KING

Knowledge for INtegration Governance

Local Migration and Integration Policies
in Amsterdam

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The KING project's objective is to elaborate a report on the **state of play** of migrant integration in Europe through an interdisciplinary approach and to provide decision- and policy-makers with **evidence-based recommendations** on the design of migrant integration-related policies and on the way they should be articulated between different policy-making levels of governance.

Migrant integration is a truly multi-faceted process. The contribution of the insights offered by different disciplines is thus essential in order better to grasp the various aspects of the presence of migrants in European societies. This is why **multidisciplinarity** is at the core of the KING research project, whose Advisory Board comprises experts of seven different disciplines:
EU Policy – Yves Pascouau
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Economics – Martin Kahanec & Alessandra Venturini
Demography – Gian Carlo Blangiardo
The present paper belongs to the series of contributions produced by the researchers of the "Social Science" team directed by Rinus Penninx.

The project is coordinated by the **ISMU Foundation.**

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1. AMSTERDAM AND MIGRATION

1.1 General structural data on the city

Amsterdam is the capital city of the Netherlands and also its largest city. In 2013, it had a population of approximately 0.80 million in the city, 1.5 million in the urban area and 2.3 million in the greater metropolitan area. Of the 0.80 million inhabitants, 49% are Dutch and called "autochtonen", and 51% are foreign, the so called "allochtonen"[1]. The allochtonen are frequently divided into two groups: western (16%) and non-western (35%) [1]. These high percentages make Amsterdam one of the most culturally diverse cities of the Netherlands and, in fact, the world. By comparison, the Netherlands has nearly 17 million inhabitants of which 12% are non-western allochtonen [2].

Amsterdam is located in North Holland, one of the twelve provinces that constitute the Netherlands. Together with Rotterdam, Den Haag and Utrecht, Amsterdam forms the so-called G4, the organisation of the four largest cities in the Netherlands. Amsterdam itself is currently divided into eight districts, a number that has varied in the past. Earlier in 2014, administrative changes have transformed these districts into so called administrative committees, which no longer have their own councils and are no longer governing bodies in their own right. Instead, they are "extended administrators" that are accountable to the body that has established them; the city council, the executive board and/or the mayor [3].

1.2 Brief history of recent migration

Throughout history, Amsterdam has seen a lot of migration. The first mayor flow of migration occurred during the sixteenth and seventeeth century, when the city became one of the most important trading centres of Europe and its number of inhabitants grew exponentially; from around 30.000 in the 1580s to 120.000 in 1632 [4]. Because of its economic prosperity and relative religious and political freedom, Amsterdam attracted many migrants with various religious, social and economic backgrounds. This growth was mainly a result of the influx of people from different parts of the Netherlands and other countries in Northwestern Europe but also included immigrants from southern Europe and other continents. The second large flow of migration occurred during the second half of the twentieth century. At that time, two important reasons for the increasing number of immigrants were the decolonisation of some of the Netherlands' former colonies, such as Surinam and Indonesia, and the recruitment of guest workers from southern European countries, such as Morocco and Turkey.

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[1] The definition of an "allochtoon" is a person who has at least one foreign-born parent. This can be further divided between first generation, where the person him- or herself is born abroad (228325), and second generation, where the person him- or herself is born in the Netherlands (176472). An "autochtoon", therefore, is someone both of whose parents are born in the Netherlands. Source: Dienst Onderzoek en Statistiek Gemeente Amsterdam. Nieuwe definitie allochtonen in Amsterdam, 2006.

1.3 National migration and integration policies

In the roughly forty years of its existence, Dutch integration policy has developed and changed significantly. A pragmatic approach to coping with problems in the 1970s was later exchanged for a more systematic and centralised form of governance. This led to the implementation and enforcement of various restrictive immigration policies in the 1980s and 1990s regarding labour migration, family migration and asylum. During this time, immigration policies were implemented in a de-politicised context, with relatively little political debate. The beginning of the 21st century saw the rise of migration and integration as prominent topics in public and political debate. This was fuelled by social tensions and the growing disappointment with and criticism of integration processes and policies. In 2004, the previously dominant multicultural framework was officially discarded by the Dutch government, which stated that it was an unsuccessful model and that it failed to deal with several issues concerning migration. Subsequently, a new model arose in migration policies, which had a much more conservative nature. With politicians such as Pim Fortuyn and Geert Wilders voicing the growing discontent and anxiety among inhabitants, the tone of the political debate changed and various restrictive measures came into place. The emergence of right-wing populist politicians and political parties in the Netherlands during this time fits in with a wider political shift in Europe. More and more, integration became a question of assimilation, of adhering to certain behavioural rules and norms that were labelled as Dutch. In the Netherlands, this lead to measures such as an integration exam that migrants have to pass in order to prove their integration into Dutch society before they are allowed to reside in the Netherlands. Migration and integration policymaking have become symbolical in their framing and ideological treatment. Migration and integration issues are powerful topics in the political arena, frequently linked to broader issues in society and for instance used to voice dissent with the political establishment. As a result, on the national level most migrant integration policies are framed in response to national developments rather than practical problems[5].

Apart from these changes in content, framing and ideology, there have been developments in the way migration and integration policies are being executed. Over the last decade, a trend of decentralisation has clearly become visible. There is no longer a top-down model where the national level dictates the laws and policies and the local level follows. Dealing with migration is no longer just a national preoccupation. Nowadays, policy practices occur at both the European, national and local level. Moreover, the relationship between these three is not a linear one; local governments are involved in the creation and implementation of policies and may sometimes even take the lead. This current model is called a multi-level governance model[6].

One of the problems with this model is the increasing gap between the symbolic policies at the national level and the more pragmatic approach at the local level. It is clear that the multi-level governance model results in many challenges, specifically in terms of policy coherence and policy coordination. This paper will examine the current state of migration governance in Amsterdam and in which ways these challenges are being tackled.

1.4 Case Study

The analysis in this case study is focused mainly on the institutional level; that of the municipal government. To a lesser extent, the individual and organizational levels are included, since institutional viewpoints and arrangements impact developments at these two levels.

This case study is based on seven in-depth interviews and the analysis of various official documents and texts. Six interviews were held with local government administrators and one interview was held with the director of the local branch of the Dutch Council for Refugees, since this is an important partner of the municipality in implementing policies for migrants and refugees. All the quotes used in the text below are from the interviews.

When studying the city's approach to migration, integration and social cohesion, it is important to consider three aspects; the content and presentation of policies, the administrative organization and the (inter)national context. Chapter 2 will focus on the first aspect and Chapter 3 on the second. Finally, Chapter 4 will address the national and European framework within which the city operates, the relationship between the different levels, and which obstacles and opportunities the (inter)national context offers.

2. CONTENT AND PRESENTATION OF MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION POLICIES IN AMSTERDAM

This chapter focuses on the content and presentation of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam, through official documents and the statements of politicians, civil servants and local government administrators. Sequentially, the following aspects will be discussed; how policies are framed, what the focus of policies is and what the issues and target groups are.

2.1 Framing

Looking at the framing of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam, there are a few interesting things to notice. First of all, the term "integration" is no longer used by most of the government officials in Amsterdam. They have come to condemn this term, stating that it enforces the gap between locals on the one hand and migrants on the other. They feel that the term has the tendency to exclude and does not promote the desired relationship between population groups in Amsterdam. "*Why not? Because it has so much to do with an "us and them" way of thinking and that tends to exclude people, it evokes the feeling of exclusion. And that's a major reason why we do not want to work that way in Amsterdam. We prefer to talk about things as they are here, so we talk about social-economic status or other factors that play a role in helping or hindering someone, but we don't talk about the position of ethnic minorities in general.*" They prefer to use words such as "participation" and "participation society". This indicates a shift in the framing of migration and integration issues in Amsterdam. Local government officials nowadays prefer to work from an inclusive frame, viewing all the inhabitants of Amsterdam as "Amsterdammers" and aiming policies at the group of citizens as a whole. "*It should be about all inhabitants of Amsterdam and not about various groups and how they relate to each other, integration back and forth. (...) Basically, integration is no longer on the agenda. Amsterdam is just too diverse. Integration of whom into what? That is really just nonsense, to work with that.*"

Secondly, it is interesting to notice that Amsterdam is aware of the importance of framing. The municipal government consciously tackles the framing of its policies and topics: "*You just have to. It applies to all these sorts of topics, that you have to think about how you are telling the story, how you are framing it, much more than before. That's really crucial. For all parties involved, and certainly within the municipality,*

administrators, aldermen, the council and how they interact with others. To more consciously than before think about what our story is, how we tell it and to whom and when."

Looking at the last two coalition agreements, another interesting development in the framing of migration and integration policies can be discerned. The coalition agreement for 2010-2014 clearly states diversity to be an important theme, which is mentioned in several places. Words such as "diversity", "integration" and "participation" are used and the city council clearly states its ideas and intentions on this theme, as well as the financial means it intends to commit. However, the coalition agreement for 2014-2018, even though it is called "Amsterdam belongs to everybody", does not name diversity as a theme. Moreover, the council does not address diversity or any related issue anywhere in the document, except for a short paragraph about discrimination on the labour market. Neither does it specify the commitment of financial means towards diversity or integration-related themes, except for refugees. When a member of one of the opposition parties questioned the council on this, the alderman for Education, Youth, Diversity and City District East responded that the financial means for policies in the domain of diversity will have to be found within regular budgets, for instance health or education[7]. This is an important shift in the framing of migration and integration issues. The consequences that this will have for policies in Amsterdam are not clear yet; this remains to be seen in the upcoming years.

Finally, another important factor in the way that migration and integration issues are framed in Amsterdam is the relationship between the national debate and the local reality. In Amsterdam, diversity is seen as a strength and therefore, migration is labelled as a predominantly positive phenomenon. "*So there is unanimity in Amsterdam (...) about how to denote the phenomenon of migration, which is predominantly positive. And of course there are problematic cases, but that's why we are the municipality, to tackle those.*" This is in contrast to other cities and the national government, which are more inclined to voice their opinion in a negative way. "*There are a number of municipalities, and even the national government sometimes, that are clearly lamenting EU migration.*" In Amsterdam, local government officials clearly see certain benefits of migration and strive to keep presenting Amsterdam as a favourable place to migrate to. "*Amsterdam has been a city of migrants throughout the centuries and that has brought us a lot of prosperity, in different ways. So we think we have to cherish that. (...) And apart from that, you also just need it as a city to keep developing and to be on the map, internationally.*" Perhaps, Amsterdam's framing of migration is a result of and a reaction to the predominantly symbolic framework concerning migration and integration on the national level as mentioned in section 1.3. It could be that the local government is trying to countervail this national tendency and to promote a more pragmatic, positive approach[5]. As one government administrator puts it: "*The national discussion for sure is influenced by a couple of factors that have got nothing to do with the issue, really. It's about ideological stigmatization, but also with lobbying. (...) It has to do with conscious shaping of perception.*"

2.2 Focus

In Amsterdam, the municipal government tries solely to implement broad policies. Policies catering to specific groups are no longer used. "*We always look at all Amsterdammers but within that, we do look at diversity and that in turn leads to certain choices that you make in the implementation. But the policy is pretty generic.*" In the implementation and execution of policy measures, certain groups receive additional attention. This is labelled as "customization within general policies". "*If you employ general policies differently in certain areas, you will see that you are much more effective.*"

Most of the local government officials who were interviewed support this view. They did state, however, that this remains a contested issue within the municipality and that there are still opponents to any kind of

specific measure within the municipal policies. "*What we say is that we have customization within general policies. We employ specific measures within generic policy, such as the refugee customer managers I was telling you about. But to this day, I keep discussing this with my colleagues.*"

Currently, the various services that the municipal government offers in the area of migration and integration are mostly demand-oriented. They are aimed at stimulating the self-reliance and independence of migrants, and leading them toward becoming active citizens of Amsterdam who make use of regular services as much as possible. "*It differs, the amount of service provision they receive, also somewhat in the extent to which they themselves raise their hand and are in need.*"

This is based on a vision of society centred on the idea of self-reliance that is currently broadly in use in the Netherlands. "*Well it's really a political, national movement of "own force". It's really that "own force" model and the the budget cuts as well. I don't know if we wouldn't have been in an economic crisis if it would have been much different. I don't know. But anyway, this "own force" thinking influences the municipality.*"

However, to which extent the municipality of Amsterdam should fulfil certain tasks remains a subject of debate within the various municipal bodies and its officials. The municipality has to balance the responsibility of citizens themselves with the municipality's responsibility to care for its inhabitants and therefore the extent to which they should offer this care and the amount of facilities and services they should provide. At the moment, the local government plays a more reserved and demand-oriented role leaving the initiative with citizens, while in the past the municipality played a more caring role. However, over the last months, there seems to be some movement toward the extension of services provided. It seems that exceptions to the general rule are being made for certain groups that are "at risk". The relationship between offering and withdrawing services is an ever changing and fluid one. "*And every time it's about the tension or the relationship between what the responsibility is of someone who is new here and what the responsibility of the municipality is. (...) There should always be a bit of grinding and pulling, attracting and repelling.*"

2.3 Issues and target groups

This section discussed the issues and target groups that are dealt with in the domain of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam, since these two elements are frequently interrelated. It is important to keep in mind that these issues and target groups are being addressed within the framework of generic policies as mentioned in the previous section. Attention is only given to specific groups when policies are implemented. This framework is also present in the description of the various issues and target groups below.

At the beginning of this research, the intention was to categorize the issues in migration and integration policies in one of three domains; legal-political, socio-economic or cultural-religious. However, the case study of Amsterdam showed that it is difficult to wield this distinction, mainly because it does not fit with the reality and is not used in policy making in Amsterdam. "*It's difficult to apply, because these themes are in fact general policies.*" It is possible to classify the issues encountered in Amsterdam into one of the three domains but the benefits of such a purely analytical distinction are limited. Therefore, after a very brief and descriptive classification of the issues in the three domains, the focus will be on another classification that fits better with the issues found in Amsterdam.

The first domain is the legal-political one and refers to residence and political statuses and rights. Relatively little policies in Amsterdam can be classified into this domain, since most legal and political policies are determined on the national level. The second domain is the socio-economic one. Many of the policies in Amsterdam can be classified into this domain. There are different policies on housing, education and employment and income that are either available to migrants or that cater to the migrant population specifically in their implementation. Most policies strive to improve the position of migrants in comparison to other population groups. Finally, policies in the domain of ethnic, cultural and religious perceptions and practices are aimed at various topics, such as discrimination, emancipation or polarisation. We will focus on these types of policies into more detail below.

A more fitting distinction of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam is based on the issues that are being addresses. First of all, there are issues focused on a specific target group. Secondly, there are topic-based issues, such as policies on discrimination, emancipation, radicalization and polarization.

2.3.1 Issues concerning specific target groups

These issues focus on target groups such as newcomers, refugees and illegal immigrants. A wide range of topics are relevant for each of these target groups, such as housing, healthcare, employment and income. Therefore these issues are addressed by various municipal departments, such as the Department for Social Development (DSD)[2], the Department for Work and Income (DWI)[3] and the Department for Housing, Healthcare and Coexistence (DHHC)[4]. The municipal structuring in departments is logical, since it is beneficial to have all knowledge and expertise on a certain topic clustered in one department. However, it may also lead to the exclusion of relevant information from outside the department.

The current municipal setting makes multi-problem cases difficult to address[5]. One way to solve this problem is by installing municipal project groups that ensure the involvement of different departments and organizations. In such project groups, representatives from different municipal departments and divisions work together; they meet regularly, exchange information, solve incidental problems and monitor the issue at hand. In Amsterdam, there are several such project groups and they often deal with a specific target group. Examples are the project groups on EU migrants and on refugees.

The project group on refugees deals with the whole process of settlement and integration of refugees in Amsterdam, from arrival to independence. Policies are developed on issues such as the integration obligation ("inburgeringsplicht" in Dutch), language, housing, (un)employment, healthcare and financial issues. Since refugees are labelled as a "risk" group in terms of participation and self-reliance[6], the government officials in the project group work together in order to realise an integral approach concerning this group. This is aimed at improving the participation and self-reliance of refugees, mainly through the implementation of special projects and activities for this group, such as re-integration trajectories and language orientation programs.

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[2] This department is called "Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling" in Dutch and has a broad range of tasks in the social and cultural field, such as arts and culture, youth, sports, citizenship and diversity, education and integration. Their goal is to make sure that all citizens participate. Instellingsbesluit Dienst Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling.

[3] This department is called "Dienst Werk en Inkomen" in Dutch. Their goal is to help as many citizens as possible to find a job or to participate actively in society, to make them (financially) self-reliant.

[4] This department is called "Dienst Wonen, Zorg en Samenleven" in Dutch and is focused on housing, healthcare and the general well-being of citizens. Their goal is to make sure that all citizens have a roof over their head and are capable to participate in society for as long as possible.

[5] For instance, health problems may be interrelated with or the result of housing or income problems.

[6] Statistics show that unemployment rates are much higher among refugees than the general population.

The target group based issue of newcomers addresses all new citizens of Amsterdam, a group of more than 6.000 in 2013[8]. There are various elements at play in the domain of welcome policies for newcomers, mainly in the sphere of provision of information and guidance. In the implementation of policies, activities are aimed either at the group of new inhabitants as a whole or at the various groups of migrants within this group. For instance, the municipal counter for "Immigration and Naturalization", which most migrants visit for various administrative procedures is aimed at all new citizens. However, there is also a Center solely for Expats, assisting them with settling in Amsterdam. As described in section **Errore. L'origine riferimento non è stata trovata.**, the exact role that the municipality should play is a constant source of debate. This can be seen in the project group on newcomers as well, where they are currently tackling the issue of the provision of information in several additional languages.

2.3.2 Thematic issues

The second type of issue is aimed at a certain theme. Examples of these types of issues are discrimination, emancipation, radicalization and polarisation. Most of these issues are tackled within a sector of a department or at the level of the city district. The division Citizenship and Diversity of the DSD deals with a lot of these thematic issues, of course in collaboration with various partners. For the last four years, this division has focused on five specific themes: anti-discrimination, LGBT policy, emancipation for women, radicalization and polarization, and citizenship. Each of these themes had its own priorities and goals. For instance concerning the theme of anti-discrimination, there were projects and activities focused on safety in public spaces as well as on discrimination in schools, on the labor market and in the hospitality industry. The exact themes and priorities for the period 2014-2018 have not been chosen yet.

An example of theme-based issues on the level of the city district can be found in city district West's treatment of anti-discrimination and radicalization. In the last four years, this city district has organized various activities to address discrimination and radicalization, such as organizing trainings on recognizing radicalization, organizing debates, roundtables and discussions, for instance with students, and on topics such as the current state in Israel and the Gaza Strip, Westerners leaving to fight in Syria and homophobic violence. Other regular activities surround the yearly commemorations of the Second World War and the history of slavery.

3. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF POLICIES

After examining the presentation of local migration and integration policies in Chapter 2, this chapter will focus on the second aspect that influences migration and integration policies; their governance, or in other words, the administrative organization. Coordination and political responsibilities are discussed in 3.1, budget for activities in 3.2 and participation of target groups in 3.3.

3.1 Coordination and political responsibilities

This section will focus on the administrative organisation of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam. First the political system and the structure of the municipal organisation will be discussed, as well as the corresponding political responsibilities. Secondly, the cooperation and relationships with various

actors both within and outside of the municipality will be examined. Finally, consequences and challenges stemming from the current political and administrative situation are described.

Amsterdam is run by a municipal council and an executive board of aldermen[7]. The council is the highest authority and is responsible for all important decisions. There are 45 seats on the council that are occupied by various political parties. Council members are elected every four years by the citizens of Amsterdam. The day-to-day management of Amsterdam is the responsibility of an executive board consisting of the mayor and five to seven aldermen, which all have their own area(s) of responsibility. The mayor is appointed by the national government and the aldermen are elected from the city council. They remain full members of the Council with voting rights. Together, the council and the executive board carry the responsibility for all local policies being created and implemented.

The municipality of Amsterdam consists of various departments that are all accountable to the municipal council and the executive board. Of these, four in particular are important for migration and integration policies; the previously mentioned departments DSD, DWI and DHHC and the Directorate of Public Order and Safety (DPOS). In general, these departments are responsible for the development and implementation of policies. As such, they operate "at the interface between governance and the field". The departments each have a vast range of tasks and therefore are quite large. For example, DWI has 1800 employees and is responsible for implementing the Laws on Integration and Employment and Assistance, for poverty reduction, adult education, language training, guidance and reintegration, the administration of social benefits and the provision of loans.

Most departments are divided further into various divisions that each deal with one or two specific tasks. For migration and integration policies, the divisions Education and Integration (DWI), Citizenship and Integration (DSD) and Immigration Policy (DPOS) are most important. These divisions range in size from 10 to 90 employees and they fulfill an advisory role as well as creating new policies and coordinating the implementation of these policies. The three divisions are accountable to different parts of the municipality; the division Citizenship and Integration is accountable to the Alderman for Diversity and to the Mayor, the division Education and Integration is accountable to as many as four different aldermen and the division on Immigration Policy is not accountable to an alderman but directly to the Mayor and the executive board.

Amsterdam is divided into eight city districts that play an important part in the implementation and execution of policies. The city districts have monthly meetings together with the central city. For instance, in city district Amsterdam West there is a project team on antidiscrimination and social security that organizes various projects and activities. As described in the first chapter, the city districts have recently been transformed into administrative committees. On paper, it seems that these committees will have less policy freedom. Practice will show whether this will be the case, or if city districts will remain able to provide input into the creation and implementation of municipal policies. According to the city district administrator interviewed as part of this case study, in all likelihood the changes will not be very prominent: "*In the end, the municipal stance determines. We provide input for that stance as well, for the policy. Which is then drawn up and ultimately, we follow with our accents in the execution of the policies. (...) Maybe the city districts were a bit more autonomous before the elections, but in practice it's the same thing. Municipal policy, local accents and execution. Period. But intercommunication in terms of input for the policy as well.*"

Departments, division and city districts mainly collaborate with each other and with fellow municipal offices, for instance from other cities or the national government. "*Both X [another local government administrator] and me work together with our fellow municipal departments a lot.*" They also collaborate with various parties from the civil society in general, such as societal organizations (NGO's, reintegration offices, schools, interest groups, companies), resident associations, entrepreneurs, schools, mosques and

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[7] The municipal council is called "gemeenteraad" in Dutch and the executive board "college van burgemeester en wethouders".

key figures in city districts. One important partner in the field of migration and integration policies for refugees is the local branch of the Dutch Council for Refugees (DCR). This can be seen from the fact that most of DCR's funding comes from the municipality; seventy-five percent. DCR is the municipality's executive partner in migration and integration policies for refugees and organizes activities and projects for language coaching and participation on the labor market. The funds they receive "*have all been earmarked for use in particular projects*". Various departments of the municipality collaborate with the DCR, such as the DHHC and the division Education and Integration of the DWI. "*Different parties are involved, depending on the issue.*" The local branch of the Dutch Council for Refugees is responsible for the execution of certain tasks concerning migration and integration policies. Their function is mainly executive, but they also monitor the target group, lobby and provide input for the creation and implementation of policies. DCR also collaborates with partners such as housing associations and the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA).

The political structure raises certain limitations and benefits for policy making and implementation in the field of migration and integration as well. Every time the council, mayor or aldermen change, local government administrators have to wait and see in which way this will influence their work; how topics will be framed and treated, how much financial means will be at their disposition, et cetera. "*You just immediately see it, when a council member steers in a different way, people also work differently.*" In general, since the general objectives remain fairly consistent across different periods of political leadership. However, the accents and focus points usually change every four years. "*On a higher level, obviously it's more emancipated women, less discrimination. And then, within that, you have to take a closer look. (...) Which targets concerning discrimination and the emancipation of women will remain and which emphases will shift, we don't know yet. Most policy plans will finish this year, so then we will have to choose a new route for next year.*" It is clear that for local government officials, a change in political leadership always entails a period of figuring out how decision making processes will be affected, tackling new hurdles and finding new ways of cooperation.

A benefit of a political system where the city council, mayor and aldermen change every couple of years is that the government administrators play an important role in the creation and implementation of policies. They provide the necessary continuity and in-depth knowledge of the topics at hand. Therefore, the council members frequently rely on them, which gives the government administrators ample opportunities to lobby for certain causes and/or to press their plans. In the end, this results in a policy focus based on a combination of administrators' insight into the city and council members' priorities.

Another important factor determining migration and integration policies in Amsterdam is the dedication and personal involvement of the responsible alderman. For instance, during the period 2010-2014 Andrée van Es was the responsible Alderman and she strongly pushed for the necessary political support for various migrant integration policies: "*Recently, we really managed to bring the whole thing to a new level. And that was in the governing period of Alderman Van Es. If you want to achieve policies, you have to have broad support among all the necessary layers; everyone has to realize the importance and has to grant you permission. And Alderman Van Es has been a real advocate. She really showed personal commitment. (...) Someone who makes a stand on the political level, that is quite crucial.*"

Another challenge for Amsterdam in terms of migration and integration policies is to ensure that all the parties that are involved, both within and outside of the municipality, are identified and able to cooperate optimally. The different offices and departments of the municipality have to work together and have to coordinate their work on various subjects in the areas of migration and integration. "*As a municipality, you have to ensure that you are in tune with each other internally. To an outsider you are the municipality, but internally there are all kinds of separate parts. But that's under the hood, so to speak.*" Administrators with different views and ideas on certain topics have to be brought together and working relations with partners

such as the Refugee Council and housing associations have to be maintained and improved as well. Finally, as stated earlier on in this section, there also has to be sufficient political support to back up the policies. All these elements are necessary for effective migrant integration policies. For instance, looking at the department for refugee policies, local government officials in Amsterdam have proven that an integral approach is crucial in order to have successful policies and projects. It seems that the creation and maintenance of this integral approach is mainly effectuated by one administrator here. In other departments, cooperation is viewed as necessary yet vies with other tasks and can therefore lead to capacity problems for the persons involved.

3.2 Budget for projects and activities

In Amsterdam, the budget for projects and activities comes from various sources:
- From the municipality itself. The city council makes a yearly budget that specifies the financial means for different themes. Resources are reserved for specific issues or projects and can be both structural and incidental. These budgets are predetermined and therefore it can be difficult for local government administrators to fit in new projects: "*But other activities that we would like to implement, such as a possible bed, bath and bread facility for illegal migrants, are not included. That would have to be added.*"
- From the European Union, mainly from European funds such as the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and the European Social Fund (ESF). Currently, there are several projects financed this way, such as two reintegration trajectories for refugees that have been set up with funds from the European Refugee Fund (ERF).
- From the national government. An example is the current pilot project Declaration of Participation, which is co-funded by the national Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. These budgets are usually limited. "*The national government sometimes has some budget for municipal activities in a specific area. But that's limited, it's little bits. It really doesn't amount to much.*"

Most departments have a budget for the department as a whole, which is used to various ends. The departments enjoy relative freedom in the allocation of resources to various projects and activities. "*We are one department with different tasks, but we have one budget and so sometimes we slide some money back and forth. (...) We have different types of financial means and, well, we try to be creative with it.*" Departments also continually try to find new, additional resources, so that they may expand their activities.

For local government administrators, budget is a very important factor, which clearly influences the implementation of policies. "*To what extent you have the finances to realize your plans, that's what it all depends on.*" For instance, the budget DWI has allocated to policies for newcomers is limited and therefore the local government officials can only organize incidental activities or activities aimed at small, specific groups and/or during a short period of time. Another example is that the diminishing of budgets have led to the cutting of healthcare educators in native languages. Furthermore, administrative choices on the local and national level have led to changes in the financial means available for migration and integration policies. Take for example the integration trajectories; these are no longer a municipal task and therefore the national government does not provide the necessary financial means. However, the city of Amsterdam wants to stay involved in this issue and therefore has made the decision to finance activities on this topic, especially concerning language training, from the municipal budget. "*But we as a municipality have made the decision to commit additional municipal funds. And thus to prioritize in that respect. But anyway, those are the limits that you encounter.*"

3.3 Participation of target groups

Most local government administrators in Amsterdam recognize the importance of keeping in touch with the target group(s) of migration and integration policies, mainly for monitoring and evaluation purposes. While they stress the importance of maintaining this relationship, contact with target groups is not a formal or structural part of the creation or implementation processes of policies. It seems that the participation of target groups mainly stems from the commitment of local government administrators and from representation of their interests by societal organisations.

The municipality tries to promote the interaction with and the participation of target groups in various ways. First of all, events, consultations and meetings are organized which citizens and societal organisations can attend. Secondly, some policy projects have specific goals in the sphere of participation and interaction. An example is a project aimed at the creation of a network for bicultural LGBT's. Thirdly, some departments or divisions try to involve citizens and/or societal organizations in the execution of policy measures. Take for example the subsidy program of the division Citizenship and Diversity, where volunteer-based organisations can apply for funding as long as their project is in accordance with the goals of the division. "*We can also assign the execution of programs to all kinds of parties that have good ideas that contribute to the goals of the policy, so that they can run the projects.*" Finally, the municipality collaborates with various organisations from the civil society that either have in-depth knowledge of the target group or can represent the target group. As previously mentioned, DCR is the largest and most well-known example but there are many other organisations involved in the execution of policies; entrepreneurs, women's organisations, youth services. The municipality values and invests in this type of collaborations; "*That has also been a priority for us, to intensify, integrate and improve this cooperation.*"

There are a couple of elements that create difficulties in the relationship between the municipality and target groups and therefore hinder the participation of these target groups;

- In general, new migrants are not organized and therefore difficult to find for the municipality. "*And those new groups haven't organized themselves into networks yet. So they aren't able to find each others. For certain "oldcomers" there are easily identifiable networks. And then you know, as a municipality, if I want to do something with them I have to approach this and that person, and then I've got it reasonably covered. For new groups you don't know that.*" There are a couple of ways the municipality tries to overcome this problem. They cooperate with partners, such as the DCR, that "*know the target group really well and can think about conditions and safeguards that are important and necessary in the creation of measures*". Also, the municipality does a lot of research in order to acquire information about these groups and to gain knowledge about their progress and the results of policies.
- There are other groups that are difficult to find and get in touch with. The most obvious example is the group of non-registered migrants. These migrants are not registered, so the municipality has no information about them. Furthermore, they are fearful of being expelled from the city or country and of various other oppressive measures and therefore they are not keen on making themselves known. The municipality is aware of this group and the difficulties involved in establishing any form of contact or cooperation. "*You have to be very careful in how you handle it.*"
- Finally, the interest in and popularity of issues is another factor influencing the participation of target groups. "*If you look at women's or gay rights, there are all kinds of interest groups involved. People are committed and whether they are dealing with it themselves or not doesn't even really matter, they want to make an effort. With discrimination, that's hardly the case. I know little, if any organisations that say, we want to commit ourself to fight against discrimination.*" The low level of enthusiasm and commitment concerning these kinds of issues makes it difficult for the municipality to involve target groups. "*I find it difficult with to work with, now and then. That you can't easily find*

partners in society to do something with." One of the ways in which local government officials try to get around this problem is by aiming activities and projects at the individual level and by using new ways of communication such as social media.

4. BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS FOR LOCAL POLICIES AS DEFINED BY THE (INTER)NATIONAL CONTEXT

This chapter focuses on the national and international context and how this influences migration and integration policies in Amsterdam. In the first section, the "horizontal" exchange between different cities is discussed. In the second section, the relationship between the municipality of Amsterdam, the national government and the European Union is analysed.

4.1 Horizontal exchange between cities

Apart from regular meetings with the other three cities in the G4, the exchange between Amsterdam and other (European) cities on the topic of migrant integration is relatively limited. This has a number of causes:
- Local government officials do not have the time or budget to spend on meeting with other cities or participating in networks. Since this usually is not part of their job responsibilities, sharing problems and practices with other cities do not get prioritised. Local government administrators in Amsterdam take little initiative themselves in organising meetings or establishing a working relation with other cities. "*Exchange with other cities is a costly matter, if you have to do it yourself.*" However, if the exchange is initiated and funded by a partner, they are willing to cooperate. An example is a new exchange project on welcome policies for EU migrants that is being funded by the European Commission Directorate-General for Justice, in which Amsterdam is participating.
- Most exchanges are not directly of interest to local government officials and the reality they work in. Either the differences between the context of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam and other cities are too large, or the level of the exchange is too high. Most networks or fora of (European) cities are at the meta-level and have general scope. Therefore, the "*Those general networks are simply less relevant or less effective when it comes implementing policies. It's more about knowing each other and knowing what is happening elsewhere. But it's not of such a nature that you can say, I can take this back to Amsterdam to introduce it here.*" Because the government officials feel that most exchanges with other cities do not fit with the local practice in Amsterdam, they are insecure about how much they will gain from participating. "*It's also a question of what it will yield.*" They feel that in order for an exchange to be productive or useful, it should involve concrete, suitable partners from which they can benefit. "*You would have to go there and shadow a specific administrator or discuss things together.*"
- In general, local government officials feel that Amsterdam is at the forefront of most developments and is more of a transmitter than a receiver in exchanges between cities. This does not necessarily mean that Amsterdam cannot learn from other cities, but it does make it more difficult for government officials to find good practices and examples to learn from and as a consequence, this makes them less enterprising concerning possible exchanges. "*I really feel the need to learn from other cities when it comes to these aspects. But I don't encounter them and I'm quite fed up with it. (...) I find it very disappointing, what I can learn from other cities.*"

4.2 Local practices in relation to national and European policies

Local practices do not always correspond to national policies. Some topics are the sole authority of the national government, such as immigration laws, and therefore out of reach for local governments. The opposite also sometimes happens when the national government does not have policies on a certain topic. This may provide the municipality with the freedom to initiate organize and implement projects and policies. In Amsterdam, local government officials implement various policy measures that are not backed up by or derived from national policies. The downside is that no funds are available from the national government and this may restrict the municipality in the sense that there are limited (financial) means. The municipality of Amsterdam copes with these challenges in different ways, for instance by consulting or cooperating with the national government, by actively lobbying at the national level to implement and/or change certain policies, or by retaining certain (former) tasks and supplying the necessary (financial) means themselves: "*We said that we still see a responsibility of the municipality and that we also benefit from not finding out in three years' time that the refugee has not done anything. So we decided that we want to keep an eye on this and to stay involved. (...) So we, as a municipality have made the decision to invest extra funds and to prioritize this topic in the municipal budget. But, well, that are the limits that we encounter.*" On some topics, there are collaborations and pilot projects between the local and national government. It seems that the local and national government attempt to cooperate and to find common ground, even when they differ in opinions or focus.

The most difficult thing is when local and national policies seem to oppose each other. "*National policies and regulations can be at odds with the everyday reality. And that everyday reality takes place in municipalities.*" One topic that illustrates this kind of tension between the local and national level clearly is that of illegal migrants in Amsterdam. This group mainly consists of asylum seekers who remain in the city after having been denied asylum. There are no national policies that take this group into account, other than stating that these people should return to their respective countries of origin. And while the local government has no jurisdiction concerning these asylum policies, it is confronted with a group of illegal migrants living in the city on a daily base. The illegal migrants are frequently suffering from problems and the municipality of Amsterdam feels responsible to care for them. However, this is at odds with national laws and policies. "*As a consequence, the mayor finds himself in a huge dilemma and with him his local government administrators.*" On the one hand, the problems in the local context are very real and demand the local government to take action. On the other hand, the municipality has to operate within certain boundaries and has to respect national guidelines. "*It is a difficult situation and of course we are constantly consulting with the Secretary of State. You try to respect the state policies, which are leading, we have to follow them. (...) It's very difficult for the Secretary of State and at the same time it is very difficult for the Mayor who is coping with the factual problems as well.*" The municipality of Amsterdam tries to create some room to maneuver and to implement local projects and policies. "*Amsterdam actually wants more than is allowed in terms of the regulations. Those regulations are exceeded and of course they know that in the Hague. But there are boundaries and we have to respect them.*" Whether the freedom that the local government of Amsterdam asserts is supported, approved or merely tolerated by the national government is not known.

The national government's approach to migrant policy issues is sometimes less ambitious than the local government's. "*I think that there are several topics where Amsterdam would like to be more ambitious than the national government.*" Partially, this stems from a difference in perspective. In Amsterdam, the local government officials mainly address practical issues. "*What do you encounter, what do you want to realise and how will you achieve that? That's what we should talk about, not about underlying principles. Those are important on the political level, in the city council, the discussion between cities, or in the media. But on the level of implementation that is not of importance.*" Policy measures at the national level tend to be more systematic and considered by the municipality to define the framework within which they operate

and achieve their policy goals. "*We are right in the middle of things and the national government is floating above it.*"

Furthermore, local government administrators consider the national policy debate to be influenced by factors outside of the local arena and the framing to be more symbolic and ideological. "*The national discussion is being influenced by factors that have nothing to do with the issue, really. Such as ideological stigmatization, and lobbying.*" This has an effect on the relationship between the national and local government. For instance, the cooperation between the national and local government in the current pilot project Declaration of Participation is less smooth because of the difference in perspective; the local government is involved in the project to experiment with learning and teaching methods, whereas the national government is involved in the project to educate and "steer" migrants in the correct direction, stemming from the political debate and the dominant viewpoint of migrants as lacking certain necessary norms and values. Luckily, the local context is deemed very important in the domain of migrant integration by both the local and the national government and this stimulates the relative autonomy of the municipality. "*The local context is so important that it is very relevant what a city wants and can do. (…) The national government has also always advocated this local approach.*"

5. CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapters have given some interesting insights into the current state of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam. While the second chapter examined the content-part of these policies, the third chapter discussed their governance and the fourth their relationship with (inter)national context.

First of all, this research provides the answer to the question how migration and integration policies are presented. It seems that while the framing of migration and integration in Amsterdam is predominantly positive, this does not have a direct link with the content or design of policies in these areas. Official documents and policy statements are generic and demand-oriented in nature and as a rule do not focus on specific issues. A new element in this situation is the fact that the coalition agreement for the period of 2014-2018 does not mention migration or participation themes at all. The consequences of this change in approach remain to be seen.

Secondly, some clarity has been brought concerning the governance of migration and integration policies in Amsterdam. The general municipal organization is relatively transparent in terms of organizational structure, accountability and budget. However, this research also showed that are other important factors that influence policy processes, such as the commitment of political leaders and local government officials and the quality of cross-departmental cooperation and mutual relationships. These factors are less tangible and frequently are not acknowledged or taken into account.

Finally, the (inter)national context and the way that this influenced the local reality in Amsterdam was examined. Apart from regular meetings with Rotterdam, Utrecht and Den Haag as part of the G4, Amsterdam has relatively little contact with other cities on the topic of migrant integration. This has a number of causes: (1) limitations in time and budget, (2) difficulties in finding interesting cities that are ahead of the development to learn from, (3) most networks are at a meta level or have general scope and therefore are not of direct interest to local government officials and the reality they work in.

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