried to overcome what I have defined the European historical paradox through some major changes: *a*) encouraging a shift from the perception of migrants as contingently instrumental resources to the recognition of their human capital as a structural resource for the economic and social development of European societies; *b*) advancing the valorisation of TCNs' formal, non-formal and informal skills, knowledges and competences, with particular reference to those linked to their migratory background; *c*) enhancing awareness among different types of organisations as to the importance and potentialities of Diversity Management (hereafter DM) strategies; *d*) improving TCNs' social participation and civic engagement (and especially their participation in volunteer, non-profit organisations) in view of the construction of an inclusive European society

and in order to change TCNs common perception as people who need to be helped and assisted. These ambitions are conceived as pivotal for strengthening European economic competitiveness and social cohesion, reinforcing the cooperation between different stakeholders and generating shared value for all parties involved. Supported by the European Commission and coordinated by the research centre WWell of the Catholic University of Milan, the project has been carried out in cooperation with 14 partners in 10 EU countries.

The presentation focused the attention on some of results emerging from the research fieldwork conducted in the 10 countries involved. Just to cite some examples, starting from the issue of SKC recognition, the overall impact is that of contrasting the general assumption that TCNs work in low-skill jobs, showing how educated migrants can offer a net gain to the European economy (which in most cases has not funded their education). This step gives TCNs the opportunity to test their skills against labour market standards and to adjust to them; reduces the risk of being employed in the informal/grey economy and the time needed to become established in the labour market; protects workers during the periods of economic recession; contrasts the phenomenon of over-qualification; enhances TCNs career and salary mobility. At a societal level, it reduces the degree of ethnicization of the labour market, and the related risks of social dumping; improves the process of human capital development; permits to retain skilled migrants and supports the process of firms' internationalization.

The development of DM practices produces above all the advantage of improving the process of personnel recruitment and the capacity to attract talented employees, together with the capacity of retention and the sense of belonging to the company, thus increasing motivation and need for achievement. They improve the organizational climate, thus generating "inclusive organizations", reducing absenteeism and the burnout syndrome. Moreover, DM policies make the workplace more stimulating and attractive for all workers by enriching the process of collective learning, the level of sensitivity and competence to deal with situations and problems of other peoples/countries and the offering the chance to develop new skills and competences. At organizational level, DM practices improve the processes of brainstorming and problem solving; develop skill-pools within the organization; increase team performances and creativity; support the process of knowledge transfer; enrich the offer provided to the clients and enlarge the basin of potential clients and users; sustain the company's internationalization process and enhance the brand/company image. Not to mention the various positive impacts on local development patterns.

Finally, as regards TCNs' civic and volunteer engagement, the most immediate and perceivable positive impact is the migrants' empowerment and

well-being. The very fact of being actively involved in the activities of civic and volunteer (mainstream) organizations allow TCNs to improve their competences in local language and ways of life; to usefully spend time when they lack a “real” job, to find a job or a better job and to gain professional recognition. Moreover, it also allows them to overcome isolation, according to the philosophy of individual activation. Furthermore, it enables migrants to be recognized as a Person, fostering the sense of belonging to the host society. The involvement of TCNs in mainstream organizations can also be seen as a social trampoline, allowing newcomers to become part of the society. Through civic and volunteer involvement, TCNs wish to give back to the host country (or to the organization for which they now volunteer) what they have received: in this manner they feel more appreciated by the hosting society, show their social commitment, and try to demonstrate how their presence is useful for the common well-being. Moreover, TCNs involvement in the civic and associative spheres has a positive impact on social cohesion. The presence of migrants among the staff of mainstream organizations makes it possible to mediate cultural values, to promote the dialogue between cultures, to improve the linguistic and cultural skills of other volunteers, to increase the associations’ expertise and expands their offer; enriches the problem-solving process; promotes international contacts and cooperation with the sending countries. Moreover, it allows local communities and newcomers to meet and to become involved together in issues of common interest thus boosting interethnic interactions, enabling them to deal with social change and to recognize the opportunities arising from a society that embraces cultural diversity. This promotes an attitude of openness to other cultures both in the receiving society’s population and in the ethnic communities, and leads to the development of a feeling of mutual trust and confidence that contributes to the dynamic two-way integration process required for the creation of a shared citizenship.

4.8 Diversity is the New Norm¹⁵

by *Ratna Omidvar*, Global Diversity Exchange, Ted Rogers School of Management, Ryerson University, Canada

In a world era of unprecedented migration, diversity is no longer the exception but the new norm.

It is loudest in large urban centers of the world which exercise an enormous pull over the imagination of immigrants looking for security, work, education, freedom, adventure, family, love or simply anonymity. In cities like Rome, New York, Toronto and Berlin the diversity of the ethnic population is magnified many times over by the diversity of class, of economic status, of tribal affiliations and religion because no one group is homogenous. Diversity is therefore a very mild word to describe this interplay and some academics prefer to call this hyper-diversity, super diversity, or the diversification of diversity.

It is also in these urban centers that the diversity of culture, religion, language, race etc. meet and collide with many other diversities – gender, life styles, sexual orientation and ability – creating not just one expression of diversity, but many different and varied expressions of it.

Therefore this discussion about diversity is also a discussion about cities because it is in cities that diversity is at its loudest.

There are different debates as to whether this hyper-level of diversity is constructive or not. On the one hand, Robert Putnam's research from the US indicates higher levels of diversity correlate to higher levels of mistrust and weakened social ties. On the other, Richard Florida not only correlates creativity with diversity and prosperity but also puts forward the theory that diversity is a key foundation for the creative class.

There are a number of more recent academic studies that point to the link between diversity and prosperity, in particular corporate prosperity. But there is also a rich field of practice that is captured in the compendium of good integration practices at Cities of Migration (see: www.citiesofmigration.ca). From a study of these good practices, a few conclusions can be made.

First, a commitment to diversity and inclusion starts at the top. Mayor Bill de Blasio has instituted identity cards for all residents: documented, legal and undocumented. Mayor Shuster of Hamburg personally reaches out to immigrants in his city and encourages them to become citizens.

¹⁵ Plenary Session 4 – The competitive advantage of diversity.

Second, smart cities recognize that diversity and tokenism are a poor mix. True inclusion does not rest on the inclusion of one, but the inclusion of many through a disciplined approach to modernizing systems, approaches and policies.

Third, in dense urban hyper diverse communities, we need to have a serious conversation about new policies, new governance and new arrangements. When a city's population changes as radically as Toronto's in a short span of 30 years, it cannot be business as usual. Urban governance, local laws and regulations need to renew themselves in lives lived differently.

4.9 China Coffee Culture in the Making: The Ecology and Economy of Taste¹⁶

by *Ching Lin Pang*, KU Leuven and University of Antwerp

Coffee is by all means a recent import in China, both as a drink and as a commodity. At first sight China's coffee market looks irrelevant (Yang et al. 2012) and the coffee culture underdeveloped, as traditionally China is more renowned for its tea culture (普洱 pu'er tea). However it is ambitiously aspiring to catch up with foreign coffee culture countries both in coffee production (cultivation) and consumption. Coffee was already introduced in China in 1890s by French missionaries, yet coffee production only took off as recent as the second half of the 1980s. At present, 98% of the total coffee production is grown in the province of Yunnan, notably in Baoshan, Pu'er and Dehong, cultivating the Arabica plant (the *Catimor* variety, a hybrid between *C. Arabica* and *C. Canephora*).

China's production started at the onset of the 'Latte revolution' (Ponte, 2002), heralding the end of the ICA (International Coffee Agreements) regime, changing consumption patterns and evolving corporate strategies. The post-ICA system is generally marked by a shift from a producer-driven to a consumer-driven regime, in which the power relations have shifted from the producers in the South to the transnational corporations in the North, characterized by supply-driven inventory, consolidation and branding. In China the most important transnational corporation is Nestlé, who was already active in China before the founding of PR China. Other international coffee players followed suit including Starbucks, Illy, etc. As Nestlé is mostly interested in producing green beans for instant coffee, the level of production

¹⁶ Plenary Session 5 – Sustainable Linkages: Migration, Food and Culture.

coffee so far is predominantly grown for mass consumption purposes. This production has yet to evolve to develop its potential to yield higher quality standards. As for coffee consumption, China remarkably experiences the three coffee movements simultaneously: a first, second and third wave. This third wave of 'connoisseur coffee' transcends the first wave of cheap, mass-produced coffee of low quality (mostly instant coffee) and the second wave of regionally labelled coffee in coffee chains (such as Starbucks, Costa, etc.). In order to better understand the emerging coffee culture in China, the ecology and economy of the third wave movement need to be studied. The ecology of taste looks into the taste-scape, which is shaped by cultural influences, individual preferences and educated tastes (Strong 2011). Taste is, besides a physiological sensation, also a cultural and social construct (Manning 2012, Mintz and DuBois 2002, Sahlins 1976, Sutton 2010, Tucker 2011). China is a latecomer in 'third wave' coffee movement that has its origin in the US at the end of the 1980s (Roseberry 2005) but proliferating in the global East (Yu 2014) for the past decade or so. Specialty coffee as hipster drink and its niche community have been largely overlooked in literature on coffee consumption in China. Most studies are conducted in Starbucks and other second wave coffeehouses in large metropolitan cities such as Beijing (Nelson and Venkatraman 2008), Shanghai (Henningsen 2012) or Wuhan (Yang et al. 2011). The connoisseurs are concerned with the specific coffee flavor (taste, aroma and mouthfeel) and proud to be able to discern and name these subtleties in flavor. To perform educated taste and connoisseurship (Manzo 2010, 2014, Strong 2012) it is primordial to examine how language, knowledge and power relations of the different actors interact in the different nodes of the global coffee chain. Third wave coffee culture is rapidly developing a kind of lexicon that likens the 'appellation' system analogous to the wine sector (Silverstein 2006).

The act of drinking coffee by students, hipsters, cultural entrepreneurs and white-collar workers very much reflects an aspirational lifestyle (Li 2014), a Chinese kind of individualism (Henningsen 2012), an iconic manifestation of new urban living so to speak. The process of imbibing coffee is closely linked to the place of consumption, namely the coffee house. Coffeehouses in the global East serve as sanctuaries of recluse by offering the overactive city dwellers the opportunity to indulge in doing nothing (White 2012). From the economy of taste, coffee life forms an integral part of the new urban living and therefore has the transformative power to make neighbourhoods more desirable, more entertaining but alas also more expensive to dwell.

4.10 Supporting and Consuming Remittances: Migration, Food Security, and Cities¹⁷

by *Ezra Rosser*, American University Washington College of Law

Remittances and food security are inexorably linked. Desire to care for the needs, especially the basic needs, of loved ones drives immigrants to send remittances and, similarly, any discussion of the food security of transnational immigrant families that neglects remittances risks presenting an incomplete picture of food security. Food security as it relates to migration can be understood from a migrant-receiving perspective or from a perspective that emphasizes how migration impacts the food security of loved ones in migrant-sending communities. My work emphasizes the perspective of migrant-sending countries. Although at some cost to an accurate understanding of migration, these perspectives can loosely be described in terms of a North-South perspective versus a South-North perspective.

Not surprisingly, among advocates in developed countries, the North-South perspective dominates how immigration issues are framed and whose food security counts. Accordingly, immigration lawyers in such countries typically have a strong command over the laws that can help migrants remain in their destination countries but are ill equipped to help people who have not yet migrated. Those in migrant-sending countries on the other hand often have detailed knowledge of how the law operates in both theory and in practice when it comes to potential migrants. Looking at food security from a South-North perspective, immigrant remittances are not only a necessary component of any such discussions, they are the most important link between migration and food security for many families, communities, and even nations. To focus solely on the struggles of migrants to meet their own nutritional needs is to discount the connection that many migrants have with loved ones back home. In short, ignoring remittances amounts to treating migrants as individuals rather than as members of extended family networks. For economic migrants, the decision to migrate often reflects the love and obligations migrants feel to their families and this connection is made concrete in the form of remittance transfers, literally consumed by recipients as food and other basic necessities.

One of the challenges when it comes to transnational families and food security is that the needs of distant relatives can end up making remittance senders themselves less secure. The story of immigrant remittances (the sending of goods or services to someone at a distance, can take many forms)

¹⁷ Plenary Session 5 – Sustainable Linkages: Migration, Food and Culture.

over the last two decades in many ways is a positive one. The cost of sending remittances, especially along major remittance and immigrant corridors has fallen and the ease of using formal channels has increased. The phenomenon has also enjoyed considerable attention from international development organizations and economists over the same period (Rosser, 2008). This attention has confirmed a few facts about remittances that show how significant they are when it comes to food security. The first fact is that remittances overwhelmingly fund food and other forms of basic consumption, but mainly food. A study of Guatemalan, Salvadoran, and Jamaican families found that families receiving remittances are more likely on average to regularly purchase meat and milk. Another study, focusing on Puntland and Somaliland, that divided households according to income and rural versus urban, found that remittances were spent on primarily food and that the expected impact if remittances were cut off was that more than 35 percent of households could not afford basic food. Migrants working in Italy report that 80 percent of the money they send to their home country is used for food. As anyone who has worked with migrant workers knows, there can be a downside to the immediacy of the needs of transnational families, namely that migrants themselves may be unable to meet their own needs given the remittance demands upon them.

There are many needs going forward when it comes to remittances and food security. One area with a potentially high payoff is to continue to work to lower the cost of sending remittances. The World Bank has launched “Project Greenback 2.0” geared towards lowering the amount of money transnational families lose to remittance intermediaries. Starting with Turin, Italy in 2013 and Montreuil, France in 2014 and expanding to Frankfurt, Germany and London, United Kingdom, the Project is based on changing the remittance dynamics in select “Champion Cities”. There are multiple points of entry for lowering transaction costs ranging from educating migrants on the full cost (including currency exchange and other fees) of various options to helping diminish the percentage of migrants who are unbanked. But given that remittances are overwhelmingly dedicated to purchasing food, even slight decreases in what percent of money sent is eaten up in fees promises to have a major impact on food security. More broadly, there is a need to stop seeing remittances as somehow outside of the ordinary or as a separate topic. Just society and the law is moving beyond the stereotypical family of a husband, wife, two children, and a dog to recognize that families can come in many forms, so too must assumptions about how family members interact and support each other change to reflect the transnational characteristic of many families. For many such families, remittances spent on satisfying the extended

family's basic needs are not a side-issue, they are the motivation for extraordinary difficulties and acts of love.

4.11 Migration as a Risk Management Strategy in the Context of Rainfall Variability and Food Insecurity¹⁸

by *Koko Warner*, United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security

4.11.1 Introduction

As climate change unfolds, more people will be affected by extreme weather such as hurricanes and droughts. Many may be forced from their homes. People will move, we want them to do so with dignity and safety. In the context of climate change, scholarly literature on environmental change, food security and migration ranges across a host of climatic stressors and geographies, making it difficult to date to solve the debate whether migration is a form of adaptation or an indicator of limits to adaptation to climate change. However, understanding how households manage impacts of changing rainfall patterns on livelihoods and food security in developing countries today is of paramount importance for adaptation planning, development, and transition to a more climate-resilient future.

4.11.2 Migration and climate change

People move for two reasons related to climate change: because their physical safety is threatened, and because climate stressors such as floods and drought threaten their ability to earn money and feed their families. Today, around the world, there are four times more people are displaced in relation to drought, floods, and other climatic stressors than by conflict. Often they flee from imminent threats to their lives and property. Today most people try to return to pick up the pieces and rebuild. But climate stressors also erode livelihoods and food security, which are also a prevalent reason to move.

UNU recently conducted research in Huancayo province, Peru. We looked at connections between rainfall, food security and migration. The impact of changing rainfall on food production was severe for 53% of households, with

¹⁸ Plenary session 5 – Sustainable Linkages: Migration, Food and Culture.

2/3 of households sustaining crop damage and lower crop yields and 42% experiencing substantial negative impacts on household income. We found that migration is a very common practice among high Andean communities where climate change is perceived as an increasing threat.

To address these debates, original research was undertaken in eight countries (Guatemala, Peru, Ghana, Tanzania, Bangladesh, India, Thailand, and Vietnam) to answer the question ‘under what circumstances do households (HHs) use migration as a risk management strategy when facing rainfall variability and food insecurity?’ Evidence from these country cases illustrates a dynamic range of interactions between the variables which shape risk management decisions including food security and migration of HHs with different characteristics.

Doing fieldwork in Bangladesh’s Sathkira district we found that salt-water intrusion related to sea level rise and cyclones was severely impacting rice cultivation, the mainstay of the local economy and principal source of food. 81% of respondents reported high salinity levels in their soils compared to just 2% 20 years ago. The communities studied had a total rice crop loss for three years in a row – people were concerned about feeding their families and earning enough to afford the necessities of life. Many of them considered moving away – maybe permanently – if conditions for rice cultivation deteriorated further.

The results from Bangladesh and the other seven case studies show how those characteristics facilitate or hinder the ability of HHs to manage rainfall-related risks to livelihoods and food security by using different forms of migration. The data reveal for the first time in a comparable global study distinct HH profiles of ‘resilience’ and ‘vulnerability’. At the same time, ‘content’ migration is associated with resilient HHs and ‘erosive’ migration is rather associated with vulnerable HHs.

What we find again and again is that many people on the frontlines of climate change also exist on the edge of poverty, where one bad or destroyed harvest can mean devastation and lead one or more family member to migrate in search of shelter, livelihoods, and food security. We need to ensure that when these people move they do so with safety and dignity.

4.11.3 Addressing food & livelihood security, and migration through national adaptation planning

Countries need to prepare for human mobility by including the issue in their National Adaptation Planning and implementation.

NAPs are the vehicles for preparing countries to manage the risks of climate change. By including human mobility in these plans, countries can take the first step to ensuring that moving remains a choice among other viable options for climate vulnerable people.

Low-lying island nations such as Kiribati, Tuvalu and the Marshall Islands in the Pacific region face a unique challenge when faced with sea-level rise and other natural hazards associated with climate change – that is, the impossibility of retreating to higher land. Consequently, the Government of Kiribati, with the support of its citizens, has decided that, if catastrophe is inevitable, it needs to prepare itself and its people for eventual migration. The Republic of Kiribati has initiated a “migration with dignity” policy. This policy aims to improve technical and vocational training, cooperate regionally on visa and mobility programs, and improve employment chances if they choose to leave. This is an example where voluntary supported migration may be a positive adaptation strategy to climate change.

In contrast, recent work we have done in the Horn of Africa found that many Somalis and Ethiopians fleeing to Kenya, Yemen and Egypt from intense drought and climate stressors had no other reasonable options for survival than to leave their homes, often without legal documents and money. Once they arrived at their destinations the support they received varied and many were denied access to basic services and had no opportunity to secure livelihoods, making them even more vulnerable than before they fled their homes.

There are many examples to learn from, and many gaps that still need to be filled in policy and practice.

4.11.4 Conclusions and a look ahead to 2015

These examples point to the vital importance of anticipating threats to lives, property, and livelihoods and how it might affect people’s choices to stay or to leave.

We think that national adaptation plans provide a key way to smooth transitions to climate change, and prevent hard-fought development gains from eroding.

It is essential that national adaptation planning and implementation is firmly anchored in the Paris Agreement. These are the delivery channel for translating climate policy into action for all countries. NAPs are the way to reduce people’s vulnerability to climate change, if they choose to stay, if they have to go.

4.12 International Cooperation on Highly Skilled Migration¹⁹

by *Liu Yanguo*, Deputy Secretary-General China Association for International Exchange of Personnel

China's Reform and Opening Up indicates that the rapid and high-quality development of a nation's economy is inseparable from the cross-border flow of professionals, especially from attracting and utilizing high-caliber foreign expertise.

Throughout the past three decades, the number of Chinese overseas students has been increasing constantly. Although some of the students chose to work and live in other countries, a lot of them participated directly or indirectly in China's development process. Meanwhile, along with China's development, there is an increase of the number of overseas Chinese students coming back directly to start businesses and to break new ground. They have been playing a very important role in various social causes of China's modernization. We can see that the skilled migrants going abroad cannot be seen as a single brain drain process. When the conditions and opportunities are there in the countries of origin, the brain circle will be taking place. It is no doubt that these require both domestic and international efforts.

Since the 1980s, the Chinese government started to adopt a series of policies to introduce foreign intellectuals, to invite foreign professionals to China to provide technical support and to engage in science and technology cooperation. Foreign workforces have offset the lack of human resources in the fields of industry, agriculture, fundamental scientific research, medical and health, services, etc., and their outstanding contributions have vigorously served China's development.

As China is entering a development period of economic transition and pursuing more quality development, China will be more inclusive and welcome to the world talents. China is adopting more open talent policies and a series of measures to the world high-calibre in hope of benefiting sustainable domestic and world economy.

It is clear that that not one single nation can solely rely on its local human resources as to promote its economic development in the context globalized economy, and all the countries in the world are in need of workforces from all over the world. It is evident that the relationship between international skilled migration and economic development is getting closer.

¹⁹ Plenary Session 7 – Development through Migration.

Most people believe that economic globalization will bring forward common development among all nations and knowledge-based economy will be more helpful to the economic transition and leap-forward development of developing countries. However, the mainstream of today's international migration, especially of high-tech talents is still South-North bound flow, which is creating two poles of skilled human resources that may go against the balanced development of global economy.

In the meantime, talent waste still exists in some countries of destination even though many skilled migrants are well placed and brought into play. Problems causing the waste, such as the matter of integration, recognition of professional credit, and the costs for mobilization, should be fully recognized and solved not only domestically but also internationally.

Despite the consensus that the international community should enhance cooperation on skilled migration governance, practical and effective cooperation is still called for. We should act on sharing information, exchanging experience, carrying out policy dialogues and collaborating on related researches, so that all nations can enjoy the dividend resulted from a sound skilled migration. In particular, the following aspects should be further explored:

- 1) Policy dialogues: Through bilateral and multilateral policy dialogues, nations will gain more understanding toward each other and complement each other's advantages of policies to the largest extent, which will put skilled migration to its best use. Through exchanging and sharing experience, nations will reach more consensus and bring out more effective governance, even the standards and rules that meets all nations' requirements.
 - i) Problem oriented dialogues: Focusing on problems such as migrant integration with the new society to become more adoptable, the point-based system to evaluate potential migrants, the recognition of professional accreditation, and concerns of country of origin via country of destination.
 - ii) Systematic dialogues: Regular dialogues focusing on integrated issues in the overall immigration subject, as well as issues in relation to bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation.
 - iii) Multiple approaches for dialogues: Between policy-makers, trade associations, service sectors and researchers, bilateral or multilateral, and between countries of origin, transit and destination.
- 2) Information sharing: Completed information deliverable to the skilled migrants will help them to make decision to select the place, reduce the costs for migration purpose and reduce the talents waste in the potential

destination country. For those countries where there are great potential development opportunities, information deliverable will enhance its attractiveness for skilled migrants. More transparent information distribution and information sharing are conducive to benefiting to all country of origin and destination. Information sharing between countries will enhance mutual understanding and collaboration. Bilateral and multilateral sharing of skilled migration related data will provide reference for making related public policies and promoting economic and technological cooperation.

- 3) Joint research: Joint research on the issues concerned such as a research between a country of origin and a counterpart country of destination to support the policy making on both and improve the practice.

4.13 More Voices, More Noise? Challenges of the New Media Environment²⁰

by *Kaarina Nikunen*, University of Tampere

The role of media is crucial in the formation of public understanding of migration, refugee and humanitarian crises. Through media images, we are able to imagine, feel and think about the situation of others. Indeed, media attention has been essential for political action making visible the need to act and ways to act for general public. Media provide what Luc Boltanski (1999, p. 8) phrases as *'the possibility of knowing'*. Our capacity to act as political subjects in the face of suffering hangs on the ability to understand these situations and to think critically about them and their causes.

In this short paper, I focus on the ways in which media can help us to understand the complex situations of migration and refuge, and the connections between different events, politics and human destinies.

These questions are particularly timely as media environment is changing rapidly. Changes in media environment also change the ways we gather information and get together to discuss and debate on political issues, and the ways we make sense of global events.

The advent of social media has opened up new avenues for publicity and participation for ordinary citizens, activists, refugees and migrants. Virtual communities, discussion groups, networking and blogging in social media are seen to create new forms of participation that challenge the role of traditional

²⁰ Plenary Session 8 – Migration in the Media: a Tangled Love Affair?

mass media in public and political debates. In this new environment, people can share experiences that are not always recognized by the mainstream media, and tell their stories in their own words. Indeed, since the advent of online media we have witnessed proliferation of voices, perspectives and views to issues of migration and refuge for example through various diasporic online communities (Bailey et al., 2007; Madianou and Miller, 2011; Nikunen, 2011).

However, at the same time, we have also witnessed growing movement against immigration and increased voices of hostility and hatred. Internet has provided spaces for hate speech, racist groups, and undemocratic movements. In Europe we have witnessed the rise of populist movements with anti-immigrant agenda and, quite often, social media have played a particularly important role in the rise of the anti-immigrant movement. In Finland, for example, few significant internet communities and blogs played a crucial role in pulling together the anti-immigration movement that has become politically significant (Horsti and Nikunen, 2013).

Thus the proliferation of voices online has not created common space for public debates, rather it appears as a space of multiple parallel publics and ghettoed political groups. It appears monological rather than dialogical in terms of political communication. Another element of this space of communication is the continuous circulation of rumors online. We are familiar with circulation of rumors of asylum seekers who misuse the social services and collect huge benefits, and who are said to cheat and lie about their identity. This circulation of rumors is something that Sara Ahmed (2004) refers to as affective economy where certain images, such as that of bogus asylum seeker, operate as sticky signs: different meanings stick to them and they get repeated through circulation.

Due to the circulation of rumors, there is a particular sensibility of irony and mistrust in the new media environment. The authenticity and the origins of the stories is constantly questioned, and the possibility of manipulation is always present. This characterizes political debates in so called post-deferential era (Andrejevic, 2013) that manifests in circulation of multiple stories and counter-narratives, so that in the end it is difficult to know the facts.

In this new media space, voicing one's views is easy; however, being heard becomes a challenge. Following Roger Silverstone (2007) I propose that the immigration debates require a *responsible host*. The idea of a responsible host connects with the notion of multi-ethnic public sphere (Husband, 1996) where everyone has the right to voice their concerns and also the right to be heard. In a multicultural society a responsible host would organize the co-presence of multiple voices in a shared space of

responsibility. This would mean, for example, professional media that would bring discussions together in a meaningful way, with guidance of ethical values and a goal of understanding rather than with the pursuit of financial profit. Therefore, it appears that the responsible host in the current media environment is more likely to become realized through public funding or with the support of private foundations rather than through commercial financing. In addition to financial aspects, there are two dimensions that are particularly relevant for the responsible media to succeed: transnational address and multi-genre approach. First, media need to identify and interact with the transnational dimensions of the society that operate on various levels from individual connections to online forums to local associations, and may not always be easy to recognize. The transnational connections, and the lived transnationalism of Europe need to be recognized in the media as well. Second, media should make use of the multi-genre approach to capture the complexities of the immigration and refugee issues. By this I mean combinations of factual narratives, documentaries, and long journalism that may enhance the understanding of complex situations. Multiple perspectives and multifocal storylines can illustrate the connections between global events and local situations and, most importantly, offer voice to the voiceless: to make us understand the scale of events and conflicts and the chain that follows.

Thus, the changing media environment, with new technological and economic structures, proposes challenges but also opportunities to create new forms of narratives, news and debates on immigration and refugee issues. Moreover, this challenge of responsible host, could be taken up by the professional media companies, but also by various foundations and NGOs.

The greatest challenge still is to get people to listen to each other's stories and to understand the complexity of migration and the actual hard situations of people who are seeking new futures in foreign countries. Therefore we need responsible hosts that can make connections, backgrounds and histories available with narratives that deserve to be told and noticed – so that they engage us and are not lost in the vast arrays of virtuality.

4.14 Media and Migration²¹

by *Rob McNeil*, Head of Media and Communications, The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford

Britain has a notoriously polarized media debate on migration. There are few subjects that seem to consistently vex the British press like migration. Conversely, though, there are few subjects that seem to consistently vex migration scholars like the British press. But the press, like migration, is a messy and complicated subject, and one that needs to be understood rather than railed at. This short piece is designed to give migration scholars an insight into the factors that make the British press so antipathetic to migration, and to help them to deal with the country's pugnacious media more effectively.

Let's start with a facile truism: A free press is a necessity for any real democracy. Voters must be informed about current events and developments; institutions must be scrutinized; public servants taken to task on their decisions and people's rights protected and championed – and this must be undertaken without onerous interference by the institutions or public servants who may face criticism.

These noble ideals can often seem a million miles away from the regular outpourings of celebrity scandal and ill-informed, ideologically-charged rants that often seem to dominate the British news media, particularly newspapers. The problem occurs because a free press comes at a price; that price is the abuse of the freedom of the press.

Anyone who reads newspapers in the UK will know that many of the headlines and images associated with immigration are designed to shock and anger the public. The Migration Observatory's recent empirical media analysis, which analyzed more than 58,000 newspaper stories, comprised of 43 million words²², showed that immigrants are generally framed by negative language – most commonly, as “illegal” – and words associated with migration tend to highlight the costs, pressures and risks associated with immigration.

The appetite of many sections of the British press for anti-immigration stories is seen by many migration scholars as disingenuous – to the extent that it constitutes a fundamental wrong to be righted. The subject was discussed by

²¹ Plenary Session 8 – Migration in the Media: a Tangled Love Affair?

²² See: <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/reports/migration-news>.

the Leveson Inquiry into media standards, and is the subject of daily lamentations on social media.

But the approach taken by the press to migration is, in fact, a largely inescapable consequence of the business considerations of media organizations, so understanding the motives and approaches of these organizations in dealing with the subject is valuable.

Most news organizations (with some exceptions) don't have any responsibility to be balanced in their coverage of any issue. They are businesses, not public servants, and their primary responsibility is to sell their content effectively enough to make money and keep the business functioning.

For a newspaper, this means understanding who buys your product and what they want, giving it to them, and building a relationship with them where they like and trust the content that you provide. This segmentation of the market means that if newspapers are selling their products to people who are likely to be broadly opposed to immigration they are not going to start challenging their readers' views.

Instead, they will try to tell their readers what they want to hear, and to help those readers feel that their positions are justified and sensible. Of course, it's never quite that simple – in order to be 'trusted' they will also have to make some (at least cursory) efforts to present counter arguments, and to present some of the shades of grey in the argument.

But there is a basic business case for anti-immigration news content. Repeated surveys, including the one carried out by the Migration Observatory²³, have shown that for decades a majority of British people have been concerned about levels of immigration. So stories that dwell on the negative aspects of immigration are more likely to resonate readers (and thus deliver benefits for news organizations) than stories that push the positive ones.

Of course there are also media outlets that champion liberal policies, but just like the anti-immigration ones, they are presenting what they think will be appealing to their readers to sell their products. The "Financial Times" takes a liberal line on immigration because business leaders tend to see immigration as a key tool in a global free market; "The Guardian" does so because its readers – such as teachers and University staff – are concerned about human rights.

Reinforcing your relationship with your readers (or viewers/users) is key for media outlets. Bring them together as a campaigning community allows

²³ See: <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/press-releases/other-half-story-oxford-university-study-uncovers-britain%E2%80%99s-real-views-immigration>.

news outlets to do this effectively. With a campaign to rally behind, this community can feel it is on the side of the angels, battling for righteous goals against a tide of villains and enemies – those who oppose the world-view that you (encouraged by your newspaper of choice) espouse.

In one section of the press these ‘villains’ can often be represented by immigrants, but ‘villains’ are a much wider group which also encompasses the opposing media and political camps. For the right-wing media this often means woolly-minded “Guardian readers”, the elites of the Labour Party who “opened the floodgates” or the EU supporting Lib Dems.

But it cuts both ways: on the more Left-wing side of the media divide the ‘villains’ are painted just as cartoonishly and with as little regard for balance and truth. Migrants may be broadly seen as victims, but their place as villains is replaced by small-minded nationalists. “Daily Mail readers” are characterized as people who read the wrong newspapers, and the Labour Party and Lib Dems are replaced as the political bad-guys the Conservatives UKIP.

Anti-immigration media outweighs the pro-(or at least ‘non-anti’) immigration media by a substantial margin because more British people are concerned about levels of migration than not, so it makes business sense for more of the press to capitalize on it.

Will this change? It’s pretty hard to see how – at least in the immediate future –but any migration scholars interested in participating in the media debate on immigration in the UK can at least acknowledge the nature of the market and work with it rather than against it.

“Working with it” means thinking about the needs, concerns and lives of the people who buy and use different types of media, rather than trying to distribute what you think a journalist or newspaper should publish. The uncomfortable truth is that the concerns of the person on the street may well differ greatly from your own, but if you can acknowledge and anticipate them, you may well find that the parts of the media that you may have otherwise avoided can be, if not an ally, then at least less of an adversary.

4.15 Media and Migration in Italy²⁴

by *Paolo Lambruschi*, Avvenire

Migration is the revolution of this century, but a recent poll, the “Ignorance Index”, confirmed what many of us suspected: Italy has the highest rate of ignorance on migration issues in the developed world. According to the Italian research institute Ipsos, the majority of Italians think that foreign residents in Italy constitute 30% of the total population. Official figures as reported in the 20th ISMU National Report say that they are the 7% of the total population. The same misrepresented vision concerns an alleged Muslim “invasion” of Italy perceived by public opinion. A large part of the Italian public believes that 20% of population is Islamic, while in reality the Islamic component is about 4%. The previous examples represent a problem for a journalist because they show there is a lot of wrong information about migration and a wrong use of the key words associated to it. In my opinion, one of the reasons of this situation lies in the structure of the Italian media system. We are not a people of readers and social media users. The Censis, one of the main Italian social research institutes, has since several years been studying the favourite media of Italians: television news is the main source for eight out of ten Italians and for seven out of ten among young Italians; only six out of ten Italians under the age of 30 use the Internet.

About a decade ago, the link between security and migration was a topical issue in the headlines. At the time, many political parties in Europe exploited the fear of foreigners to increase their consensus. In Italy, political campaigns were launched denouncing the supposed high crime rates among foreigners coming from Eastern Europe or Maghreb. And many media, in particular television broadcasters, supported that view. Such anti-immigration movement was counterbalanced by a counter-campaign by Italian journalists, trade unions and NGOs aimed at contrasting racist language used in articles and to fight the negative *clichés* associated with migrants. That effort, which has been often blamed for political correctness by opponents, has nevertheless provided important tools to journalists, academics and NGOs to propose different narratives about the migration phenomenon.

From the previous, it is possible to conclude that something has changed in Italian media discourses. However, public opinion too should not be considered as immobile. This is due to the fact that in the last years migration in Italy has changed and so its perception. For example, it is increasingly difficult

²⁴ Plenary Session 8 – Migration in the Media: a Tangled Love Affair?

to recognize an enemy in eastern women taking care of the elderly or in the families of African, Asian and Latin American migrants.

I think that migration issues are victim of the Italian press vices. Our media system produces a very high percentage, about 80%, of hot news regarding crimes, rapes etc., while the European average of hot news is just 15%. In other words, we think that in-depth consideration on the events is boring. But the Ignorance Index is clear: we are wrong.

There is a key word to explain the situation in which Italian media dealing with migration are trapped. It is the word *clandestino*, or stowaway, which has been recently forbidden by the FNSI (National Federation of Italian Press). Despite that, you can commonly listen TV news or newspapers using this word. I'm not a champion of politically correctness but the word *clandestino* is simply a non-sense and so are the concepts of illegal or irregular migrants.

It is a mistake we must correct as it sustains a misrepresentation of a tragedy where victims become guilty. There aren't regular passengers or ships on the route from Tripoli or Egypt to Lampedusa. And EU countries in their constitutional treaties have not foreseen an entry channel for people without a visa, being them asylum seekers or people escaping from wars, prosecution or hunger. European citizens can move freely within the Schengen area, but very few of those that are in need of protection are able to access "Fortress Europe". The only entry channel for those people is provided by smugglers. If you call them "clandestini" you simply ignore that in Africa and in the Middle East humanitarian emergencies are unfolding, and that the number of people who wants to reach Europe is constantly increasing.

What issues should we cover in our articles? I rarely have read or seen on television in depth reportages, analyses or interviews covering human trafficking, the second criminal business in the world. I covered this topic in 2010-2011, focusing on the Sinai region, where Eritreans and Sudanese people were kidnapped by Bedouin gangs and tortured, beaten and raped to force their families to pay high ransoms. Those who couldn't pay were sold to organs traffickers' gangs and killed. They were thousands of people. Sources for my reportage were an Eritrean priest living in Rome and an Eritrean nun living in Tel Aviv, who discovered the tortures listening to the victims in Israel. And more recently an Eritrean woman, a doctor and an activist, living in Milan who helps Eritreans kidnapped in Sinai. The "New Yorker" dedicated the priest a long article, while the US Department of State awarded the Eritrean nun a prize for her fight against trafficking. The Eritrean activist was interviewed by "Der Spiegel", CNN and other global media.

So, in my experience, NGOs sites, activist's blogs, Facebook pages of asylum seekers are often important sources for inquiries or reportages on migration related issues. Take for example the trip from Eritrea to Europe. This is a

very dangerous trip, which involves a growing number of unaccompanied minors. But mainstream media does not provide information on the circumstances of migrants attempting this dramatic journey. For example, we don't know what is happening to many migrants in the Sahara region. People crossing the sea or the desert have no name; nobody takes care of their personal dramas or in the dangers that they are facing. However, looking outside of the conventional media circuit, you can find several websites managed by migrants' relatives, widows, mothers or orphans seeking desperately news about their missing relatives.

I think that as journalists we have the duty to collect all these stories and tell them with honesty to our readers. They represent the tragedy of our century and we are failing to shed light on that tragedy.

5. Metropolis Scholarship Winning Papers

5.1 Between Constraints and Opportunities. Housing Careers of Roma Migrants in Turin

by *Chiara Manzoni*²⁵

5.1.1 Introduction

According to the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) “Housing condition of Roma and Travelers in the European Union” report, many Roma and Travelers in the EU are disadvantaged in private and social housing. This disadvantage consists of discrimination in access housing, poor housing conditions, segregation and forced evictions (FRA, 2009). All around Europe, Roma are more endangered by homelessness than non-Roma. This high risk of homelessness²⁶ concerns the tenure insecurity, as well as the discrimination on the housing market. That said, the topic of my paper is the analysis of the housing careers of Roma who moved from camps and slums, focusing on the possibility opened by the housing projects carried out by the Council of Turin.

5.1.2 An excursus of the Italian context

The presence of Roma in Italy is estimated between 170.000 and 180.000 people (UNAR, 2012) representing a small percentage of the population (0.2 per cent). Sinti and Roma groups settled in Italy from the 15th century (Pi-

²⁵ Nadia Manzoni holds a PhD in Applied Sociology from the University of Milan-Bicocca.

²⁶ The concept of homelessness is defined in broader sense by the European ETHOS typology. For more details see www.feantsa.org.

asere, 1999). They belong to a range of different communities as a result of different migratory waves. Moreover, they are not a homogeneous group, either in terms of juridical status, religion, language or country of origin.

Nowadays in Italy, about one-third of the Roma and Sinti population is living in settlements (Brunello, 1996; Raxen, 2009). The abolishment of differences among groups, as well as the constant representation by mass media and political representatives of Roma as a public order problem, contributed to the negative circle of marginalisation and social exclusion. The common belief of nomadism as a cultural feature contributed in supporting the orientation of institutional policies, producing specific and targeted housing policies for Roma. Indeed, during the last thirty years the housing policies designed for Roma and Sinti have consisted in building “equipped transit and stopped areas”, with the objective of controlling their presence, by circumscribing the space in which they are authorised to live (Sigona, 2005; Tosi, 2008) as well as protecting and preserving their presumed nomad culture. The poor and unsafe conditions of their housing situation within settlements are an important obstacle to their integration, affecting several dimensions of their lives, such as health, employment and educational opportunities.

In 2008, as part of a larger anti-immigrant national campaign, the Italian government introduced the “Nomad Emergency Decree”, which was extended in 2009 and 2010. The Decree granted extraordinary powers to the Prefects of Naples, Rome and Milan (extended in 2009 also to the Prefects of Venice and Turin), who carried out special interventions targeted to Roma. The emergency situation was tackled mainly through an increased control of settlements, relocation and creation of new camps, facilitated repatriations and evictions. National and international pro-Roma advocacy groups condemned this emergency decree. On November 16th 2011, the decree was annulled by the State Council (Consiglio di Stato, 2011) and the emergency was definitely ended in 2013, by a decision of the Italian Supreme Court of Justice. As a consequence of that decision, the Prefectures had to stop on-going interventions and restore to the Ministry the resources not committed. In the case of Turin, a project on relocation of slum dwellers was initiated and then stopped, a circumstance that produced several negative effects on Roma beneficiaries. The financial resources were re-assigned only several months later.

In this paper, I will explore the housing careers of Roma who moved from urban settlements. I will focus on the institutional possibility, opened by the housing projects carried out by the Council of Turin, as well as on the expectations, risks and survival strategies implemented by Roma families.

Methodologically, the study is based on a multi-sited ethnographic research (Marcus, 1995) carried out in Italy, Romania and Bosnia. I focused

on the city of Turin (Northern Italy), where I analysed the housing careers of 30 Roma who left a camp or a slum. I reconstructed the pathways of exiting from homelessness, and I tried to identify similar mechanisms and processes that generate the exits. I also carried out several interviews with civil servants and NGO's support workers, activists and volunteers.

5.1.3 Roma camps and housing projects in Turin

The Municipality of Turin has always been concerned by the presence of the Roma community. The arrival of the first Romani from former Yugoslavia in the 1960s as well as the second influx in the late 1970s triggered the intervention of the public authority. The municipal 'Nomadism and Emergency Settlement Office' and the 'Nomads Patrols' were founded in the city of Turin in 1982, despite the city had dealt with the presence of Roma since 1970s. The municipality action was twofold: on the one hand, new camps were created and equipped²⁷, while on the other the presence of Roma and Sinti living in urban slums was tolerated through the regulation of these informal settlements. According to the Regional law of 1993, during these years four camps were equipped and legalized: two of them for Sinti, and two for Roma migrants from former Yugoslavia. The above-mentioned regional law represented the institutional umbrella for interventions and measures addressing Roma in Turin.

Starting from the 2000s, with a peak in 2007, a large number of Romanian Roma migrated to Turin. They settled down mainly close to the Stura River, near to a fenced camp. Nowadays, Turin counts four equipped and legalized camps, one tolerated settlement and several illegal slums. In particular, illegal slums are mostly inhabited by Romanian Roma, while the equipped and municipally camps are mainly inhabited by Sinti and former Yugoslavian Roma.

A direct and recent interest of local institutions has followed the latest migratory flow of Romanian Roma since 2007. During the following years, different projects, mainly addressed to EU Roma, were carried out by the 'Nomad and Emergency Settlement Office', in partnership with different NGOs. Focusing on the housing interventions, it is important to underline that in 1995 the Piedmont Region opened the access of social housing to foreigners. As a consequence, starting from that year, some Roma families living in municipal camps were supported by municipal officers and were

²⁷ The first equipped area for nomads was set up by Opera Nomadi, a pro-Roma religious charity.

relocated into public social housing. Many families were excluded, on the grounds that most of them came from the Former Yugoslavia and they were undocumented²⁸. In fact, a crucial condition to access the public housing is to have been resident or to have worked regularly for at least three years in the city. These criteria often exclude the EU Roma slum dwellers, who are not legally resident within the slum. Another criterion to access the public housing that may represent an obstacle for Roma is the requirement not to have been involved in squatting.

In 2007, in order to face those obstacles, the ‘Nomadism Office’ in partnership with NGOs²⁹ created a project called “Abit-Azioni”, aimed at placing EU Roma slum dwellers with a regular job in private accommodation. In order to accomplish this goal, the municipality provided work bursaries for unemployed EU Roma, covering the first six months of salary. After the probation period supported by the project, the condition was that the employer had to consider the possibility to confirm the new Roma employees. Linking the work bursaries with the Abit-Azioni project, the beneficiaries were supported by the municipal officers in finding houses available in the free market. The project covered the first 18 months of rent, helping the families to afford the costs of renting, by providing benefits that decreased month after month. Landlords were also supported by tax deductions. The initial goal was to relocate 50 families who were living in the slum and to move them into apartments, while the actual beneficiaries were 37 families (Quaglia and Tosato, 2010). Moreover, the majority of the families involved in the Abit-Azioni project were already living in flats and experiencing several difficulties to afford the rental costs. Due to the criteria of selecting Roma slum dwellers, the main obstacle was finding families with existing, regular job and a regular income. Indeed, the mechanism based on 6 months work bursaries and accommodation was not enough to afford the expenses, as the majority of employers involved didn’t renovate the job contracts. As result, it became difficult to find Roma families to move out of the slum.

In addition to the Abit-Azioni project, “the Dice” was another temporary project of social housing inclusion targeted to EU Roma slum dwellers. It was carried out starting from 2010 by a network of NGOs. The aim was to relocate several families evicted from a slum. The families involved in the project were assigned to restore and redecorate their own apartments, working for a local construction company. In the context of this project a total of 35 EU

²⁸ Despite their undocumented situation, they are allowed to legally remain in Italy just in case they reside inside the equipped camp.

²⁹ The NGOs involved were Cooperativa Valdocco, Associazione Italiana Zingari Oggi and Stranidea.

Roma slum dwellers had the possibility to live in new and refurbished flats. The access criteria for beneficiaries were to have children attending school and the agreement to pay a symbolic amount of money, covering the electricity and gas bills. The temporary accommodation was provided for maximum period of three years.

Recently, with the financial resources assigned during the “Nomad Emergency”, the municipality of Turin in partnership with several NGOs is implementing a new housing project called “The possible city”. The targeted beneficiaries groups are EU Roma slum dwellers living in Lungo Stura, a huge slum which will be fully evicted at the end of the project (December 2015). The project is still active and only a few numbers of families have been relocated in new and temporary flats.

5.1.4 Expectations, risks and Roma strategies

The housing career is the result of the relationship between constraints and opportunities. Trajectories depend on a variety of dynamic and complex factors. The individual sphere is combined with the structural dimension. Trajectories incorporate material, cognitive and social resources as well as perceived opportunities and capabilities to take advantage of these resources. From my data, I identified a range of different types of housing careers, which reproduce different structural and individual ties. The starting point is the dwelling inside the camps or slums and the decision-making process of the individual. The exit moment represents an important point to observe the pathway, while the main object of interest is the entire housing career.

For the evaluation of the different pathways, I identified four axes of analysis. First I distinguished between those who have experienced a stable path, maintaining the reached condition, and those who have lived precarious paths, changing dwellings often. The key variable in this case is the time spent inside the same housing solution. Secondly, I focused my attention on the places where people used to live before they moved; therefore, I distinguished between slums and legalized camps³⁰. In addition, I explored the different typologies of housing solutions where the families moved in. Finally, I stressed the support environment around them, distinguishing between dependent or independent exits.

³⁰ “Legalized camps” are established by local authorities and supplied with basic facilities, while slums are unauthorized spontaneous settlements. However these two accommodations are characterized by a different juridical condition, in both of the cases the inhabitants lack of a safe, stable and appropriate house.

Through the reconstruction of housing careers of former Yugoslavian Roma moving from municipal and equipped camp, I found that the most typical residential solution has often been represented by public housing. These pathways are characterized by quite a linear phase, facilitated by a slow accumulation of resources. The result is that for many families the public housing solution became a stable and durable condition of dwelling. In some cases, the families acquired the public apartment, becoming owners. Another permanent solution is represented by accommodations built in a piece of private land. In most of the cases, dwellings reach comparable or even a better quality than formally produced housing. Moreover, the accommodations are composed by multi-family and multi-dwelling solutions, guaranteeing the proximity to the extended family.

Slightly different are the stories of Romanian Roma, whose housing paths started from a slum. As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, they migrated to Turin later, and years after the massive access of foreigners to public housing waiting list. For these households, the main constraints of obtaining public housing were represented by the impossibility to demonstrate to have resided for at least three years within the Turin area. The majority of the families who have moved from a slum were made of EU Romanian Roma. They rented privately a flat, or they shared a flat with other people (relatives or not relatives). When they rented, they generally moved independently, supported by an informal network of relatives, friends or colleagues. This kind of informal support is very common among slum-dwellers who generally used brokers autonomously. As Sosin (1990) and Piliavin (1996) argue in their analysis of exit routes from homelessness, the notion of “independent” means without the on-going formal support of social service or welfare agencies, while the “dependent” exits are those supported by formal and institutional networks. Drawing the paths from slums, I found cases of families entering in the temporary housing projects I mentioned: “The Dice” and “Abit-Azioni project”. Both these projects were time-limited and their temporarily character was their main weakness. Indeed, the majority of the families involved experienced a condition of vulnerability even during the months spent in the flat. When support to cover housing expenses expired, the majority of the families came back to the slums.

An important factor is represented by the time frame that families spend within the settlement in a homelessness condition. Indeed, living without rent cost increases the amount of economical capital that the migrant can send home to support their children, elderly parents or to refurbish or build a home. The aim is to make a sacrifice today for future benefits and well-being. The time spent inside a settlement produces a progressive adaptation to deprivation and the motivational resource to move away is progressively

replaced by passivity and resignation. The time frame is limited to the present. For these reasons, the availability of economical capital is not sufficient to determine the exit process that requires both a strong motivation, and the capacity of autonomy and long-range planning.

5.1.5 Conclusion

In this paper, I analysed the housing careers of Roma who moved from a settlement, evaluating the experiences and agency as well as the institutional constraints and opportunities.

Besides showing the multiple paths possible for Roma people who leave the camp or the slum, the knowledge and understanding of the nature of homeless exits and of the mechanisms facilitating the transition out of homelessness is crucial from a policy-making point of view. Indeed while for some families the main problem is represented by the lack of housing opportunities, for others obtaining a house did not alter the vulnerability of their condition. Most of the families supported by temporary housing projects, were not able to maintain the stability. The vulnerability of these families did not change during the limited time of the project and when it finished they were not able to afford a rent in the free housing market.

Certainly, in most of the cases I studied, every support provided by the municipal officers and by the NGOs were focused within the settlements. Living inside the settlement offers relational resources as well as information compared to the help and technical support provided by the institutional officers and NGO's workers. Furthermore, the settlement provides places and occasions where inhabitants can perform income-generating activities such as grocery shops, garages for car repair etc. In light of these reasons, for many families leaving the settlements contributed to further exclusion and isolation and it did not represent a guarantee of enhancement in housing stability.

5.2 After Migration. Lifestyles of Highly Skilled Belarusian Returnees

by *Nadya Bobova*³¹

5.2.1 Introduction

In the last decades, the social sciences community has increasingly recognized transnationalism as an analytically sophisticated approach to study contemporary forms of global mobility. The perspective of transmigration research investigates linkages and network structures established between a country of origin and a country of destination. Large bulk of research has confirmed that, when abroad, immigrants are often involved into cross-border relationships and activities and that they establish broad transnational networks with locals and their relatives, friends and colleagues in their home countries. Moreover, these transnational practices are continuously intensified by extensive technological advancements and changes in the structure of the global market and expanding globalization.

In the course of the twentieth century, rapid population increase, sustained economic growth and decolonisation brought about an intensification of international migration that has played a big role in the lives of both individuals and states. Yet, the past decades have been characterized by the emergence of a very specific type of migration: those of highly skilled persons. The definition of “highly skilled” is neither universal nor internationally compatible. This study uses a broad definition of highly skilled: highly skilled professionals are those who have completed at least one level of tertiary education and/or are qualified in a specific field. For the purpose of this research, I excluded from the study the downshifted highly skilled professionals: the data is collected only from those who have obtained their degree or have had a qualified occupation when living abroad. The international mobility of highly skilled is likely to increase: expansion of global labour markets, faster and cheaper transportation and information, ageing of the workforce in developed countries, etc. will definitely contribute to this trend (Lowell and Findlay, 2002).

Yet, migration should not be considered exclusively as a one-way and permanent movement, as stressed in large part of theoretical and empirical literature. Indeed, migration is a dynamic process: many people leave their home countries and permanently settle in another country; scholars emphasize that many others will return to their home countries, immigrate to other

³¹ Nadya Bobova is a PhD candidate at University of Trento.

countries, and/or move backwards and forwards between multiple countries (Ley, Kobayashi, 2005; Patterson, 2006; Faist, 2013). Temporary migrations are frequent, and often the rule rather than the exception (Dustmann, 2003). Some recent studies indicate that, conditional upon the country of destination and the period of time considered, 20% to 50% of immigrants leave within five years after their arrival, either to return home or to move on to a third country (Dumont, Spielvogel, 2008).

Despite sizeable literature on return migration, it is still not very clear what factors trigger the highly skilled migrants' decision to return and what impact that decision has on their home societies and their own individual lives. What do happen to their lifestyles once they return to their home countries? Do these people stop to be “transnational” or do they modify and rearrange their transnational orientation into some “double transnationalism” form? How do they manage their transnational experience?

This study aims to provide a comprehensive description of the connotations and meanings that highly skilled Belarusian professionals confer to the main components of their lifestyles. Belarus, being an understudied country of the Post-Soviet region, is considered to be an interesting case, particularly because of consistent flows of highly educated people from that country to the main post-industrial regions (Yeliseyeu, 2012).

5.2.2 Context of research³²

Belarus is situated in Eastern Europe and borders with Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Russia and Ukraine. The shortest transport links between the EU and CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) go through the territory of Belarus, so it has always been and remains a hub for European migration.

Belarus regained its independence in 1991, after the collapse of the USSR. It is a bilingual country, where Russian and Belarusian are two equal official languages. However, most of the population tends to speak Russian.

From 1990 to 2009, the main receiving countries were Russia and Ukraine. Traditionally, the most popular destination countries beyond CIS were Israel, the USA, Canada and Germany. Cases of emigration to these countries formed 60% of all emigration cases to non-CIS countries in 2009 (compared

³² Based mainly on: Migration Policy Centre (2013) “MPC Migration Profile: Belarus”, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute; Bobrova A. et al. (2012) “Social Impact of Emigration and Rural–Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe. Belarus”. Final Country Report, European Commission DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion.

to 80% in 2000). However, official statistics shows high emigration intensity to non-CIS countries at the beginning of the period and its stabilisation towards the end. In contrast, Eurostat data indicates that the number of Belarusians living in the EU increased considerably within this period, particularly in Germany, Italy, and the Czech Republic. Nevertheless, this difference might be connected with the fact that not all Belarusians residing in the EU countries have abandoned their permanent residence in Belarus.

The majority of labour migrants moving toward the European Union are female, whilst the contrary is observed regarding flows to Russia and other CIS states. In the Eurostat statistics for 2009, there are on average two thirds of women and one third of men among Belarusian citizens. In Germany, as the most important EU receiving country, women constitute 69% and in Italy, as the second most important EU receiving country, women even account for 80% of all Belarusian citizens.

People with tertiary education, according to official statistics, migrate more frequently compared than people with lower levels of education. The proportion of people with tertiary education among emigrants is 25% while the share of people with tertiary education in the total population is about 14%. Over the 2002-2007 period, the difference between women immigrants and women emigrants with tertiary education constituted about 1,500 persons – Belarus faces the challenge of the “highly educated brides” drain (Shakhotska, 2009). Most of the labour migrants with tertiary education moved to the Czech Republic (37.7% of all labour migrants to the country), Italy (39.6%), Germany (55.2%), and the USA (71.7%).

As far as brain drain is concerned, scientific and pedagogical profession outflows were monitored during the last two decades³³. According to the monitoring data, migration outflow of scientists and highly qualified specialists in the period 1996-2006 was close to 0.1% of all scientific employees per year. Until the mid-1990s, scientists and teachers were moving mostly to Israel, Russia and the USA. Then, the direction changed and France and Germany became the main host countries. Finally, during the period 2004-2006 the main destinations for scientists and teachers were Russia, Germany and the USA. According to experts, the share of the intellectual elite (those who have a PhD or doctoral degree) was about 5% of all emigrants with high education in 1996-2006. The amount of damage, estimated by the UN method, was close to USD 15 million (Shakhotska, 2009).

The legislation base for return migration encouragement and the framework for the provision of integration support to returnees have not yet

³³ By the Institute of Sociology of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus.

been adopted in Belarus. Only a draft version of the law has been elaborated. It includes a set of provisions for integration support for those who have Belarusian roots. For instance, they are provided with the simplified procedure of citizenship application, which implies almost equal rights to the native population, including free health care and education systems coverage, social security and pension system coverage. The greatest drawback of this provision is that one can apply for Belarusian citizenship only at the expense of the previous citizenship (dual citizenship is not allowed)³⁴.

5.2.3 Data and methodology

This study is based mainly on 43 in-depth interviews with highly skilled Belarusian professionals. I have collected the data from April to October 2014 in Belarus. The biggest problem was to find these people, and then to convince them to talk to me. In my personal network I had only two potential informants. Facebook became the main channel for finding other informants – I posted several announcements about my research and shared it with all my contacts. Some of informants have been recommended to me by my friends, others, surprisingly, contacted me spontaneously. I managed to reach three informants through mass media – they had been already interviewed by some Internet information portals. Three potential informants refused to participate in this research.

There were three criteria for selection of informants – a high qualification, the length of period spent by them in the host country (5-years minimum), and the deliberateness of the migration decisions, both to emigrate (refugees and children excluded) and to return (illegal immigrants and asylum-seekers' deportation are excluded). The destination country and the type of migration – either labour or education – have been considered irrelevant for the selection process. The interviews were conducted mostly in public places, such as cafes and restaurants. The average length of the meetings was about two hours; the interviews have been audio-recorded. Forty interviews were conducted in Russian, three in Belarusian, one informant refused to be recorded. Among the informants there are 12 women and 31 men aged from 25 to 57 years (34 years is the median age). Ten informants are engaged in a sentimental relationship, 21 are married, while 12 are single. The host countries are the

³⁴ In order to obtain the Belarusian citizenship, a person has to relinquish her previous citizenship. Belarusian citizen may obtain a foreign citizenship if that country admits double citizenship. In this case, however, Belarus does not recognize a foreign citizenship.

following: Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hong Kong, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Spain, Tajikistan, Ukraine, the USA.

The second source of data is two types of Internet forums. The first regards the forums dedicated to such question as “Would you return to Belarus?”; the second type relates to discussions of the articles speaking about people who returned to Belarus from abroad. These count hundreds of users and thousands of posts. Definitely, there are many off-topic messages, but still, such forums are very rich of opinions, experiences and discussions. In this research, I use forums in order to understand what “return” means for Belarusians and what they think about the (potential) returnees. More generally, in this way I examine the public opinion towards return migration in Belarus.

All the data is analyzed by the software for qualitative research ATLAS.ti 7.

5.2.4 Preliminary results

As the analysis of the collected data is an on-going process, here I will present only preliminary results of both parts of this research.

Few years ago the biggest Belarusian information online portal TUT.by launched an online survey on migration intentions among Belarusians with more than 25 thousands participants: 55% of them responded that they would emigrate at the first opportunity; 15% claimed that they do not want to go anywhere; 10% felt themselves too old for emigration; 4% were happy to live abroad, and 1% of the respondents intended to return to Belarus³⁵. Though there is no official statistics regarding the return migration to Belarus, I have an impression that in recent years return became an option for the Belarusian emigrants. Many people go abroad, but many people also return. Of course, I am not referring at it as of mass phenomenon but, still, more and more Belarusians choose to go back to their home country. Forum-contributors cannot stand for the whole population³⁶ but generally, in recent years, the quantity of Internet-users in Belarus has been very high³⁷.

The vision of return varies a lot in different groups of forum-contributors. Basing on my own impressions, I can say that the immobile part of forums' population has negative and even aggressive attitude towards those who came

³⁵ Other options as “My own answer” were available.

³⁶ According to the 1% rule, for every person who posts on a forum, generally about 99 other people are viewing that forum but not posting (McConnell, Huba, 2006).

³⁷ By 2014, 62.2% of adult population of Belarus were Internet-users. Almost 90% of everyday Internet-users are from 15 to 49 years old.

back or think about doing it. In the best case, the comments are just neutral. People who have experienced emigration are quite positive towards the decision to return – the comments usually regard the difficult economic situation in foreign countries, the possibility to earn or to run own business in Belarus, or the emotional attachment to the relatives and the country in general. Interestingly, the initiators of the majority of these forums are those who stay abroad and cannot decide whether to return. A typical situation is where a person who stays abroad, gives few examples of other people who returned and did it successfully (got a job, bought a flat, run her own business and so on). However, these people seemed very suspicious when I tried to get their contacts in order to have an interview. Once, I was even accused of fraud.

As I found out later from the interviews, nobody (with few exceptions) of my informants had any acquaintance with similar return experience. Many of them mentioned people who returned to Belarus after a much shorter period, while returns after more-than-5-years period remained all but single cases.

Drawing on the collected interviews, I argue that the highly skilled Belarusian returnees manage their transnational practices and involvement in two ideal-typical ways – either locally – or transnationally-oriented. In simple terms, some of the informants continue to be actively engaged into transnational practices³⁸ with their host – and other foreign countries, while others decided to “forget” their international experience and concentrate their life experiences exclusively in Belarus. Of course, these are the poles, and there is the third part of informants who occupy the middle position in this range from locally to transnationally-oriented.

I argue that formation of different patterns of transnationalism among highly skilled returnees relates largely to their transnational experiences while living abroad, along with life-course transitions occurring along such life domains trajectories as education, work, and family.

There is the evidence, that the locally-oriented have been highly integrated into the Belarusian (or ex-Soviet) diaspora and have had few contacts among the locals. I observed the reverse situation in the stories of transnationally-oriented informants. Some of the informants told about their conscious decision to distance themselves from the Russian-speaking acquaintances –

³⁸ Transnational practices include mobility across space (physical movement from Belarus to other countries); economic practices (investments, commerce, working for foreign company, travelling for job reasons, shopping abroad, house property abroad); social practices (contacts with family/friends (Belarusians) living, contact with locals from abroad, involvement in foreign organizations/associations; political practices (voting abroad, holding a foreign citizenship); and cultural practices: (writing or/and speaking in foreign language, reading foreign books/magazines/newspapers; watching foreign television/films).

“when you go abroad in the beginning you are constrained to have contacts with those who are available and not with the people whom you are interested in”. The experience of return for many became decisive in understanding where their home is. While the locally-oriented informants claimed to have “found” their homes in Belarus, the transnationally-oriented ones see home as something mobile and interchangeable. They “switch between these [foreign] languages freely; they are all equal. The same is with home” – according to situation they just choose a “home” that fits better.

Stereotyping and discrimination, going hand in hand, may be in close relation with transnational attitudes of migrants being discriminated in the host-country and can hardly contribute to the development of positive relationships leading to transnationalism. While there is no direct witness of any kind of discrimination, some of the informants regret for being excluded from the local social circles. Many of them mentioned the concept of “difference”. “We are different” is a usual comment about social relationships with the locals, and the most striking observation is that the mostly stressed difference is that with the closest societies to Belarus – Russia, Ukraine, and Poland. In fact, the discourse of “Europeity” has been raised – Belarus is considered to belong to the European heritage and not to pro-Russian one.

From empirical data emerge that those who went abroad to obtain the first-level tertiary degree and then came back participate in less transnational practices, while those who emigrated on later education stages (for Master or PhD degree) or for work-related reasons seem to be more active on the transnational arena. Furthermore, some testimonies suggest that establishing of stable family relationship abroad as well as going abroad with a spouse contributes to the intensification of transnational exchange relationships. Moreover, the transnationally-oriented informants are quite confident about their intentions to transmit their transnational values to their children and in some cases they are already doing so.

5.3 Opportunities and Constraints of Return Migration: The Case of Moroccans from Lombardy back to Tadla Azilal

*by Francesco Marini*³⁹

This article is based on the results of a research about Moroccan migrants returning home from Italy.

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In particular, the research analysed the experiences of some migrant entrepreneurs who originate from the region of Tadla Azilal and lived or are still living in the Italian region of Lombardy.

Moroccans represent one of the main migratory flows towards Italy even if its growth rate has diminished in the last few years (ISMU 2014). Next to the flow of people still migrating to Italy, there is an opposite flow composed by Moroccans returning back home temporarily or permanently (Cered, 2004; Khachani et al., 2008; Khachani, 2011; Etf 2013). The entrepreneurs analysed by the research are considered as return migrants since they returned home or started to visit their home place much more often and for longer periods than in the past. This trend is mainly due to the economic crisis in Italy that pushed them to start up economic investments in their place of origin.

Since migrants know very well both the context where they live and the one where they come from, they are perfectly aware of the needs and opportunities of each one. They also know how the skills acquired in migration fit in the social and economic context of the home place. For these reasons many of them decide to start new businesses either returning back home or managing their activities from abroad. Some others migrants create partnerships with host countries entrepreneurs in order to share their respective competencies.

The article shows that, because of the long time they spent in Italy and their economic interests back home, Moroccans often live dual lives, simultaneously belonging both to the host and the home place (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Basch et al., 1994; Portes, 2001; Vertovec, 2009). For that reason, the creation of an enterprise in Morocco does not necessarily mean they return home definitely (Bouoiyour, Miftah, 2013).

5.3.1 Return migration: a theoretical point of view

Cassarino (2004) identifies five theories to explain the phenomenon of return migration. The first one is based on neo-classic economy: people migrate to improve their life conditions. Thus people who succeed in their project stay abroad, while people return home only when they fail. According to the New Economics of Labour Migration, the migratory path is part of a strategy pursued by the household. A third theory derived from the structuralism vision holds that migrants return decision is due to partial information they have at disposal. Once they are in the home country, they have to cope with reintegration issues in the local socio-cultural context and they do not have the chance to influence it. If migrants do not succeed in their reintegration, they take into consideration the opportunity to re-emigrate. Cassarino considers

transnationalism as a fourth point of view according to which return migration takes place when migrants have accumulated financial resources and, at the same time, they have acquired sufficient information about the home country. These two conditions allow them to prepare properly their return, also creating the condition to maintain some contacts with the host country. Finally, the author identifies a last theory based on cross-border social relationships: thanks to their social and economic links with the home country, migrants can access information and mobilise different kinds of resources to prepare their return. In that sense, the return is seen as one of the conclusion phases of the migratory path, which involves both migrants and non-migrants.

The case studies analysed present elements of each one of these theories. It means that migrants are pushed to go back home by different motivations and paths. Nonetheless, the differentiation between transnationalism and cross border social links proposed by Cassarino, does not convince since transnational connections are made up of cross border links. In fact, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) affirm the concept of «transnational social field» to indicate different kinds of social connections among which ideas, practices and resources are exchanged throughout national borders. Furthermore, Boccagni (2009) puts into light how transnational networks are shaped by social connections and actions, since both contribute to maintain links between the two shores of migration and between migrants and non-migrants.

5.3.2 Back to Morocco: some data

A research conducted by Etf (2013) on return migrants to Morocco shows that most of them are men going to live in urban contexts. The average age is 42 for men and 39 for women. Many of them (44%) returned because of difficulties connected to the economic crisis. Nonetheless, 5% of return migrants decided to return home to invest there. In fact, 18% of returned migrants works as entrepreneur and has some dependants. The research by Etf highlights the typical characteristics of the Moroccan return migrant: he is usually a single man with a low level of education and stays abroad about 10 years on the average. Nonetheless, Moroccan return migrants generally have a better level of qualification than the national average. The higher the level of migrants' education, the better are their competences and professional experiences acquired while in migration. So, they have the chance to re-enter in the Moroccan job market in a better position than the one they had before leaving. According to the data of Etf, after being returned migrants can count on their own social capital in order to find out a job mainly as dependant.

Even if return migrants giving rise to some entrepreneurial investments are only a few of the total, data show that migration increases the chance to become an entrepreneur, as it is confirmed by Bouoiyour and Miftah (2013)⁴⁰. That research explained that factors like gender, the level of education, the financial and professional situation, the level of personal savings and owning or not a house influence migrants propensity to re-settle in the homeland. Women tend to return back to Morocco less than men because of the social and economic autonomy acquired abroad; moreover, migrants with a better level of education have access to better jobs and salaries in the host country than the ones they would have access in the home land. Thus, they are not stimulated to return.

Moroccans are the biggest migrant community in Italy and represent one of the first migratory flows to the country since the beginnings of 1980s. They are scattered in all the Italian regions but it is possible to observe that in certain regions there are concentrations of Moroccans coming from specific regions of the homeland. Most of the Moroccan migrants living in Lombardy originates from the region of Tadla-Azilal. Migrants coming from this region represent the 36% while in all the other Italian regions they are only the 10% of the local Moroccan community.

Entrepreneurial investments are one of the main motivations pushing migrants to return to Tadla-Azilal, thanks to a local context particularly suitable for industrial and artisanal activities. Many migrants decide to move definitely to the home place either to start a new business or to manage businesses they had previously started.

Some researches (Cered, 2004; Khachani et al., 2008; Khachani, 2011; ETF, 2013) show that migration constitutes a big push for the entrepreneurial sector in Tadla Azilal. In fact, a few years after being returned 10% of the ex-migrants work as entrepreneurs while almost no one of them did it before migrating. Half of those who started a business in Tadla-Azilal worked as dependants in the host country while 25% worked already on their own.

Resources for investments are provided by personal savings (80%). Only a few migrants ask for a bank loan because of both religious motivations and to a certain scepticism from banks about return migrants' investment projects (Cassarino, 2008). The main sectors in which return migrants invest in Tadla-Azilal are: trade (48,5%), agriculture (24,6%), building (22,7%) and real estate sector (15,2%).

⁴⁰ These authors analysed the results of a research carried out in 2007 about the Moroccan community in France with the aim of analysing the main factors influencing the decision to return to the home country.

5.3.3 Entrepreneurship pushing factors on both shores of migration

The research took into consideration the experiences of single entrepreneurs as well as consortiums grouping Moroccan and Italian entrepreneurs working in different sectors. Investment projects are the outcome of migrants' evaluation of the opportunities and constraints of both sending and hosting contexts.

Taking into consideration the Italian side, the participation to training courses aiming at creating new business activities have pushed some migrants to put into practice their desire to invest. These experiences have provided them with new skills and information to start up new activities in the home country also using the professional skills acquired in Italy.

The economic crisis plays also an important role. Because of it, some migrants have taken into consideration the opportunities offered by the market in Tadla-Azilal and transferred there their enterprises, which they had previously created in Italy.

The level of social integration in the Italian context represents another push factor. This can be seen in particular in the case of consortiums: the creation of networks including different actors has allowed migrants to get in contact with Italian entrepreneurs, thus having the chance to know the opportunities offered by Morocco.

In some cases, the start-up of a new enterprise takes place because of personal, cultural and religious motivations connected to the family of origin. Italian and Moroccan cultures are very different and migrants do not want their children to lose their parents' culture. This fact pushes some people to start investing back home in order to be able to resettle there with their families.

In some other cases, the interest of Italian entrepreneurs towards Moroccan economic context has created the opportunity for some people to return. In fact, in order to manage their businesses in Morocco, Italian investors need to count on the collaboration of trusty people who know local culture and language. This has pushed some Italian businessmen to ask to some of their Moroccan dependants in Italy to return to the home country to represent them and manage their businesses.

The cases studied put into evidence how the decision to return back home to start up an enterprise is influenced also by the concrete opportunities offered by the Moroccan context in general and the one of Tadla-Azilal in particular.

The existence of financing programs specifically designed for Moroccans residing abroad has played in certain cases a central role for the creation of an enterprise in the home place. In particular, the "Mdm Invest" program

has attracted some migrants. It is a program managed by the government that allows banks to concede very convenient loans to entrepreneurial projects of 2 million dirham at least. If the projects are positive evaluated by the banks, Moroccans residing abroad obtain by the state the 10% of the total amount of the project as a non-repayable grant, the 65% is provided by the banks as a low rate loan while another 25% should be put by the entrepreneur.

Moreover the actual expansion phase of Moroccan economic market is another factor attracting migrants to return back home. In the region of Tadla-Azilal the building sector is particularly flourishing. Against this situation some migrants moved back home pushed by what they saw on their own during their annual visits and what other entrepreneurs, previously returned from Italy, told them.

Another motivation is related to family problems especially when parents are old and the many other family members have emigrated abroad.

5.3.4 Problems to start up a transnational enterprise

Migrants have to overcome some barriers to create and affirm their economic activity. From the cases investigated by the research, it emerges that the main obstacles are related to the Moroccan context. Nonetheless, return migrant meet some difficulties in Italy too.

In Italy, many courses to promote the start-up of new economic activities provide migrants with only theory input. These initiatives often give information only about things such as how to write a business plan and manage an economic activity. This information is useless if migrants do not know local market characteristics or they cannot achieve a bank credit. In fact, some aspiring entrepreneurs have abandoned their initial plan after having attended this kind of courses, after having realised that they would have had to risk their own financial means in order to be eligible for a bank loan.

Some well-established entrepreneurs in the area of Tadla Azilal show the difficulty to get in contact with Italian business partners. They are not able to exploit the social capital gained after having spent many years in Italy. This fact represents a loss both for the Italian and Moroccan market: return migrants would like to take advantage of the low cost of the work in Morocco and to use Italian technology to produce some goods for the Italian market. But they do not know how and with who to get in contact to put this idea into practice.

Italian entrepreneurs have often some stereotypes impeding them to see Morocco as an expanding economy, where investments are secure and facilities are offered to foreign investors. Thus a reciprocal loss of

opportunities takes place in both the shores of migration. On the other side, also Moroccan entrepreneurs, who never migrated, do not know Italian enterprises and the way they work. For that reason the creation of commercial partnership requires more time to take place.

As already anticipated, return migrants have to face many difficulties in the Moroccan context to start up their economic activity. They have to cope with difficulties to access credit and specific programs like the “Mdm invest”. Some projects were assisted by bank foundations sustaining the creation of new enterprises in preparing their investment projects and assuring those projects to be eligible to be inserted in the program. In many cases, however, the same banks negatively evaluated the projects they also contributed to prepare. This is due, but only partially, to the negative trend of the projects previously financed by the program.

Bureaucracy and a not fair interpretation of norms represent another big obstacle for investment projects. Many of them have come across serious difficulties due to the very high taxation they coped with, and which was not foreseen according to the norms. For instance, in the case of a coffee import-export enterprise from Italy, a 20% tax was imposed by the law to all products imported from that country. But, once the goods reached the customs, the officers applied a much higher taxation since coffee is not cultivated in Italy and so is not subject to that level of taxation. A general tendency emerges consisting in creating problems to goods imported from European countries. In fact, the same problems do not happen for coffee imported from Indonesia, Guinea and Togo. The enterprise of the example now imports coffee from these countries in order not to come across this kind of problem and, for this reason, to change and reduce its volume of activity.

There is also a lack of specialised workers. Return migrants utilise technologies and machineries imported from Italy and local workers need to be trained to work using them. This fact makes the work slower and it represents a huge problem because sometimes entrepreneurs have to refuse important commissions because they are not in the conditions to assure a good quality of the work and a punctual delivery.

A lack of trust in public and private institutions is also diffused among return migrants. Many people do not even try to ask them for help because they think they are useless and corrupted. Return migrant and their local partners often are not even aware of the services they could access approaching public institutions. Moreover, after the negative experiences with the banks, many migrants do not want to take into consideration to approach other financial institutions and prefer invest little by little their own savings.

On the other side of the coin, some local institutions, like the Investments Regional Centre (Cri), highlight some specific difficulties that migrant

investors face because they spent many years abroad. First of all, a problem is represented by the local partner, who often does not dispose of the expertise and knowledge to manage a business when migrants are still abroad or decide not to resettle back home. In some other cases, difficulties connected to business projects are due to the fact that migrants do not know very well the local context from an economic, social and juridical point of view. Thus, sometimes they try to start up activities without realizing that they are based on the host country needs, where they would find a market, and not on the needs and economic opportunities of the place of origin.

5.3.5 Entrepreneurs' migratory path

Almost all the Moroccan entrepreneurs interviewed arrived to Italy when they were about 20 years old and they had already completed at least the secondary school in the homeland. They never took advantage of their education in Italy because in the first times of migration they found low qualified jobs. Nonetheless, the level of education acquired seems to represent, on the one side, a guarantee of the success of the migratory adventure; on the other side, it is rediscovered when they plan to return back to Morocco to start up an enterprise.

This is the case of an entrepreneur who obtained a diploma in electrotechnics. After having migrated to Italy, he attended a course for hairdresser and later on he opened his own activity. Little by little, he invested the money earned to expand this activity and created a society together with other friends managing 3 shops. In 2008, he decided another time to invest his savings to create an enterprise in Morocco. His interest for electrotechnics let him discover the technology of LED light. It is a new sector in which he saw a lot of potentialities both in Italy and Morocco, especially in a period of economic crisis. Thus, he attended specific training courses and he decided to move to Morocco with his wife and his little son. He resettled down in Béni Mellal, the capital city of Tadla-Azilal, where he created his own enterprise.

Other entrepreneurs decided to invest in the origin country transferring there the experience acquired in migration, but they did not leave Italy. In these cases, a definitive return to Morocco is not taken into consideration mainly because of the difficulties to readapt to a lifestyle which they do not feel anymore to belong to. This is the case of the founder of a consortium who arrived to Brescia, in Lombardy, in 1999 to re-join with his parents and his brothers. He attended a course to become health assistant. After obtaining the diploma he began a career in this sector leading him to create a cooperative providing sanitarian services. At the moment, he is the president and

coordinates the work of 18 members providing with their services the hospitals in the area of Brescia.

A very interesting migratory path is the one of an entrepreneur who migrated to Italy in 1990s as a non-accompanied minor when he was 13. Many guys were attracted to Italy and families encouraged them since migration is seen a form of guarantee for the entire family. When he arrived to Italy he was completely alone and lived a year on the street in Milan before being assigned to minors community. He then attended the secondary school and the college. After that, he worked in carpentry for some years but then he decided to change job. He began to work for a company where he followed a training for managing an own activity. When he was reaching the final step of the training, the company went bankrupt. So he decided to open his own activity in Tadla-Azilal, attracted by the opportunities connected to the program “MDM Invest”. For that reason, he returned home to prepare the business plan with the support of a bank foundation. Nonetheless, the project was not approved by the bank and he did not obtained the credit. The company was created but the current volume of affairs was very small. For this reason, the guy re-migrated to Italy in order to manage the small enterprise from there in conjunction with his family in Béni Mellal.

5.3.6 Re-integration dynamics

The entrepreneurs interviewed put into light the difficulties they coped with when they resettled in Morocco. The problems are not only related to their insertion in the local market but also to the re-adaptation to a culture and a life style different than the ones they got used in the host place.

A first re-integration problem in the Moroccan social context is connected to the strong sense of belonging to Italy that many migrants have developed after having spent many years in the country. In many cases, part of the family remains in Italy: they are mainly the second generations who do not want to live in Morocco, which they perceive as a foreign country. For this reason, ex-migrants often return to Italy to stay with their family. In a sense, it is very interesting to note that, in the case of many return migrants, temporarily return flows between Italy and Morocco have inverted their direction. Furthermore, many of them plan to buy a house in Italy with the savings accumulated thanks to their entrepreneurial activities in Morocco in order to live there with their families once retired.

Another difficulty is related to the re-adaptation to the work conditions in Morocco. Return migrants come across a kind of frustration because of the experience they have acquired in Italy is not put into value. It seems there is

no interest by non-migrant entrepreneurs to adopt the innovations that migrants bring with them to modify and better consolidate production methods. Moreover return migrants are perceived as competitors by the other workers. As it happens in Italy, they are accused by their co-nationals to steal their jobs because of their experience of migration. Moreover for the same job the salary in Morocco is much lower than the average salary perceived in Italy. For this reason return migrants often cannot manage the same way of living they used to have in Italy. This situation frustrates and demotivates return migrants because they perceive their situation in home country as a kind of retrocession both from an economic and a social point of view. Worse life chances in Morocco constitute the main motivation for many migrants to manage their investment back home without moving there but staying in Italy.

A very interesting dynamics emerges from the case studies investigated: once they have returned home migrants have to cope with the same integration path they faced when they arrived to Italy. As many of the interviewees highlight, there is a big difference between these two integration processes: while migration to Italy was a choice pushed by the desire and the enthusiasm to have a better life, return to Morocco is often perceived as a compelled choice of resettlement in a context where life conditions are worse than the ones they could have access in Italy after many years of hard work.

5.3.7 Conclusions: the crucial role of institutions to be improved

As Sinatti (2014) points out, migrants' host and home countries have different understandings of what return means. Receiving states conceive return as the end of the migratory path, while home countries often tend to promote links with diasporas abroad because of the flow of remittances they give rise to, instead of creating the conditions for return. At the same time, for many migrants return does not mean the end of migration nowadays. In fact, the case studies analysed put into light that migrants' bifocal way of life (Guarnizo, 1997) is maintained also after migrants have returned. This situation, potentially creates new opportunities of success for migrants' entrepreneurial investments.

However, in the case of Moroccans going back to Tadla Azilal, these opportunities seems to be still far from being achieved. In particular, there seems to be a big gap between the needs of return migrants and the responses given by local institutions in both host and home countries. At the moment, most of Moroccan migrants have a low level of education and they are often segregated in low qualified job niches abroad. On the other side, people who have a better human capital before leaving have more opportunities to

implement their competencies while in migration; thus, they have more chances to succeed in the return phase. So, the most part of migrants does not acquire competences while in migration and even if they have this chance they do not always have the opportunity to take advantage of it once they return to Morocco (Etf, 2013). Against this situation, institutions in Italy and in Morocco, with a few exceptions, do not address in a pragmatic and concrete way the prerequisites returnees need to improve their business.

In fact, only a few Moroccans have contacted the Italian institutions to realize their investments in Morocco. As illustrated above, there are some initiatives aiming at fostering migrants' qualification but they do not tackle the big obstacle represented by access to credit. Forums between migrants in Italy, Italian entrepreneurs and Moroccan institutions have been good occasions for some migrants to acquire information for their projects and get in touch with Moroccan institutions.

Concerning the Moroccan context, there is a proliferation of public institutions dealing with Moroccan migrants. Nonetheless, they do not do anything in concrete apart from general declarations. The cases regarding Tadla Azilal investigated in this paper put into light that the institution that is addressed the most is the CRI. It aims at facilitating and improving the investments in the area to promote the economic development of the region. The CRI produces study sectors, gives information to investors, helps them dealing with bureaucracy and put in contact potential business partners. Nonetheless, the crucial problem for migrants remains access to credit. Against this problem also the Cri cannot do anything. Thus the activities offered by these institutions are useless if migrants do not have the money to start up their enterprises. The relationship with banks is particularly problematic: the research highlighted that among the enterprises investigated, the healthiest ones are those which did not have any contacts with financial institutions. In these cases, because of religious motivations, entrepreneurs preferred to invest their personal savings little by little, so as to expand gradually their activities, and to refuse banks proposals. The other economic activities investigated show more problems in the relation with financial institutions, which often seem to play a harmful role more than a helpful one.

5.4 The Higher the Skill, the Wider the Gate? Migration Policies by Skill Level

by *Martina Belmonte*⁴¹

5.4.1 *The discursive context*

Since at least a decade, in Europe a specific discourse about managing migration has come up. In the 2000s, several states have started to recruit foreigners, after the 70s ban, and policy makers have started to reform the legislation to achieve a better management of foreign labour inflows. Migration policy has been reframed as a “human resources strategy” (Menz and Caviedes, 2010) to tackle the decline in the working age population and skills shortages. In the rhetoric of the discourse, economic migration is linked to economic competitiveness (Menz, 2001) and the state has to ensure that this is achieved (‘competition state’ – Lavenex, 2007). The economic utility of migration is maximized if the policy is able to select the needed migrants and to not to waste their human capital. In the context of knowledge-base economies, highly skilled immigrants are particularly important (Duncan 2012).

To better exploit the link between migration and competitiveness, migrants should be selected according to their economic potential; therefore, managed migration entails a selective migration policy. Currently, *skills*, rather than nationality or ethnicity, are used to assess migrants’ perspectives. Much economic literature agrees in considering the benefits from migration of high-skilled greater than those from low-skilled migration for the receiving state, in terms of innovation, reducing inequality, growth, tackling fiscal challenges and social cohesion (Chiswick, 2011; OECD, 2008; Aydemir, 2013 and 2014).

By analysing the labour migration discourse in Germany, France and the UK, Paul (2012) points out the existence of 3 economic imaginaries within the competition state idea, and shows that they are associated with three different interpretations of economic utility, and therefore with three different forms of migration governance. When the discourse is transposed to the EU, it has the following articulation:

- 1) The first idea is that the EU should become an attractive destination for talents worldwide, as this would boost the competitiveness of the EU within the context of the Lisbon Strategy and now Europe2020. With

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regard to this, the EU is late vis-à-vis its international ‘competitors’ and has to catch up quickly. Since the pool of *highly qualified* people around the world is limited, the policies to attract them should be competitive, open and not necessarily demand-driven. Hosting highly qualified migrants, who are generally highly mobile people, is considered a symptom and a cause of good economic performance. Migration of highly skilled is linked to a long-run innovative potential they bring along.

- 2) The second idea is that *medium-skilled* migration should be temporarily fostered to fill the existing shortages in the EU labour market. This is certainly not the only strategy to fill labour market gaps, but, it is advantageous as a quick and flexible response. Admission should strictly be demand-driven and policies then should be coordinated with the labour market; as a consequence, the priority test to check the availability of European workers for the job should be carried out. Migration of medium skilled should be linked to temporary shortages that in the long-run should be filled with trained national workers.
- 3) The third idea is about *low-skilled* migration: at least in Europe, with the current level of unemployment and the transformation of the economy from industry-based to service-based, there is not really a need for low-skilled migrants, except in exceptional and temporary circumstances (e.g. seasonal workers). Free movement should be fostered instead and the EU should become a self-sufficient labour pool.

In fact, the horizontal (i.e. covering all economic migrants) Directive that the Commission proposed in 2001 was rejected by member states. In 2009 the Council approved the first European directive in labour migration, i.e. the Blue Card Directive, on the condition of entry of highly-qualified third country nationals, and no legislative action addresses medium-skilled migrants, while low-skilled migration is tackled only in the seasonal form, by the Seasonal Workers Directive, approved in 2014. So, it seems that there is coherence between the discourse and the practice.

5.4.2 Hypotheses and research question

Diffusion theories explain migration policy by looking at government’s interaction in the international arena, as opposed to what happens at the state level. According to Duncan (2012), the diffusion of the idea of competitiveness and managed migration explains the increase of programmes for highly skilled and, point-base systems in particular.

The logic of competitiveness and the logic of need inform also Ruhs’

(2013) hypothesises about the openness of migration policy by skill level. They stem from the idea that the state has to comply with its ‘functional imperatives’ (Boswell, 2007), which are economic efficiency, fair distribution, guarantee of social cohesion and security. All of them are assumed to be better served by high skilled immigration, rather than by low skilled immigration: the former are shown to have a positive effect on growth, to have a higher net fiscal impact, to complete, rather than compete, the existing labour force, to reduce inequality (Aydemir 2013 and 2014, Chiswick 2011) and to be easier to integrate into the host society. The hypotheses he draws are the following:

- 1) Programmes targeting HS are more open in terms of volume of admission.
- 2) Programmes targeting HS are more open in terms of rights.
- 3) There is a trade-off between openness and rights.

In testing these hypotheses, I try to answer the following questions: is the competition discourse implemented? Are migration policies more open, in numbers and rights, by skill across countries? Is there a trade-off between rights and number? Do states follow the same pattern and country-specific differences are overcome by similarities?

5.4.3 Measuring migration policy

To answer those questions, it is important to find an objective ground to compare migration policies across countries. Measuring is a way to do that, because associates at every policy by skill an ‘openness’ number. Yet, it presents some theoretical and practical difficulties (Helbling et al., 2013).

The first one concerns the *object* of measuring. *Competitiveness* is a broader concept than openness, because it includes not only the policy output, i.e. what is on paper, but also the policy outcome, i.e. what is in reality. For example, to measure the competitiveness of a policy for attracting highly qualified migrants, first of all, the objective of the policy has to be decided upon: it may be either the number of high-qualified migrants who enter annually into the country; or, it may be the number of immigrants working in high-skilled jobs (Koslowski, 2014); secondly, an impact relationship between that number of immigrants and the policy should be established, distinguishing the policy on paper by its implementation. On the contrary, the openness of a policy may be measured on paper only, by identifying how many and how deep immigrants are allowed to enter a country. I will consider openness.

The second difficulty concerns the *identity* of migrants to be considered. Besides people immigrating to the state with the specific purpose to work (economic migrants *stricto sensu*), also refugees, family members and international students may be granted the right to work. When I consider labour migration, I will neglect these forms of indirect labour migration. Moreover, the role of mobility of EU citizens will be left aside.

The third difficulty to be tackled is about the *boundaries* of migration policy. I will distinguish migration from integration policy, being the former the admission to the territorial, social and political community (who can enter and which rights enjoy), and the latter the measures to integrate migrants once they have already been granted admission.

The above difficulties highlight that the boundaries of migration policies are not blunt. As a consequence, my measurement will have some limitations due to the object of inquiry itself. In the following I will analyse general labour migration channels, excluding both those tailored only upon one specific profession (e.g. doctors), and those restricted to specific groups of nationals (e.g. those from countries with which there are specific agreements).

To test Ruhs' (2013) hypothesis, I consider two axes against which to measure the openness of a policy: the admission axe and the rights axe. The line joining the extremes of the axes is the trade-off line (figure 1).

5.4.4 *Index and expectations*

In the literature, there are several examples of indicators to assess the openness of migration policy, either to compare many countries (Cerna, 2013; Kahanec, Zimmermann 2011; Lowell, 2005; Ruhs, 2013), or only few (Wiesbrock and Hercog, 2012). Current projects and methodological discussions are reported into Helbling et al. (2013). The indicators I chose to employ (table 1) are drawn from the literature: 13 concern admission and 12 concern rights (appendix for the full list).

Table 1 – List of indicators

<i>Admission</i>		<i>Rights</i>	
Presence of a cap	Shortage derogation for salary threshold	Loss of the job	Access to social benefits
Possibility to renew the permit	Labour market test (LMT)	Absence per year	Family reunification
Amount of fee	Shortage derogation for LMT	Long-term residence	Identity of members of the family
Job offer	Educational achievement	Language requirement	Integration-related restrictions
Sector/occupation restrictions or specific characteristics of the employer	Previous experience	Access to labour market	When the application is possible
Salary threshold	Maintenance fund	Working conditions	Family members' right to work
	Language competence		

I chose not to weigh the indicators and to give them the same importance, giving the maximum score of 1 for the most open scenario and the minimum 0 for the least open.

I build a graph with the x-axis indicating the openness in terms of admission and the y-axis indicating the openness in terms of rights and I hold the following expectations (figure 1):

- 1) Policies for highly skilled will fall in the right upper quadrant.
- 2) Policies for medium skilled will be less open in terms of admission and will fall along the trade-off line.
- 3) Policy for low-skilled will fall in the upper left quadrant.

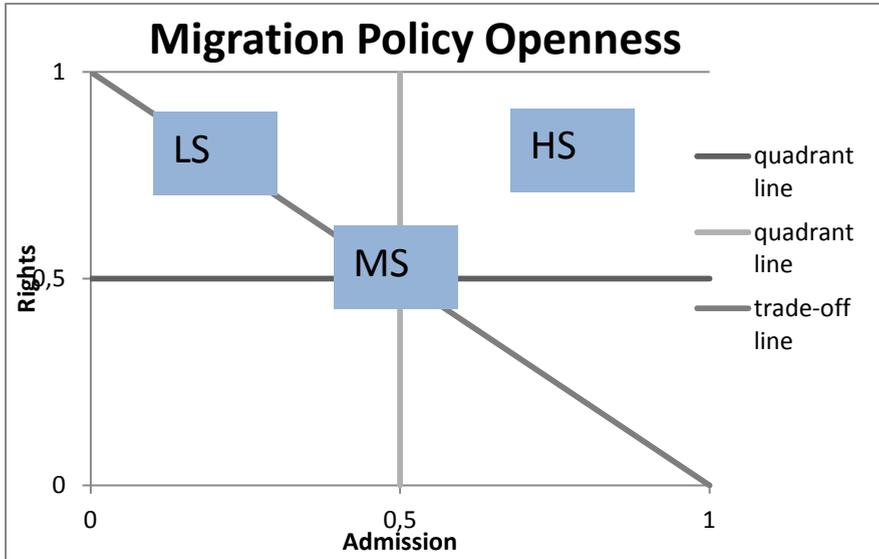


Figure 1 Migration policy openness graph

5.4.5 Pilot studies: Spain, Germany and the UK

I present a pilot study containing the result of the analysis of migration policy in three countries.

I choose three EU countries that differ from a political economy point of view, which present different migration policy traditions and different degrees of involvement into EU migration policy. I won't present a longitudinal analysis, but I will consider only the policy as it is nowadays (November 2014).

Spain

Spain is a so-called new immigration country, which had its first immigration legislation in 1985. Labour migration is under the competence of Ministry of Labour and the law foresees the following immigration channels (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011; EMN Spain, 2013; Finotelli, 2012 and 2014; Sánchez, 2013):

- The *general regime* (GR), within which there is a Catalogue of Hard-to-Fill Occupations draft by a Commission made up by employers, unions and the state. This route does not have a selective filter, and everyone with a job offer may apply (demand driven). For the professions not in the

catalogue, there is a labour market test to carry out (which has recently become more scrupulous), to verify the presence of nationals or Europeans available for that job.

- The contingente/ gestión colectiva, which is a quasi-quota (i.e. flexible) system, based on the notification of specific labour market needs from regions. It is mainly anonymous recruitment, and generally based on agreements between Spain and third countries, although other applications are possible where the suitable person cannot be found in the country with which there is the agreement. Occupations are in the high, low and medium skilled sector, although the majority of the slots are for seasonal jobs in agriculture. The importance of this channel has decreased over time, and since 2012 the government has not been specifying the number of places available.
- The *unit of big and strategic enterprises* (UGE-CE), in force since 2007 and reformed in 2013, is a channel reserved to very big business or those operating in strategic sectors, like IT, renewable energy, biotechnology, social sciences. This is a fast-track procedure for high-skilled workers, which allows avoiding the labour market test and grants immediate family reunification. The number of applications has not decreased during the years of the crisis.
- The *Blue Card* is the European route for highly skilled workers. The Directive was transposed on time, unlike the vast majority of EU states, and grants a residence permit up to 4 years for highly qualified (defined by education or experience) with a certain salary – 1.5 or 1.2 of the national average. A labour market test is generally carried out.

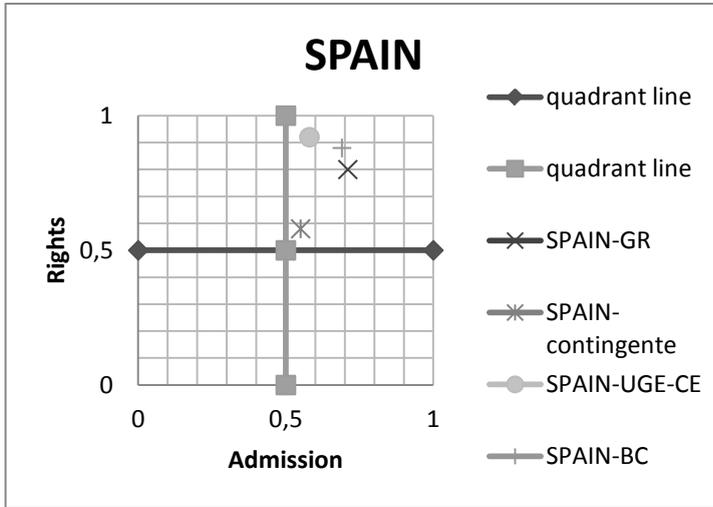


Figure 2 Spain

Germany

Germany is a so-called old immigration country, which since the 70s has banned recruitment and, at least formally, decided to become a no-immigration country. In the 2000s, with the Schröder government and the introduction of the Green-Card for IT professionals, the situation started to change. In 2005 there was a major Reform, which introduced only two kinds of permit, the permanent and the temporary one. Recently, there was a debate in Germany about the best system to attract foreign talents and the introduction of a point-based system has been considered (Duncan 2012). With the exception of the CSU, parties are all favourable to a liberal migration policy, and, in general, there is a climate of consensus about the competition for talents (Brinkman 2013, EMN Germany 2013, Finotelli 2014, Laubenthal, 2012). The main migration channels are the following:

- Paragraph 18 of the Residence Law, which addresses skilled workers with a foreign and recognized training qualification and with a job offer. Applicants should pass through a priority check (carried out at the discretion of the employment service but not lasting more than 2 weeks), except if they are in the white list of shortage professions, that are exempted.
- Par. 19a of the Residence Law, which transposed the Blue Card Directive and in fact introduced a temporary permit for high skilled. The transposition was late and this was a symptom of a wider discussion that

was going on within the government coalition on the best tool to attract highly skilled migrants. Applicants with a recognized tertiary education certificate need a job offer with a salary equals 1.5, or, if the profession is in shortage, 1.2 the national average salary. They have a faster access to the long term residency (33 months or 21 with an intermediate-level German) and to nationality (8 years). Applicants should not undergo the labour market test, except for the shortage positions, in order to check the fairness of the work conditions.

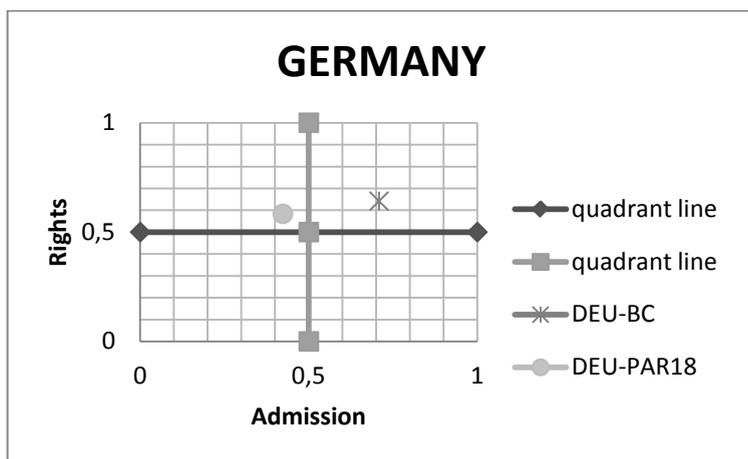


Figure 3 Germany

The United Kingdom

The UK has endorsed a managed migration paradigm since the 2000s. The idea of ‘attracting the best and the brightest’ came up during the Blair government and was restated in the Conservative Manifesto in 2010. In 2005, there was an overhauling reform which introduced the point-base system, which aimed at rendering the immigration system more effective and more flexible. A migrant could come to the UK under 5 tiers: the first one for highly skilled applicants, the second one for skilled workers, the third one for low-skilled, the fourth one for students and the last for temporary workers with very specific characteristics. The third tier has never been open, whereas the tier 1 for general high-skilled migrants has been closed in 2011 (Lucie Cerna and Wietholtz 2011, Devitt 2012, Spencer 2011). With regard to the EU, the UK may opt-out of migration measures, and in fact it did so for all labour migration measures (Ette, Gerdes 2007; Geddes, 2005). The schemes that are of interest here are the following:

- *Tier 1* has an *exceptional talent* route, which allows the entrance of very prominent people in the field of arts, sciences, engineering and technologies. They have to be sponsored by entrusted bodies and only a limited amount of permits are available per year (1000). The permit is temporary and the renewal is conditional on income.
- *Tier 2- general* targets skilled people with a sponsor offering a job that guarantees a salary above a certain threshold. The labour market test is carried out and lasts 28 days, but applicants in shortage jobs are exempted, as well as applicants for PhD-level jobs or whose salary is exceptionally high. Applicants should have a decent level of English and family reunification is allowed only once the main applicant has settled.

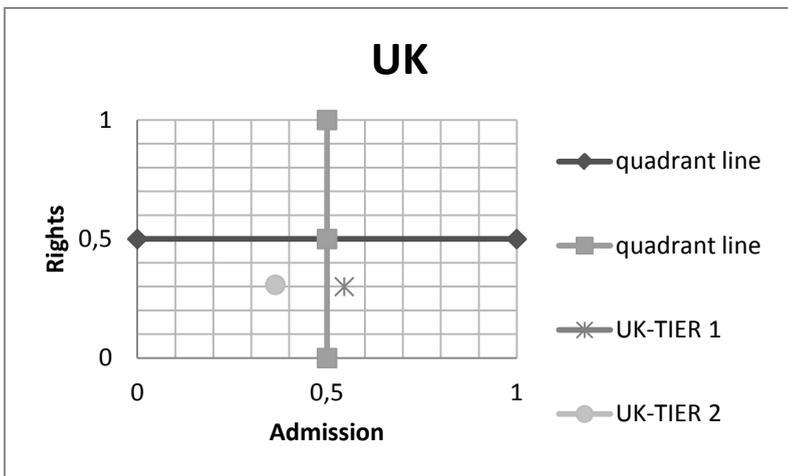


Figure 4 UK

5.4.6 Conclusion

Considering the graphs individually, it seems that in the UK the admission for very high skilled migrants is more open than for skilled applicants, while the level of rights remains low for both. In Germany, the medium-skilled scheme is less open in terms of admission and rights than the Blue Card scheme. In Spain there is a scheme particularly open for the rights it grants to high skilled, although the admission is more restricted; the general system is quite open, while the *contingente*, which is in fact for low-skilled, is more restrictive. The hypothesis of the trade-off does not seem to hold, but for the skilled scheme in Germany.

By putting together the graphs in one, we see that the upper right quadrant

is overpopulated. This is consistent with the overrepresentation of high-skilled schemes in the considered sample. If there were a genuine competition for talents, there would be a race to the top and all programmes for highly skilled should fall in the upper-right quadrant. Yet, neither all the schemes in that quadrant are for highly qualified, nor all schemes for highly qualified lie there. So, the expectations expressed in the third paragraph are not met across countries and national considerations seem to prevail over the competition state idea and the derived hypotheses. Spain has an overall open migration policy, with an exceptionally open UGE-GE route; yet, also the *contingente*, which mainly concerns low-skilled migrants, turns out to be quite open. Germany has the Blue Card, which is open in terms of admission but less in terms of rights; whereas the medium skilled route is less open both in terms of rights and in terms of admission. The UK is a puzzling case, with a very restrictive policy, both in terms of rights and in terms of admission for skilled and highly skilled. Even the exceptional talent route does not present the level of right that other medium-skilled routes do in other countries.

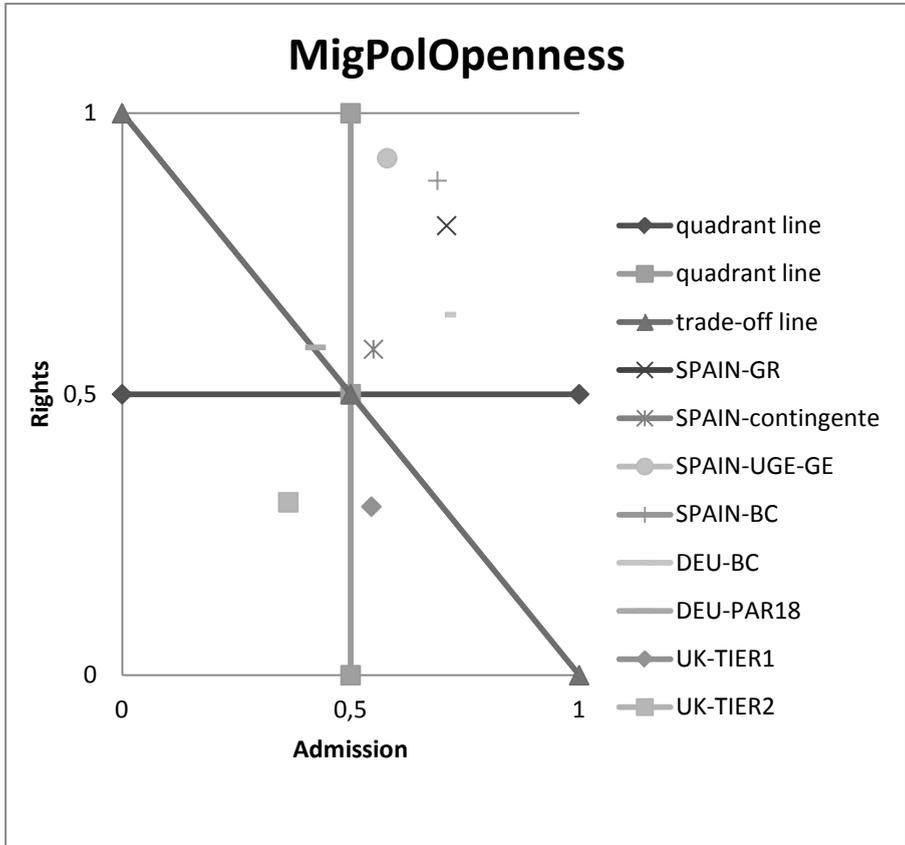


Figure 5 Migration policy openness graph Spain, Germany and UK

So, further research should be certainly done and more countries should be considered. Yet, a provisional conclusion can be brought up: the picture so far suggests that reality is much more complex than the ‘competition state’ discourse about skill levels seems to present. Highly skilled workers are not as such wanted and welcome, and especially not in the same distinguished way across countries. The suggestion is that further inquiry should carry out into the very concept of skill: which skills are needed for which countries. A state-level inquiry, involving the role played by political and labour market actors, seem to be more fruitful than international competitiveness dynamics to explain labour migration policy.

Appendix: Questionnaire to measure the openness of migration policy

Admission

- 1) Is there a cap? no (1); yes, but flexible (0,5); yes, fixed (0)
- 2) Is the permit renewable, after it expires (having lasted the maximum period)? Yes (1); no (0)
- 3) How much are the fees? No fees (1); less than 1/10 of the average gross salary (0,5); more than 1/10 of the gross salary (0)
- 4) Do the applicant need a job offer? No (1); yes (0)
- 5) Are there sectoral/occupational restriction to apply, or does the employer need to satisfy specific characteristics? No (1); only some categories (0,5), yes (0)
- 6) Is there a salary threshold? No (1), yes less than a graduate job salary (0,5), yes more than or as much as a graduate job salary (0)
- 7) Are there shortage-related provisions? Yes (1); no (0)
- 8) Should the labour market test be carried out? No (1); yes (0)
- 9) Are there shortage-related provisions? Yes (1); no (0)
- 10) Is a certain level of education required? No (1); yes, upper secondary (0,5); yes, tertiary (0)
- 11) If yes, can professional experience be considered in derogation of 9? Yes (1); no (0)
- 12) Do applicants need a maintenance fund, beyond the salary? No (1); yes (0)
- 13) Do the applicants need a level of linguistic competence? Yes (0); no (1)

Rights

- 14) What does it happen in case of loss of the job? The permit is as long as the contract (0); some unemployment period allowed, but being on benefits affect the renewal (0,5); some unemployment period allowed and being on benefit does not forbid renewal (1)
- 15) How long is absence tolerated to reach long-term residency? More than 6 months (1); six months (0,5); less than 6 months (0)
- 16) How long the previous residency should be for the long-term residence permit? Less than 5 year (1); more than or 5 years (0)
- 17) Are there language requirements? No (1); yes (0)
- 18) Is the access to the labour market free? Yes, immediately (1); only after a period (0,5); never (0)
- 19) Are the working conditions (salary) comparable to nationals? Yes (1); no (0)
- 20) Is the access to social benefits comparable to nationals? Yes (1); in part

- (0,5); mainly no (0)
- 21) Is family reunification allowed? Yes (1); no (0)
 - 22) Does the definition of the family includes other people beyond the spouse and children? Yes (1); no (0)
 - 23) Are there integration restriction? Yes (0); no (1)
 - 24) When is family reunification granted? Immediately (1); after a while (0)
 - 25) Have family members the right to work? Yes (1); no (0)

5.5. Immigrants as “Energy” for Urban Planning and Policy, Reversing the Perspective. The Case of Rome’s Metropolitan Area

by *Carlotta Fioretti*⁴²

5.5.1 Migration from an urban viewpoint

Migration in Europe has centred mainly on cities, thus modifying their structures and challenging the way they are governed (Balbo and Tuts 2005). The importance of deepening knowledge on urban dynamics has been reflected in the literature; in particular, a strand of sociological research on urban issues, including also migration, has increasingly shifted from a focus on social class to a focus on places (Body-Gendrot, Martiniello, 2000). Policy design is also linked to specific territories of action, such as the so-called area-based initiatives, which integrate multidimensional approaches in defined areas (Stewart, 2001).

At the same time, in many European countries, policies *for immigrants* are implemented at the local level (Caponio, 2006) with a strong focus on social inclusion, and accompanied by a powerful rhetoric characterised by the importance of the spatial dimension (Forrest, Kearns, 1999).

In Italy too immigration is predominantly an urban phenomenon, a force that shapes the physical and social landscape of Italian cities. Evidence of that can be drawn from the literature, which in the last two decades has described the process of immigrants’ residential insertion and the transformation of urban spaces (Tosi, 1998; Lanzani, 2003; Guarrasi et al., 2011). This also emerges by looking at data from the last two population’s census (2001-2011), which show how immigration has been growing particularly in urban

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centres, with an incidence that has tripled in 10 years (from 2,5% in 2001 to 7,2% in 2011), and being, in many cases, a major impulse to population growth.

In fact, within the Italian legislative framework Regions and Local Authorities do have a key role in terms of programming and implementing immigrants' policies. However, if we look at the local level, we find that immigration is almost exclusively treated as a problem to be solved, generally through social and labour policy.

Nevertheless, immigration does have a strong territorial and spatial dimension. On the one hand, because demands of migrants are context-dependent. The most evident example is perhaps the demand for housing, a key element in the integration process across Italy and yet heavily influenced according to local circumstances: the inflated private market of a metropolis like Rome does not compare to housing issues in small urban areas in Sicily, more connected to precarious housing for seasonal rural workers.

On the other hand, the immigration phenomenon has direct and indirect impacts upon on-going urban dynamics. This is the case of traditional peripheries: degraded, inaccessible, low demand areas, once working-class neighbourhoods, where today migrants often live, thus posing new challenges. Examples of this phenomenon are socio-cultural and spatial conflicts between native and immigrant residents on different and sometimes incompatible uses of urban spaces. At the same time, immigrants also represent a potentially regenerating force: in economic terms, ethnic entrepreneurs can contribute to revitalising streets by opening corner shops; in social and cultural terms, the presence of immigrant communities can contribute to build informal self-help networks and to enhance diversity. In areas of fast and unregulated metropolitan expansion migrants can be one of the key players in leveraging against processes of peripheralisation and social fragmentation, in the case they are given the possibility to stabilize and build social bonds.

In the next paragraphs, a case study from the Rome's metropolitan area will be used to highlight precisely how immigration is a key factor in urban transformations and, for this reason, it must be taken into account in the processes aimed at managing such transformations.

So far, research on immigration in Rome has been concentrated on the traditional peripheries within the Council borders (see, for example, Mudu, 2006; Scandurra, 2006; Annunziata, 2011; Pompeo, 2011), while much rarer are the studies analysing minor municipalities of the metropolitan area which are becoming increasingly worth of notice (see, for example, Lucciarini, 2008; Ricci, 2012). This piece of work is part of this new strand of research. To this purpose, a focus will be done on the case of Riano, a small municipality within Rome's metropolitan area which has almost doubled its

population in the last ten years, mainly because of an influx of people moving out of Rome city core, among which are many foreigners.

5.5.2 Metro-boroughs of the post-metropolis: the case of Riano

Rome is a super-diverse city, inhabited by people coming from more than 180 different countries, with a very varied profile: students and religious coming to Rome as the cradle of Catholicism, asylum seekers often temporary passing through it, labour migrants with projects of long term or circular migration, high-skilled migrants attracted by the global, touristic city, location of diplomatic representations (Sonnino, 2007; Caritas di Roma et al., 2014)

Given this variety, and the socio-functional mix which characterizes the urban fabric, migrants develop different patterns of residential insertion. The result is that in Rome there aren't ethnic enclaves, but many multi-ethnic areas. Furthermore, the insertion patterns have changed over time. Traditionally, the majority of immigrants who arrived in Latium chose to settle in the Rome Council, which offers more economic chances than the rest of the region. However, since a few years, the immigration phenomenon interests more and more the smallest municipalities of the metropolitan system and increasingly also the other provinces.

A comparison of the two latter population census, shows a significant change in terms of foreigners' incidence: in 2001 Rome was one of the municipalities of the Latium Region with the highest percentage of foreign residents. On the contrary, in 2011, the foreigners' incidence in Rome, which is nearly 10% of the total population, is exceeded by that of many small-medium size Councils with percentages up to 20%. Immigrants participate to the phenomenon of territorial transformation characterized by the expansion of the metropolitan area, located themselves increasingly in the municipalities gravitating around Rome.

These small-medium cities invested by metropolitan flows, are neither suburbs nor federated cities. Cremaschi (2011) defines them as "metro-boroughs in the widespread city", underlining their condition of urban 'in-betweenness': "They are places of highly mobile, new inhabitants of an open space, often organized on multiple geographical scales".

Riano represent an example of metro-borough, being a small municipality located along the northern border of Rome City Council. Historically it was a village based on agriculture, and since World War I on tuff quarrying. Because of the local extractive industry Riano was interested by Italian immigration since the second half of the XX century, in particular hosted workers from other regions, such as Abruzzo, Calabria and Marche. However,

today this sector is shrinking and the major job source is represented by the City of Rome which is only 20 km far.

In the last 10 years Riano saw a significant increase in population, passing from 6.486 residents in 2001 to 9.536 in 2011 (10.155 in 2014 according to the Register). This growth is mainly due to people who moves its residence from Rome to the Province, looking for more affordable way of life, commuting daily for work.

Generally speaking, Riano shows a low level of urban quality: the older urban fabric is mainly self-built and poor, there is a strong lack of infrastructure, in particular of the road system, of basic public spaces and street furniture. This situation has worsened along with the population increase which has corresponded to housing but not services development.

The overall urban deficiency and the dependence from Rome suggest that Riano is at risk of suffering in the future from the classical ills of deprived peripheries: housing speculation, weakness of the urban infrastructure and social malaise.

5.5.3 The immigration patterns

In Riano, foreign immigration started being a relevant phenomenon since the late '90s with a peak in the first half of the 2000s, following a process of suburbanization of immigration (Arbaci, 2008), which has witnessed in particular specific groups of migrants to settle in areas more and more distant from the core of the metropolis, in the quest for more affordable housing.

Concerning Riano, it may be questioned what kind of housing vacancy immigrants found in a Council which had a very low rate of unoccupied stock (5%) and very fast trends of family growth (+62% from 2001 to 2011). In 1999, the new town plan permitted the construction of a consistent stock of new houses to accommodate those “expelled by the City Capital”. This enlargement of the residential zones allowed families who lived in Riano old town and owned agricultural land to relocate themselves. The old town, suffering from decay of the built environment and from isolation (it is on a hilltop), was progressively abandoned by Italians and then occupied by foreigners, who adapted themselves to uncomfortable housing to pay lower rents.

Another important pull factor for immigrants has been the availability of jobs in the construction industry, which was flourishing together with the progressive expansion of the metropolis. In 2014, foreign residents in Riano are 1.596, that is to say the 16% of the population (higher than the overall Province of Rome incidence that is 11,8%). Immigrants are coming from 66

different countries and the 60% is represented by a single group, the Romanians. It is interesting to notice that the ethnic mix that characterizes Rome Council is much less strong in Riano, where the majority of immigrants are from Romania, a group that is becoming more relevant over time. Romanians are EU nationals and this implies a series of consequences: they do not need a residence permit to stay and reside in Italy, they are not beneficiary of funding and policies directed to foreign nationals and they can easily access local elections. That circumstance changes as well the participation of immigrants to the local decision making process, and it must be noticed in this regard that in Riano a Romanian councillor is member of the local authority.

5.5.4 Riano: immigration and dynamics of metropolitan expansion

Riano is a changing place, which is invested by a strong process of metropolitan expansion. That process has positive consequences in terms of economic and demographic development, but it also implies risks and threats.

The most evident issue is represented by the massive housing expansion which permanently affected one of the most important assets of the area: the natural landscape.

Furthermore, housing growth did not correspond to an increase in services and an upgrade of the infrastructures, in particular mobility infrastructures. The town plan designed in 1999 had clearly underestimated housing growth and it has been subsequently modified by zoning variances, which involved also part of the rural land, through a process of questionable legitimacy.

The result was a built up area where houses respect fairly construction standards, but there is not a clear urban form. The neighbourhoods are nearly accessible, with under-dimensioned roads, often lacking basic elements and street furniture such as parking spaces, sidewalks and appropriate public lighting. The urban deficiency concerns also sociability and gathering spaces, such as parks and squares. For culture and leisure, Riano's inhabitants depend entirely on Rome, for example for cinemas, theatres, libraries or bookshops. In other words, what is lacking is a urban infrastructure of open and collective spaces, so important for daily encounters among diverse people (Amin, 2002; Fincher, 2003).

Another less visible but trickier consequence of the metropolitan expansion is the loss of identity and cohesion of the small town. If new inhabitants enact "urban behaviours" in the wider scale of the metropolitan area, old inhabitants seem to have lost their sense of place and the way of living typical of a small town, characterized by things such as knowing every

neighbour, or meeting in the main square, the “piazza”. And immigrants’ presence, and the strong cultural differences they bring with them, seems to emphasize even more this sense of loss in people’s rhetoric.

In general terms, the major risk is that the process of metropolisation would be instead a process of peripheralisation. In order to avoid that, it seems to be necessary to adopt a policy that is aimed at governing the negative effects of spontaneous dynamics.

5.5.5 Three key planning issues

Migrants are active part of the process of metropolitan expansion. First of all, because they are part in the “exodus” from the Capital City towards the Province (in 2012, around 290 people moved from Rome to Riano and the 20% of them were foreigners). But also because they represent an important labour offer in the construction industry supporting the housing development which characterised Rome’s metropolitan expansion.

In this process of metropolisation foreign migrants and Italians do not have the same role and trajectories, and precisely for this reason any urban policy aimed at managing the metropolitan area should take into account migrants, for the specific challenges they pose, and considering them as a potential resource. In this moment, any policy strategy of this kind does not exist, but it seems necessary to highlight at least three different fields which need a reflection.

The first important issue concerns transports. If the majority of Italians owns a car, immigrants depend more on public transports, which is an important challenge to manage at the metropolitan level. Riano is a stop of a light railway that connects Roma with Viterbo and is managed by ATAC, Rome public transport company. This line is frequently congested, and users complain about overcrowding and malfunctioning. Given this situation, it is not surprising that public transports become places of conflict, in particular when overcrowding lead to forced contact between diverse populations. Even if there isn’t a specific policy to address this issue, it is worthwhile to underline that ATAC showed recently a certain awareness of the problem, declaring the willingness of paying specific attention to immigrants, recognising they have peculiar working hours, they use more intensely peripheral transport hubs, and need more accessible information.

Another important policy issue is represented by welfare. Immigrants, having less family support and more children, tend to rely more on welfare services. This is even truer with regard to the last few years, due to an increase in vulnerability as a consequence of the economic crisis. In

particular, in Riano, many male migrants were employed in the tuff quarrying and in the construction sector and they lost their jobs, being these two of the sectors most severely hit in the Rome's Province in last years: construction enterprises decreased from 11.900 in 2010 to 10.400 in 2011 with an occupation contraction in particular for immigrants (-78,7%) (Caritas di Roma 2012).

Ten or fifteen years ago, Riano was a small town not only in terms of inhabitants but also for what concerns the institutional and welfare capacity. The presence of foreign families, in particular EU national depending on ordinary welfare, poses a new strong service demand on the Local Authority in a time of crisis and local governments' funding cuts. This can also fuel that kind of antagonism that describes migrants as stealers of resources belonging to Italians, particularly popular in this historical juncture.

At the same time, it is also true that immigrants are an important resource of private welfare in terms of care giving: in Riano in particular, the majority of female immigrants are employed in family care and service. The importance of this role within the Italian ageing society has been often stressed in the literature (Ambrosini, 2013). There are policies promoted at the level of the Latium Region, aimed precisely at training, and at matching offer and demand in this sector (see the SAP – Servizi Alla Persona, project). But the smaller municipalities of the Province seem not to benefit from these kind of initiatives, while the job search is generally informally managed, through the word-of-mouth, and the risk is that of an increasing undeclared labour. It is believed that if local urban policy concentrated on this aspect, it would help also to reverse the narrative of migrants as welfare “stealer” to one of migrants as welfare “provider”.

The last major policy issue regards residential insertion. New inhabitants, respectively Italians and immigrants, tend to occupy a different housing stock in the metropolisation process. Italians go into the new housing, often single-family, detached or terraced houses, following the dream of the home ownership unreachable in the City Capital, but also attracted by a country-side life style, which Riano seems to promise. On the contrary, immigrants are almost exclusively in private rent, and they tend to occupy the more affordable and abased stock, mainly in the old town. If we would like to take to the extreme this differentiation, we could say that in the metropolitan expansion process, Italians are land consumers, while immigrants are existing stock re-users.

In Riano, immigrants are enacting a spontaneous process of re-population of the abandoned old town, with positive gains in terms of revitalization of the urban space, but also in terms of management and upgrade of the built environment.

New inhabitants of the old centre are in fact families formed by children who fill in the open spaces with their presence, and young adults with practical resources and skills, able for example to invest them in maintenance works of deteriorated buildings.

During the last five years, the Council has used Regional funds to implement a program of physical restoration of the built environment of the town centre, working in the public realm, and in public and private buildings. However, an analysis of the initiative reveals some weaknesses, first of all in technical terms; in fact, funds were used only to refurbish the facades of private buildings, leaving unaddressed problems on the internal side.

What is more important, a reflection upon the consequences of the program is lacking, asking if the initiative will raise the real estate values of a stock that is today almost entirely in private rent, and how this would eventually affect immigrants. Moreover, it must also be noticed that the refurbishment plan is not accompanied by a re-functionalization program, taking into account the needs and resources of the actual inhabitants. Immigrants' presence, which is seen by Council representatives as the major spontaneous trigger for social vitalization, is not yet capitalized by urban policy.

5.5.6 Conclusions

In Italy, with a few exceptions (e.g. Tosi, 1998; Briata, 2013), there is no consolidated research that directly tackles the topic of urban policy and migrants' inclusion, and the importance of space and place in relation to it. The debate is thus strongly influenced by a mainstream European literature which is based on Northern European cases, considerably different from the Italian case, in terms of welfare regimes, urban development (Leontidou, 1990) and characteristics of the migration phenomenon (King and Ribas-Mateos, 2002).

As a result, urban policy and planning practice have been importing concepts and instruments from abroad, without "translating them" appropriately to fit into the Italian context (Fioretti, 2010). Therefore, it makes no surprise that the national policy-making debate focuses mainly on the fear of ethnic concentration, which is contrasted through the myth of mixed-neighbourhoods, even if Italian cities have very low levels of ethnic spatial segregation (Malheiros, 2002).

Urban policy and planning in Italy should overcome approaches to urban migration based just on control, dispersal and securitization and should, on the

contrary, understand how migrants can be a resource to be intercepted in designing policy aimed at the qualification and upgrade of the territory.

The first step in this process should be that of recognizing how migrants are part of urban transformation processes. These spontaneous dynamics must be governed to avoid negative externalities and, what is particularly important in the case of migrants, to avoid the arisen of conflicts and antagonism.

Urban policy should have then multiple objectives: along with the amelioration of a territory, it should also aim at the inclusion of vulnerable categories and the intercultural growth of the local society. What are required are policies that focus on both places and people. Only in this way it will be possible to bring about a more inclusive and hospitable territory.

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