KING

Knowledge for INtegration Governance

Integration Policies
in European Member States:
How to Learn from Successful Experiences

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KING - Knowledge for INtegration Governance

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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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The project consists in the conduct of preliminary **Desk Research** to be followed by an empirical in-depth analysis of specific key topics identified within the desk research. To carry out these two tasks, each Advisory Board member chose and coordinated a team of two to five researchers, who have been assigned a range of topics to cover.
The present paper belongs to the series of contributions produced by the researchers of the "Political Science" team directed by Professor Alberto Martinelli:

EU Policy	ADVISORY BOARD MEMBER	DESK RESEARCH PAPERS
Political Science		
Public Administration	ALBERTO MARTINELLI Overview Paper	• "When Multiple levels meet Integration" by Eva Heidbreder • **"Integration policies in European Member States: how to learn from successful experiences" by Nicola Pasini and Paola Coletti** • "Economic or Cultural Threat? Orientations towards immigration and European integration among EU citizens and national parties" by Monica Poletti and Marta Regalia
Social Science		
Applied Social Studies		
Economics		
Demography		

The project is coordinated by the **ISMU Foundation**, based in Milan (Italy).

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Integration policies in European Member States: how to learn from successful experiences

1. INTRODUCTION

The necessity to learn from the successful experiences of others has developed the "industry of best practices": the international organizations and European Union collect and spread around best practices which take the form of country case studies of policy innovations or easy solutions ready to be applied. The transfer of successful policies from a source case (where the innovation is invented) to a target case (where the innovation is transferred) is not straightforward and might not reproduce the same success of the source case. Actually, the policy transfer implies the epistemological problem that it is not easy to isolate the reasons of success in order to apply them to another context.

The literature in the field of immigration aims at comparing different policy areas (labour, health care, culture etc…) at the **country level.** Some research points out the collection of practices at **local level** with a descriptive purpose (Mipex Database, 2013). However, there are limits to the transferring of innovations from one context to another in both approaches: on one hand, there are evident the limits of the different countries' contexts (for instance, different actors, National institutions, external factors) which might hamper a correct transfer of the policy; on the other hand, the local practices address the specific problems of a target case but they could not be easily transferred to another context.

The aim of the paper is to **design innovative policies[1],** taking the successful factors of the best practices as examples and activating a learning process to promote a successful dissemination of innovative practices among the European national governments. We will adopt a **user-centric perspective** which focuses on the specific needs of end users (Bason, 2010). Also, in the perspective of the *New Public Management* that is oriented "to put the citizen/customer first" (Bouckaer, Pollitt, 2004), migrants represent a weak category of people who need specific support by public administration for accessing to services at different level (civil, political and social dimension).

As specified by the European Commission (SEC (2011) 957 Final), the **integration** is "a multidimensional process of interactions between migrants and receiving society. It is not a single policy but a dimension which requires efforts in many areas and needs to be taken into account in a wide range of policy developments at various levels and involving numerous actors". Thus, the integration process refers to several policy areas (employment, education, health, social and cultural ties) and has to be adapted to specific "target group of migrants with particular needs, such as young migrants, migrant women, the elderly and refugees". It has to be also reported the concept of "two - way process of mutual accommodation requiring both the strong commitment on the side of the receiving society and the active participation of migrants".

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[1] The theoretical clarification we are proposing is connected to the word "policy"; according to Dunn (1981, 2008), the public policies are the actions (or non-actions) which aim at resolving collective problems. This is recalled also by Dye (1972) "what a government does or not does". In this sense, we consider the practices developed by countries as part of the policy implementation process.

This policy fits on the scheme of **multilevel governance,** a term which "evokes the idea of increasingly complex arrangements for arriving at authoritative decisions in increasingly dense networks of public and private, individual and collective actors" (Piattoni, 2010). The interdependence between social and economic groups and public institutions is stressed by Dente and Coletti (2010) as a relevant key factor to govern. With this definition in mind, we will examine at which level the policy process finds difficulties and how it is possible to design effective policies.

The *structure of the paper* is organized in the following way: the second paragraph will focus on how to define "smart policies of integration" according to mainstream literature; the third paragraph will explain the methodology; in the fourth paragraph the empirical cases of integration policy will be analysed in order to identify the main successful factors; lastly, the fifth paragraph will draw some main findings which highlight the necessity to carefully design effective policies.

We will suggest an innovative methodology for successfully implementing policies to be applied to the integration policy: the **user-centric perspective**. The framework of the analysis is the **multilevel governance**. The diffusion of best policies/practices represents a way to learn from the experience of others, but some limits should be stressed in the transfer to another context (i.e. States, Regions, cities, local authorities).

2. HOW TO DEFINE "A SMART POLICY OF INTEGRATION"

*The paragraph reports the literature on how to learn from best policies/practices; one of the key is the social mechanisms literature. We attempt to find a definition of smart policy of integration and the identification of criteria in order to select a sample of practices to be analysed. Then, the methodology is explained according to the indicators chosen (**density, complexity and centrality**).*

The approach of learning from best policies/practices is widely diffused among policy makers as an easy way to solve policy problems. Nevertheless the practice of transferring experiences from one country to another implies some difficulties. Innovations in the public sector depend on others' experience; a distinction has to be made between the replication-oriented and extrapolation-oriented school of thought. In particular, the approach based on replication implies the rational assumption that the transfer of a successful policy/practice from a context A to a context B would generate the same results in both of them. Consequently, this approach suggests that success is directly proportional to the degree of similarity between the original practice and the replicated one.

Bardach discusses the problem of extrapolating from others' experiences in his presidential address at the Association for public policy analysis and management. The available handbooks on best practices argue that actors should replicate other experiences instead of adapting them and using them as inspirational sources. Replicate someone else's experience often leads to mistakes in the application or interpretation of the source case experience: "innocently extrapolating from a setting where a good practice has indeed worked well to setting that differ in little-understood but important ways may lead to weak, perverse or otherwise damaging results" (Bardach, 2008).

Bardach tries to solve the extrapolative problem by referring to the literature on social mechanisms. Hedström e Swedberg (1998) stress the importance of social mechanisms in their capacity to explain the relation between two entities – input and output – and not as a systematic co-variation between general variables or events. Elster (1989) defends the importance of identifying the social "cog and wheels" responsible for the relation between variables. He stresses the difficulty to formulate theories on the base

of recurrent human behaviours observation, and argues that it would be better to focus on medium/small size mechanisms that describe plausible human interactions, as they can often be observed.

McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly (2001) suggest a threefold definition of the kinds of mechanisms regulating episodes of conflicts:

- *environmental mechanisms*: externally generated, directly operating mechanisms influencing conditions of social life (for example: lack of resources, crisis);
- *cognitive mechanisms*: mechanisms that operate through the transformation of individual and collective perceptions, leading to specific kinds of behaviour;
- *relational mechanisms*: mechanisms that produce the transformation of groups, people and individuals connection.

It is necessary to carefully define the criteria of an innovative policy in order to overcome its manifold limits. Defining criteria to identify best practices is a difficult task; many efforts of rationalizing how to choose a best practice can be found in literature. One of the most convincing attempt is the one proposed by Keehley, Medlin, MacBride, and Longmire (1997) and later revived by Benavides (2008). Generally speaking, they establish a set of criteria that describe best policies/practices on the basis of:

- the level of *innovativeness* of the policy;
- the successfulness over time;
- the measurable results and positive outcomes (if results could not be measurable);
- the *replication in another context* and the possibility to transfer to another country.

In the light of this theory, the question is **how to define a smart policy of integration** and through which sources.

A key source is the *European Website on Integration* (EWSI) which is a challenging project launched by the European Commission in order to create a platform for a direct exchange of information between stakeholders that might share knowledge in form of documented good practices with the aim of improving the learning process. Until now, thousand practices have been collected.

First of all, it is interesting to report the definition provided by the European Commission:
"'Good practices' can be defined in multiple ways. However, a common thread to most definitions implies strategies, approaches and/or activities that have been shown through research and evaluation to be effective, efficient, sustainable and/or transferable, and to reliably lead to a desired result. Good practices on the EWSI are collected through a template, which has been developed specifically to that effect and comprises all the information needed to judge whether the practice is adaptable to other contexts" (EWSI website, 2013).

Then, the eligibility of policies/practices has been precisely defined by some criteria:
- the definition of context,
- objective and purposes,
- the description of actions/activities finalized,
- the length of application (at least one year old),
- the evaluation of results and engagement of stakeholders and target groups,
- the potential for replication in different contexts and different target groups.

It should be noted that the indicators used by Keehley, Medlin, MacBride are applied to the transfer of immigration policies and practices. Nevertheless the criterion of innovativeness does not seem to be taken into consideration by the protocol finalized by the European Commission. The ambition of our research will be to define the innovativeness of the integration policies.

2.1 The protocol of the research

A public policy has to be carefully analysed considering the **network of institutional/non institutional actors playing in the arena**. **The network of actors is characterized by the numbers of linkages between the actors and the level at which they operate.**

The research will analyse the arena of actors according to:
- the centrality;
- the density;
- the complexity of the network.

(Scharpf, 1997; Dente and Coletti, 2010; Fasano and Pasini, 2013)

Particularly, a network can be described according to its density, complexity, centrality as specifically explained:

a) The **density** of a network is given by the ratio between the actual links between the actors and the number of theoretically possible links. The formula for measuring network density is:

$D = \sum k_i / (n^2 - n)$

where:

D = density coefficient varying between 0 and 1

n = number of actors (any kind)

Ki = number of links

b) The **complexity** of the network equals the number of different points of view represented by the actors; this depends on the heterogeneity in terms of type of actors and geographical dimension (territorial level) of the actors themselves.

c) The **centrality** of the network: drawing the network allows to identify the core actors, i.e. those that are linked with most of other actors.

According to our perspective, the collection of policies and practices deserves to be carefully inquired assuming the **theory of mechanisms** and precisely the relational mechanisms triggered between the actors in the light of evidence provided by the user-centric perspective. We would assume the definition **of mechanisms "as cogwheels triggered within a policy process to establish power relationships among actors and modify their behaviour to achieve specific goals"** (Coletti, 2013).

*Besides these criteria, we will take into account **the level of innovativeness** of smart practices and the **centrality of the migrants (user-centric perspective)** trying to detect the mechanisms of success. The definition of network of actors is crucial to understand how to design a general framework to transfer the practices.*

Through the analysis of the best practices and innovative policies, we will identify the main factors of success, collecting evidence of "what works" in the various case. Such questions help the policy designer:
- Has the policy effectively addressed the problem?
- Did the policy have positive outcomes?
- What is the most effective way to implement the policy?
- What are the obstacles for the implementation of the policy?
- What are the measurable outcomes provided by the innovator?

3. THE DIMENSIONS OF INTEGRATION

*The paragraph deals with the dimensions of **social** integration of the migrants. A bunch of case studies are analysed according to the methodology explained.*

There are several **National government** policies (health care, housing, labour market, education etc...) that are implemented by different ministry according to a top down approach. They are based on the criterion of universality; the involvement of end users who benefit from the policy is crucial in order to avoid the risk of an "exit strategy". In several countries, the degree of citizens' satisfaction is diminishing and the welfare systems are subject to changes because of the economic crisis and related reforms. Thus, the concepts like need and right have to change; as well as the question of citizenship linked to welfare. **The different cycles of migrants' inclusion has to be enlarged in a multi-ethnic society.**

The role of **local authorities** has become crucial too, in order to provide good quality services to citizens. The closeness to the final end user can help to smoothly match the needs of citizens with the action of the government. If we reverse the point of view, the migrants' eyes could become another interesting perspective to be taken into account for the successful implementation of the integration policies.

The evaluation of the policies is made with regard to the *migrants'* needs, which are articulated according to **several dimensions of integration**.

According to the principal indicators analysed by the literature (European Commission, 2013; Marshall, 1950), the classic dimensions are those of **civil, political e social rights** (Martinelli, Salvati, Veca, 1989; 2009)**.**

The **civil dimension** identifies the rights necessary for individual freedom - liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to finalize valid contracts, and the right to justice.

The **political dimension** indicates to the right to participate in the exercise of political power either as electors or as representatives.

The **social dimension** refers to a wide range of policies: economic welfare and security according to the standards prevailing in society.

Although the civil and political dimensions are important, we will **focus on the social – economic** 'dimension for two reasons: first, this is a crucial and essential part of the migrants' integration in the receiving society since it touches the daily – life of people; second, it is a dimension that can be changed by bottom up initiatives whereas the civil and political dimensions can be generally modified by the Nation States only.

3.1 Social dimension of integration

The social dimension is a complex and crucial policy that influences the **life quality of migrants**. It refers to all aspects of migrants life and to all the rights related to the *social security* (health care system, labour, education, housing system etc).

Given the **social complexity of the European Union**, our aim is to understand the challenges set by the plurality of demands of goods and services in the face of a social and economic situation that imposes a revision of the means of allocation and distribution of scarce resources.

Discussing the means inevitably involves reflecting on the ends of social policies, taking into account the qualitative, as well as the quantitative, dimensions of the goods delivered. In this situation, the concepts of right and need change their meaning, leading to a redefinition of the concept of citizenship (strictly tied to that of welfare)[2] which, while becoming larger (up to the point of 'universal citizenship'), risks to jeopardise the very basis of its enjoyment, as far as the civil, political and social rights are concerned.

Besides, **multicultural and multiethnic societies** pose the problem of pluralism, with respect to values, life-styles and different conceptions of the good; this creates difficulties concerning the definition of the goods and services for which the citizens can make legitimate claims.

With reference to the **integration of migrants** (Cesareo, Blangiardo, 2011), several questions arise: while the distributive principles for allocating scarce resources in welfare policies have been so far inspired by criteria of urgency and emergency, which reflect shared priorities with regard to who and what to do, nowadays factors concerning the structure of society pose severe socio-political problems in defining the purpose of public policies, as well as of other social policies. Given the plausibility of the Marshall approach on the issue of the rights of citizenship, the contemporary systems of different European welfare must work out **new answers to the ever more differentiated demands of the individuals and groups.**

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[2] The focus will be on the concept of social citizenship, and particularly on the central issues regarding rights and duties typical of contemporary European society.

The problem of **social citizenship for integrating migrants** involves some central issues in the analysis of contemporary European society. Among these are: the boundaries of a society; the definition of which groups are a part of it and which are excluded; the criteria of full citizenship; the requisites for the different members of the society to have access to social benefits and services; the relationship between the actual and the ideal distribution of rights (Dahrendorf 1996).

New rights have been added to those characteristic of the political Western European tradition, that have been progressively extended from civil and political rights to social citizenship. These rights are both the old ones revisited in the light of the complexity of contemporary European societies, and the **'rights' attributed to non-European citizens, and also the rights of non-regular migrants** (such as health). When confronted with this lot of old and new rights, often in tension between themselves, the problem of justifying priorities in choosing different social policies becomes fundamental. The need for an ordering comes from the fact that public decisions between different claims, needs and interests do not rate such preferences as bearing the same value. To give priority to some others means to conceive some claims as more important and 'urgent', in the light of the shared values of the European society.

The protection of social stability implies reconciling the implementation of individual and groups rights of autonomy with the fair treatment of all citizens; but the increased individual differentiation makes it difficult to obtain general consensus while effectively answering to individual/groups demands.

3.1.1 Integration in an evolving European model of citizenship

The Welfare State was developed in Northern European countries, particularly in Sweden and the United Kingdom (Ferrera 1998), along the lines of the famous 1942 Beveridge Report on social security (Social Insurance and Allied Services), in a universalistic logic: minimal standards of life and social security have been granted to all citizens, independently of their position in the market of labour or of their contributive position. The evolution of the system involves the progressive enlargement of the rights of citizenship through the universalization of civil rights (necessary to individual liberties) during the 18th century, of political rights (guaranteeing participation in the exercise of political power) in the 19th century, and of social rights (concerned with economic welfare) in the 20th century (Marshall 1950). The protection of individual rights was the philosophical presupposition of the liberal State that, during the 20th century, has become democratic, through formal democracy (i.e., universal suffrage, representative system, majority principle) and then through substantial democracy (i.e., compulsory education, national health service, State social insurance, progressive taxation on income and on succession).

By enforcing the social rights, the State grants to citizens (all of them?) the minimum availability of primary goods and services in order to live a decent life. The welfare challenge is still ongoing, and the success of the 'modern project' puts into play the capacity of democracies to solve these conflicts better than other political regimes, in order to achieve the compatibility between democracy and capitalism (Martinelli, Salvati, Veca 1989, 2009). In this situation high standards of need satisfaction are requested, with a consequent increase in the costs, while on the other side there is a need for the containment of social expenditure with a consequent increase in the demand for private services. That is why burden of the welfare institutions is very high, while the output is decreasing (Ferrera 1998). The leading principle for reforming the Welfare State in order to grant both efficiency and fairness, should be positively selective strategies, which imply a restrictive definition of the right to services, favouring particularly disadvantaged groups (which ones?).

Expanding the boundaries of citizenship leads to redefining the social rights in an enlarged way both as the fundamental rights to have the resources necessary for existence, and the cultural or 'second-order social rights' that are claimed as proper to **ethnic identity and immigration enhancement**.

Satisfying social rights thus involves redefining citizenship also in a another sense, not only because social services are concerned with various sectors (education, health care, labour, social security, etc.), but also because such demands become ever more detailed; standardized responses give way to more specific public services supplying more differentiated goods. The problem is that the supply of such services on the basis of the traditional national social citizenship cannot grant publicly claimed specific goods and services: unconditional universality is unable to answer particular social demands, both of individuals and of groups. This leads to the proposals of welfare systems based on criteria of selectivity. The difficulty lies in the degree of compatibility between the demand of universality, and particular demands, such as social rights.

We are now moving towards a concept of citizenship that questions the traditional integration principles on which social policies were based and promotes new frameworks for public choice. In traditional European welfare systems citizens were treated impersonally, having little autonomy in choosing the goods they received; the new welfare implies more participation by the users, who have access to those goods selectively, by an individual or group choice.

The **policy cycle is influenced by actors playing in a multilevel arena (multilevel governance).** The European provisions have to be met by Member States that implement policies aiming at having inputs at sub - national level. The implementation phase is the crucial one; it is not straightforward to assume that a policy by sub – national governments can be implemented in the same way in the all countries.

The implementation of a certain welfare policy has to cope with several obstacles:
1) at the normative-institutional level, that is characterized by the presence/absence of national/regional laws, medium/ long term programs, integration's interventions, regional plans etc.;
2) at the management-decisional level that is influenced by the orientation adopted by the street level bureaucracy;
3) at the territorial penetration level that is characterized by the homogeneity/non homogeneity of services on the national/regional/local territory.

BOX: An example of integration policy about Health Right

CONCEPTS
Right to health care for migrants (i.e., vulnerable subjects)

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| --- |
| - (Social) citizenship in liberal-democratic regimes (European Union): the **nation-state polity** (citizens vs. foreigners). Which borders? Who decides?
- **HEALTH** = primary and universal good. Which public claim?
- Universalism (human rights) vs. Selectivity (health policy takers, priority, choice)
- New interpretative and cultural model of concepts like medicine, health and illness
- **Nation-state puzzle**: hosting only those people belonging to the nation (sense of nationality)
- Contemporary European liberal-democracies: intersection between **citizenship** and **nationality** concepts (cultural dimension: historical and religious roots, customs). Where multi-ethnic population are present, there are strong tensions between citizenship and nationality |

ACTORS and PROCESSES

- Comparison, **multi-level analysis** between *government* and *governance*: **ascendant and descendant** phase - Decision-making process analysis and *policy network*: institutional and not institutional actors - Concurrent rights, weak borders, **evolving social and institutional models** - A greater autonomy for individual and collective, public and private, associated or not associated actors: from *welfare state* towards a *welfare society or community)*

PROBLEMS

- New challenges to the traditional social citizenship: demands of health care by migrants vs. demands of health care by polity members (**Nation-state**). Problems of consent and legitimacy – Rights to health care for migrants vs. reforms and recalibration of national social security systems (less resources for citizens) - (Ir)regular migrants: do rights exist despite of territorial borders? Debate on *jus soli* vs. *jus sanguinis* - Is the right to health care worthy to be recognized as universal (*Fundamental Rights Agency* - FRA)? - Failure of the project of *international health care cooperation* as mentioned at Alma Ata in 1978 by WHO: *Targets for Health for All*? - Human rights, health citizenship and **National sovereignty** (erosion of power towards sub-national and supra-national levels): **which welfare?** - Principles and models of solidarity and welfare policies. Which welfare? Which citizenship? And for whom? - New cultural context: a **multi-ethnic and multicultural society** implies a redefinition of citizenship in a heterogeneous way? - Evolution of citizenship right constantly negotiated and debated. Particular demands along with differentiated (and not standard) answers: a more expensive welfare!? - *Welfare pluralism*: a stronger flexibility and adaptation to new needs (migrants?) - Relationship among **immigration - multiculturalism – welfare**: Negative and positive correlation between weakening of the welfare state and presence of ethnic minorities?

- Can a more generous welfare state cohabit with a **heterogeneous society** from a cultural and ethnic point of view? Does exist an empirical evidence between a stronger immigration and a weaker welfare state performance?
- **MULTICULTURALISM policies**: an approach more flexible and responding to diversity and more compliant of human rights? Is this sustainable?
- Which mediation between the universal principle of democratic citizenship and **cultural specificities** of a plural society?
- **Supra-national level (Europe Union):** can the principle of **solidarity** be extended to migrants (to irregulars as well) universal rights like the health care?
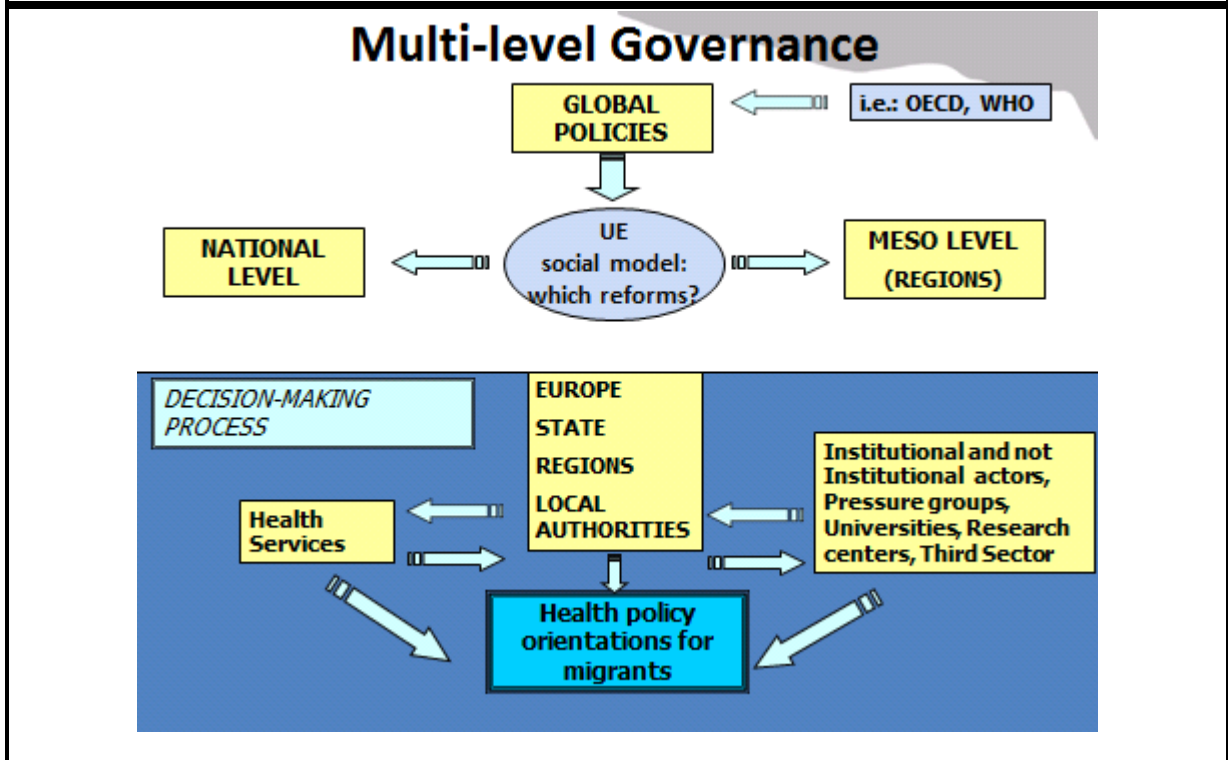
Taking as examples the health care system, the implementation of the right to health care for regular and irregular migrants has been carefully analysed by Pasini, Rebessi, Merotta (2011) and in the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2011) that compared **states** and some **regions** and tried to find out the causes of mismatching between them. Generally, some possible reasons might be:
a) the institutional and corporate orientation;
b) the continuity/discontinuity of coalitions supporting governments;
c) the top-down/bottom-up decision-making process.

*We would like to refer to the last point: **the top down** versus **bottom up** approach. The consideration about the composite policy processes is related to the fact that a **policy might be defined by the institutional level or by non-governmental actors**. It seems interesting to verify the effectiveness of a policy considering both these approaches, having in mind the multilevel governance theory.*

For this purpose, the analysis of the best policies and smart practices can provide inputs to understand how policies can be successfully implemented in a certain State and easily spread around.

4. THE ANALYSIS OF SOME SIGNIFICANT CASE STUDIES

According to this purpose, a bunch of policies have been chosen among the *European Website on Integration* (EWSI) according to criteria defined:

- the definition of the purpose of the policy;
- the classification of end users (the *centrality*) and the **connection** with other actors (*mechanisms*);
- the engagement of stakeholders and target groups (*density* and *complexity*).

Each policy will be analysed to detect the **presence/absence of these criteria**. The network of actors for each case will be drawn to put in evidence the role of stakeholders and the involvement of target groups.

❖ **Economic policy: ENGAGE - The Corporate Volunteers Mentors - Portugal (September 2012- June 2014)**

This is an interesting project which adopts the user-centric perspective. Starting to define the needs of migrants in different areas (qualification and job search, entrepreneurship, health, citizenship and participation), it aims at creating a network of corporate volunteers – mentors triggering the mechanism of reciprocity between migrants and volunteer (Cialdini, 2010). In other words, people are pushed to return any favour received by others.

The program defines some basic steps: firstly, mentors and mentees have to fill in a questionnaire and have an individual interview to sketch out their qualifications, motivations and expectations. According to their profiles, these information are matched so to fulfil the wishes of immigrant citizens. Once a week, the volunteers undertake their duties providing support and pieces of advice to migrants.

A project manager supervises regularly (monthly, bimonthly or quarterly) the relationship between mentor and mentees by answering to any doubts they might have during the process triggering the mechanism of control. Finally, the process is evaluated by mentors and mentees: if the goals have not been met, they can be redefined.

The program foresees also the organization of activities and workshops. Since integration is a two-way process, the mentoring program provides a mutual relationship between national citizens and migrants through the exchange of reciprocal experiences in the resolution of daily challenges. The goal is to create some meeting points for newcomers to promote personal, social and organizational enrichment, triggering the mechanism of acceptance which fosters links among the actors that are useful for changing their behaviours (Cialdini, 2010).

The project is designed to solve the migrants' problems but raising awareness on intercultural dialogue, both for mentors and mentees, through the relations that are established during the mentoring processes.

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI IP)
- GRACE (Group of Reflection and Support to Corporate Citizenship), an organization composed by a group of companies that promote a huge number of initiatives in corporate volunteering.
- mentors - volunteers
- migrants
- private sector.

The *density* of the network amounts at 0.47, given the numerous linkages between migrants and other actors.

The *complexity* is articulated between the European level, local level, private sector, non -governmental associations.

Migrants are central in the network since they are connected with other five actors (*centrality*); their needs are carefully taken into consideration by the promoter of the project.
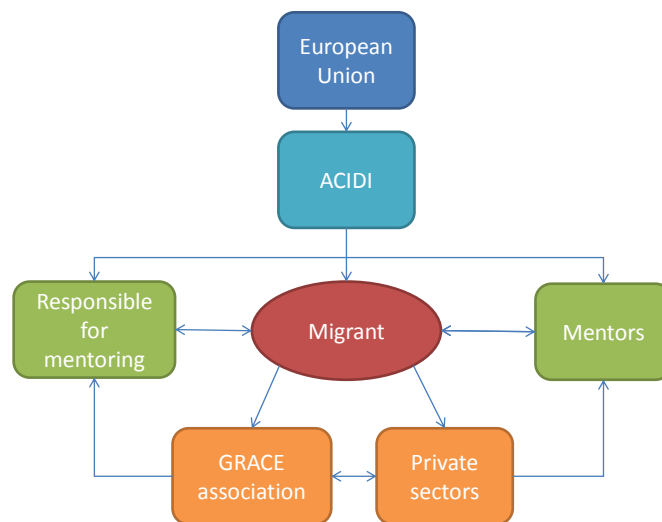
❖ **Labour policy: Entrepreneur without borders [3] - The Centre for migrant business start-ups and enterprise, Hamburg – Germany (2008 – current)**

The project was set up as a bottom up initiative by immigrant entrepreneurs to create a point of connection between migrants and business and was financed by European Union. The "Entrepreneurs without Borders" is a semi – public organization which acts as consultant to solve daily problems for small medium-sized entrepreneurs. Its members belong to different nationalities representing the ethnic minorities living in the city: the great part of migrants are Turkish (53%) or with Turkish origins (10.5%). Thus, it is an inspiring example of the user-centric approach since it focuses on the needs of immigrant entrepreneurs that could find an institution supporting them.

The lack of qualification, not adequate language skills, foreign degrees not accepted in Germany are some of the problems addressed. The project aims at providing information, qualification, and education, and establishing a wide network of contacts with national, regional, and local policy makers so to include migrants in economic and social life. The association also organizes trade conferences and meetings to favour an exchange of experiences with relevant regional, national, and international authorities.

Moreover, a system of mutual assistance for ethnic minorities is created; a counselling service managed by experienced immigrants helps new entrepreneurs that need to comply with regulation. The

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[3] For his entrepreneurial commitment in 2006, the organization received the Integration Prize from the Integration Council of the City of Hamburg for the project 'Ethnic economies as stabilizing factors in underprivileged neighborhoods' and in 2007 it was selected by the European Commission as a good practice example in the 'promotion of economic migrants'.

organization has successfully integrated well known businessmen into its networks to produce a positive reputation for the project. This feature triggers the mechanism of actor certification[4]. To be noted, advisors have a migratory background and they teach in native language in order to inspire confidence.

Since the immigrant entrepreneurs are not represented at institutional level in chambers of commerce and other key institutions, the association acts as a lobby organization for ethnic entrepreneurs triggering the mechanism of rewards (Coletti, 2013). The regular exchange of experiences with relevant regional, national, and international organizations increases the density and complexity of the network. The organization of events brings together entrepreneurs and other important groups (i.e. bank representatives or policymakers) to facilitate the solution of practical problems; the target group has been enlarged to female entrepreneurs (creation of the female forum) to finalize a more dense network.

Tailored counselling services are offered to the running business (DLA Service Agency for Immigrant Businesses); they organizes seminar on legal/fiscal issues like labour regulation, income and corporate tax and social security regulation.

The purpose of organization is avoiding a paternalistic approach; it prefers to be perceived as an institution that provides 'self-help', triggering the mechanism of actor certification. According to this purpose, the organization assists migrant entrepreneurs in their request for start up's capital, trying to negotiate with banks and other financial institutions. Tackling another relevant need and broadening its scope, the organization focuses on social housing projects.

To learn about the qualification's requirements of migrants, surveys on potential entrepreneurs are undertaken (mechanism of endowment)[5].

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- European Union
- national government
- regional government
- municipality of Hamburg
- firms
- chambers of commerce
- bank representatives
- migrants

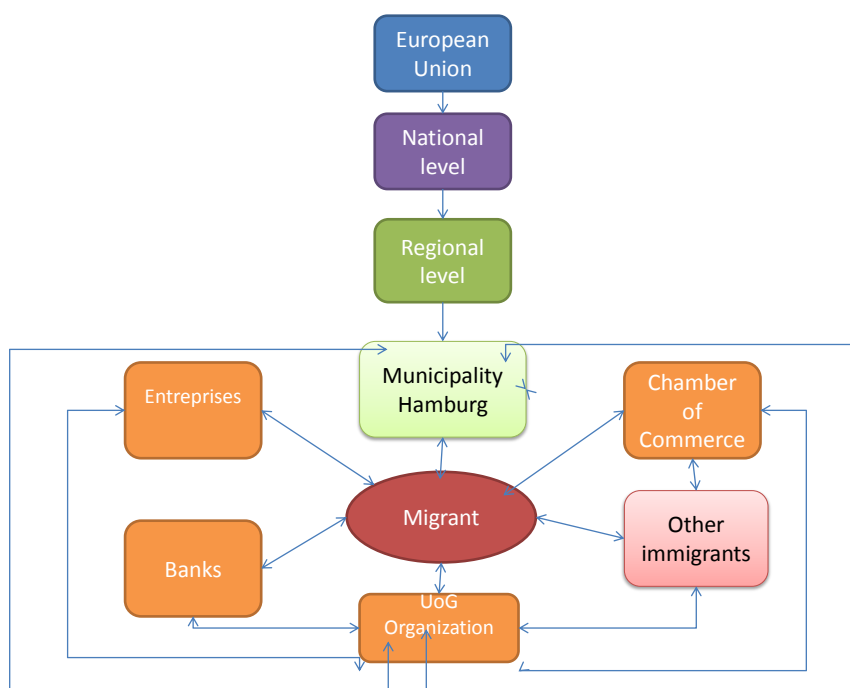The *density* of the network amounts at 0.33.

The *complexity* involves the European/national/regional level; the local level is also dense since it is characterized by six actors acting around the end users (*centrality*).

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[4] "Certification entails the validation of actors, their performances, and their claims, by external authorities" (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001: 145).
[5] The experiences from the past have positive effects on the present as a positive patrimony as identified by Elster, 1998

European Union

National level

Regional level

Municipality Hamburg

Entreprises

Chamber of Commerce

Migrant

Banks

Other immigrants

UoG Organization

❖ Education policy: Integration for Chinese people, Milan – Italy (2009 – 2013)

The Chinese community shows difficulties in the cultural integration process within European societies (above all in learning languages). In 2009, the ISMU Foundation set up an online service to offer general information to Chinese immigrants. This experience helps strengthening the contacts with Chinese associations and starting a dialogue with them about their needs.

Difficulties have been registered by teachers who highlight a tough relationship with the Chinese students participating in their classes. The CinaMi project was started in 2012, funded by European Integration Fund: it can be proposed as a leading example of the user-centric approach focused on Chinese peoples' needs, particularly Chinese adults. Italian language courses are focused on the language used in the working areas of Chinese immigrants (like restaurants, wellness centres, shops). The training provides information about civic education, hygiene and work security regulation. During the project, participants are prepared also for the driving- license exam and the language exam for a long-term residence permit.

To strengthen the network, the ISMU Foundation involve in the project other two Italian associations ("Diamoci la mano", "Associazione Giulio Aleni") and a Chinese association (AssoCina) to trigger the mechanisms of actor certification: this participation represents the channel to start a dialogue with Chinese people that might develop confidence with initiatives proposed by the Italian Foundation.

Moreover, another scope of the project is to help these associations to be more integrated in the Italian no- profit sector by organizing meetings with the Ciessevi (Centers of services for no profit associations).

A large advertising campaign on local Chinese media was promoted; meetings in association headquarters to present the project are organized. The associations promote the courses among Chinese people triggering the mechanisms of acceptance.

Another innovative feature of the program is the presence of mediators during the initial phase (welcome day) and during the classes; they represent living examples of the attainment of integration' goal

(mechanism of reciprocity). The mediators have the role of reassuring the students during their learning process and design with the teachers the profile of the class to calibrate the lessons on their needs.

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- European Union (FEI funds)
- Lombardy Region
- ISMU Foundation
- Third Sector: Diamoci la Mano; Associazione Giulio Aleni;
- AssoCina
- CTP Maffucci School for adults (to certify the language)
- Istituto Comprensivo Scialoia (primary school)
- Galdus cooperative: language classes for foreign people
- School IC Giusti (located in Chinatown)

The *density* of the network amounts at 0.35. The *complexity* involves also the European/national and regional level for the management of funds; the non–governmental association involved are several. The ISMU Foundation is the director of the network which is focussed on migrants (*centrality*).
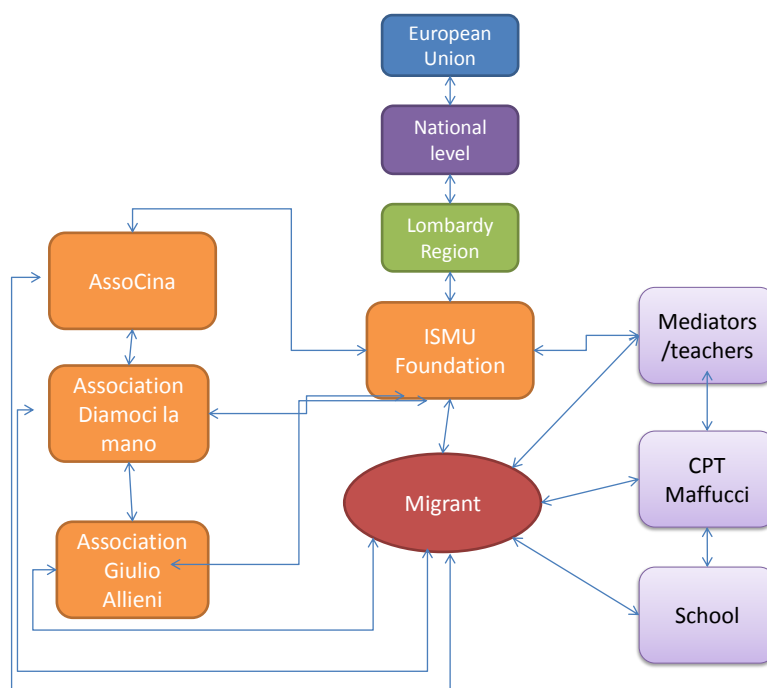
❖ **Social policy: Multicultural children day care centre, Nicosia - Cipro (2008 – current)**

The project is targeted on the children (aged 5-12) of European and Cypriot nationality, especially from not privileged families (for instance, characterized by mothers who want to enter in the labour market). The purpose is to disengage the parents in order to facilitate their access to the job market.

The target group are immigrant children; later, the target group was enlarged to children from all nationalities (Cypriots and foreigners). Several services are offered: such as the provision of educational and recreational activities which includes support for homework, theatre classes, English lessons, sports activities etc... Special classes are offered to the children of Third Countries Nationals such as music classes, art therapy classes, and English lessons. While services are offered to children, also parents have the opportunity to participate in Greek classes, computer classes, as well as to gain psychological support from

specialists. Since the project does not seem to be tailored on specific end users, the services could not answer to their needs and this could be a criticality for the success of the policy.

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- Nicosia Municipality
- local networks between local authorities
- NGOs
- immigrant women with children, Cypriots and foreigners, Chinese children

The *density* of the network amounts at 0.27. The *complexity* involves the European level. The network is vertical and not well focused on a unique end user (*centrality*). The connection with stakeholder is weak.
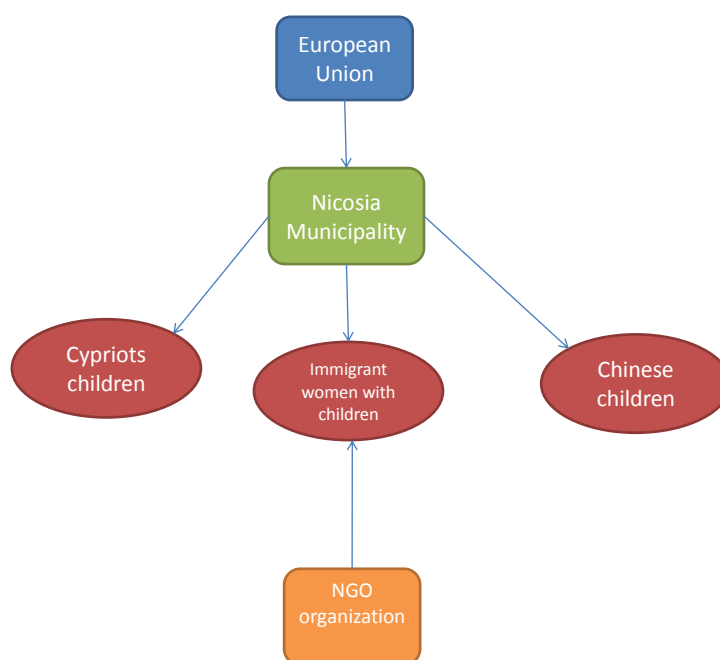
❖ **Cultural policy: Living Library[6] , Valongo - Portugal (December 2010 – current)**

The end users are young students between 14 and 18 years of age. The project aims at breaking down barriers and stereotypes by experiencing a Living Library (Biblioteca Humana) which allows students to hear and exchange life stories with others. Thanks to the cooperation with local schools, the project is itinerant; the involvement of teachers is fundamental to prepare students for the activities explaining the goals of the Biblioteca Humana.

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[6] The Living Library was recognized as best practice by: the Alto Comissariado para a Integração e Diálogo Intercultural (the National Mechanism for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue); a national prize, "Melhores Práticas Autárquicas em integração de imigrantes 2010" (Best Practices in the Integration of Migrants 2010); by the Supra-Municipal Territorial Platform of Greater Oporto area (2011); by the website Cities of Migration and included in "Good Ideas in Integration"; the Catholic University of Oporto and by the Metropolitan Area of Oporto (2013).

Based on the model of a school library, students visit the library and reserve a "human book" for a limited period of time. The "human book" are volunteers representing diverse community groups (such as migrants, gay/lesbian/bisexual, Roma people, Muslims, blind or disable persons) which tell real stories to students. This dialogue among volunteers and students aims at triggering the mechanism of acceptance.

A "librarian" (person from the municipality) creates small groups in each class and gives the instructions. Each group talks to the "human book", posing questions, listening to life stories and talking about their own prejudices. Then, the groups exchange "human books" and restart the process which continues until every group has been with all the "books" triggering the mechanism of reciprocity.

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI).
- municipality of Valongo
- teacher and students
- Centro Cultural Islâmico do Porto (Muslim religious group)
- NGO Pontos nos Is (area of intervention: immigration), NGO Amizade de Leste (area of intervention: immigration), NGO ACAPO (area of intervention: disability), NGO Rede Ex aequo (area of intervention: sexual orientation)

The *density* of the network amounts at 0.55. The *complexity* of the network involves several NGOs. The network is focussed on specific end user (*centrality*).
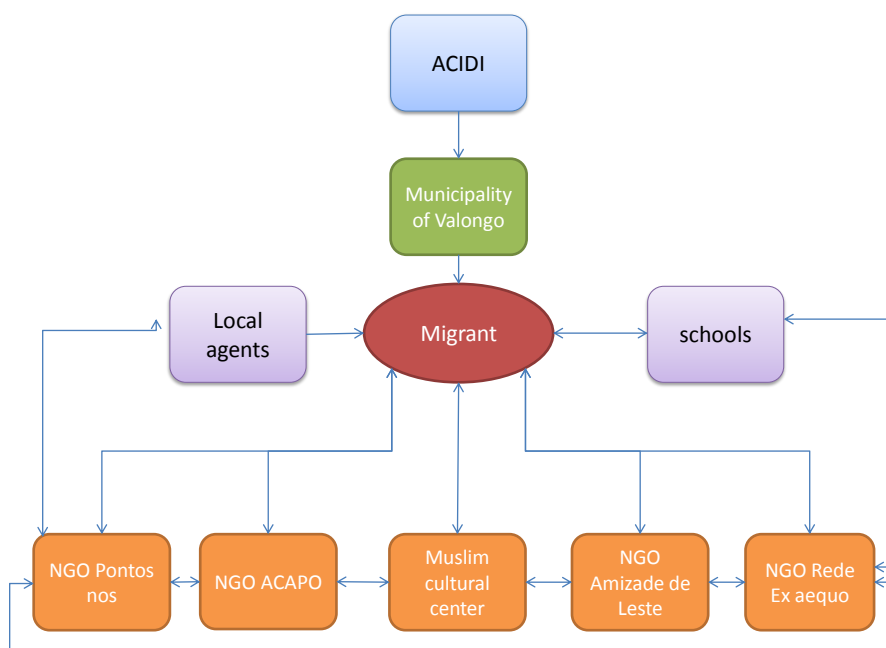
❖ **Labour policy: Infoline for foreigners, Ukraine, Belarus and Armenia, Poland (October 2011 – current)**

The International Organization for Migration launched a special infoline to provide information to migrants about their rights and administrative obligations in Poland so to avoid discrimination and exploitation of migrants in the Polish labour market. The infoline consultants speak Polish, English, Ukrainian and Russian, and support a larger group of beneficiaries in their native languages or by mail/skype.

It seems a top down initiative and end users' needs are not well identified; it is a one way process to provide pieces of information to migrants. Until the end of May 2013, 1,200 people contacted the infoline in Poland and ca. 550 beneficiaries over the infoline in Ukraine, Belarus and Armenia. The website was visited frequently.

The **network of actors** is composed by:
- International Organization for Migration IOM (Office in Warsaw, Poland)
- Ministry of Interior and the National Labour Inspectorate
- migrants

The *density* amount at 0.16 and the network does not seem centralized on the users (*centrality*). The *complexity* of the network reflects the top down approach.

Education policy - All for one, Nørrebro – Denmark (November 2008 – June 2011)

The end users are ethnic minority children who run the risk of not acquiring social and educational skills. The purpose of the project is to establish a framework in which all relevant parties, including the social service, health personnel and the police meet regularly in school: interested families are involved so to strengthen the process.

Open events are organized to allow families to meet people from the social services, health personnel. Families are also trained in relevant topics concerning their children well-being (mechanism of acceptance). Social workers, the police, health personnel, supervisors and teachers estimate great benefits to parents. In fact, the parents have acquired knowledge to tackle the challenges of parenthood, and have become more active in creating a good life for their children (mechanism of reciprocity). Families feel they are being helped and lower their guards against social authorities (mechanism of acceptance).

The **network of actors** is composed by:

- Ministry of Integration
- municipality of Copenhagen
- Bikubenfonden (private Foundation)
- Rådmandsgade School
- the social service, health personnel and the police
- parents
- children
- teachers

The *density* is 0.46; the European level is missing but the local level is very strong and involves a relevant number of actors (*complexity*). The network seems focussed on end users (*centrality*).
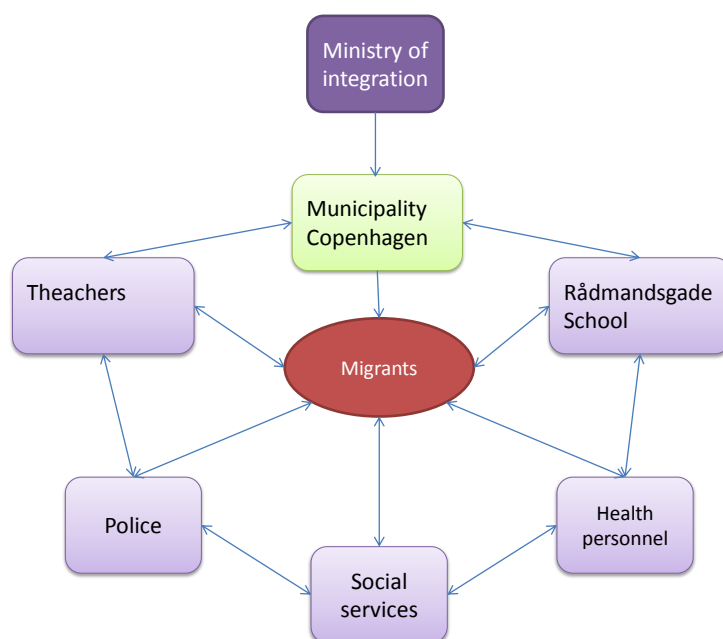
❖ **Labour policy: IMPACT -Integrating Migrants through the Provision of Adaptability and Competence Training, Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom (31 December 2008 - 30 June 2010)**

This project is a transnational partnership of agencies from five EU countries: Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The work is carried out in co-operation with the local authorities and key stakeholders in Vienna, Bavaria, Groningen, Turin and Leicester with the purpose of reducing the level of unemployment among specific groups of third –country migrants.

The end users are career advisors and migrants from third-country. To better understand the needs of migrants, the program aims at building the capacity and the competences of advisors, promoting inclusive practices. The project is focused on the necessity that migrants should have their skills recognized to access employment which enables them to use and further develop their skills.

After the collection of basic information in the five member States, the partners involve local stakeholders to share their experiences about the issue, to recruit career advisors to take part in the project, to be connected with migrants: these actions trigger the mechanism of endowment.

Using their expertise, the partners work with career advisors and migrants to validate the skills' methods. The evaluation phase refers to the collections of feedback from the career advisors and migrants partner organizations so to learn more about the implementation phase (mechanism of feedback).

Several training programs for career advisors are developed in each country. 71 career advisors and other officials participate in the program and benefit from training in methods for skill audit and validation of third- country migrants. On one hand, the migrants have their skills assessed and are supported in the access to training and employment opportunities. On the other hand, career advisors receive the training based on the materials finalized by the project and can provide feedbacks (mechanism of feedback).

The services for migrants are improved increasing the opportunities for migrants who take part in the project and can offer a potential support to other migrants. The policy has to be set up by a multilevel coordination to successfully cope with the problem.

The **network of actors** involved is composed by:
- Europe Project co-financed from the European Integration Fund Community Actions programme of the European Commission
- regions
- municipalities
- employment advisors
- migrants

The *density* is 0.30; the multilevel dimension is not well developed and it is horizontal (*complexity*). The end users are different (*centrality*).
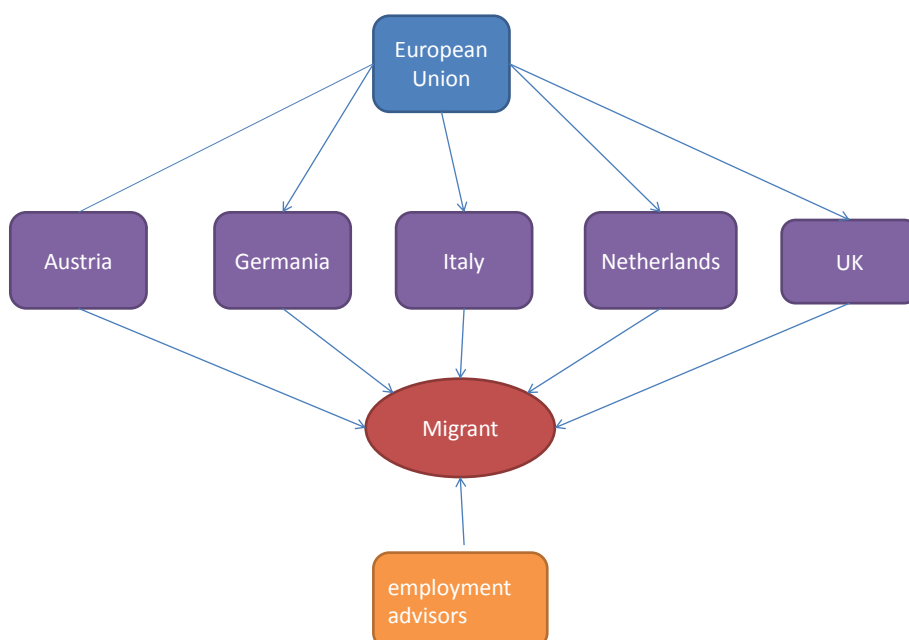
❖ One stop shop[7] -National Immigrant Support Centres, Lisbon - Portugal (January 2004- current)

The One-Stop Shop Project is funded by the European Commission and involves eight partners in EU member states; it is coordinated by the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue in Portugal (ACIDI), which runs a National Immigrant Support Centre.

The end users are all migrants (both those who have a legal or an illegal status and new-arrivals and migrants who are applying for citizenship) and/or persons who have to deal with immigration issues.
In order to strengthen the capacity of public and private sectors to interact with third-country nationals, One-Stop Shop information points are set up in order to make available a wide range of Government and support services to migrants in a unique point.

Several institutions involved in the process, the lack of cooperation between government and their dispersed locations, the diversity of procedures, the complex bureaucracy and the language communication difficulties are some of the problems to be solved. The One-Stop Shop tries to address these issues and migrants can find a set of services responding to their concrete needs in terms of regularization, legal advice, employment, family reunification in a unique point of contact.

Moreover, there are other innovative support services to meet the concrete needs of migrants, such as support offices for family reunification, legal advice and employment. The participation of socio-cultural mediators who speak several languages establishes a cultural and linguistic proximity to the migrants triggering the mechanisms of reciprocity.

Another action is the telephone infoline for translation (SOS Imigrante). Cultural mediators speak different languages (Portuguese, French, English, Spanish, Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Belorussian and Cape Verdean Creole) and provide information on immigration law, rights and duties in access to the labour market, housing, health, education and Portuguese citizenship.

From March 2004 to December 2009 a total of over 1,979,727 cases were attended (One-Stop-Shops of Lisboa, Porto and Faro). Currently those One-Stop Shops have a daily average of 1,192 service-users.
Thus, the needs of migrants are addressed, particularly in relation to the: resolution of problems that involve various agencies; response to a large number of questions (legalisation; Health; Education; Nationality; Employment; Family Reunification; Social Support); personalised service (guaranteed also with fundamental support of migrants); optimization of the processes and mutual support between agencies so to speed up the processes.

By reducing contradictory and insufficient information, the One-Stop Shop play an important role in increasing migrants' trust in public administration services, narrowing the gap between the two.

The **network of actors** involved is composed by:
- European Commission
- The High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIDI)
- Ministry for Labour and Social Solidarity
- Local municipality
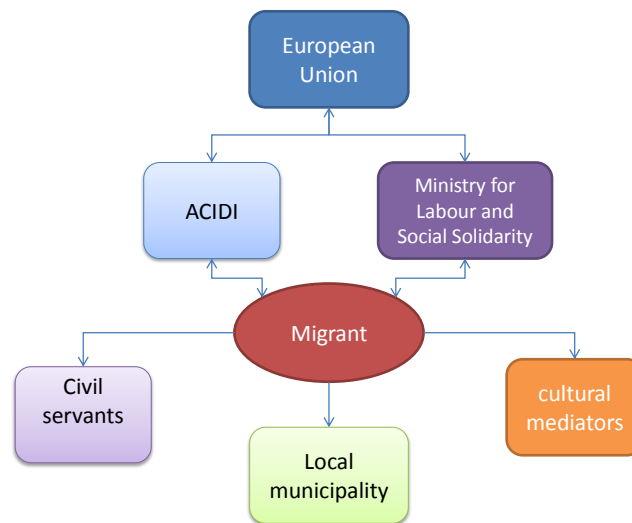- cultural mediators
- civil servants
- migrants

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[7] In 2011, ACIDI received first prize for the One-Stop-Shop in the European Public Sector Award - EPSA 2011 under the theme 'Opening Up the Public Sector Through Collaborative Governance'.

The *density* is 0.45; it is a *complex* network since it involves European/national/ local level. It is focused on the end user (*centrality*).

5. MAIN FINDINGS

Some inputs are highlighted on the basis of the analysis of the case studies. The focus is on the network of actors and on the mechanisms triggered.

The analysis underlines the difficult to identify "one fits solution" since realities are different; **the countries' contexts and the composition of the actors' arena are different and the transfer of policies among countries could not reproduce the same results.**

Notably, the migrants represent a weak category of society and the integration process should be characterized by a two-way process between receiving society and migrants themselves. The social mechanisms can help to positively activate this process and change the behaviour of actors. The mechanisms are the cogwheels triggered within a policy process to establish power relationships among actors of the network which is described by **the density, the complexity and the centrality**.

They are summed up in the following table:

Table 1 - List of mechanisms

Mechanisms	Meaning
mechanism of reciprocity	People are pushed to return any favour received by others
mechanism of control	The control is exercise by an actor over the behaviour of another actor.
mechanism of acceptance	Setting up a linkage among the actors is useful to modify the behaviours of actors.
mechanism of actor certification	Certification entails the validation of actors, their performances, and their claims by external authorities.
mechanism of rewards	Rewards may be material, such as financial, reputational or other incentives but also non-material when they refer to pride or social esteem. Therefore, actors' performances can be defined through the attainment of their goals, which is compensated by the achievement of a certain prize.
mechanism of endowment	The experiences from the past have positive effects on the present as a positive patrimony

Source: Coletti, 2013

As showed by the cases, the **activation of mechanisms between actors let their behaviour change**. To make effective the integration policy, it seems extremely relevant to consider the relationships between actors as a key leverage to trigger changes in their behaviour. Thus, the purpose of an integration policy should be to define the problems to be addressed and consider how the actors might interact to solve them. We suggest that a successful policy design should try to trigger at least two mechanisms between actors.

Actually, the **immigration is a complex policy** since it involves a **large number of actors at different levels**; the centrality of end users becomes crucial to effectively manage the policy. The degree of smartness of the policy is related to the purpose of the policy, the clear definition of end users (the centrality) and the connection with other actors (mechanisms), the engagement of stakeholders and target groups (the density and the complexity of the network).

Table 2 - Description of networks of the case studies

Project	Density	Complexity	Centrality	Mechanisms*
Engage	0.47	EU/local/ Third sector /private sectors	Yes	Yes
Entrepreneurs without borders	0.33	EU/National/ local/ Third sector /private sectors	Yes	Yes
CinaMI	0.35	EU/National/ local/ Third sector /private sectors	Yes	Yes
Living Library	0.55	EU/National/ local/Third sector/private sectors	Yes	Yes
All for one	0.46	National/local/ public sector/ Third sector	Yes	Yes
Impact	0.30	EuU/regional/private sector	No	No
One stop shop	0.45	European/national/ local level	Yes	Yes
Infoline for foreigners	0.16	International organization/National level	No	No
Multicultural center	0.27	EU/ local/ Third sector	No	No

*YES: numbers of mechanisms > 2; NO: numbers of mechanisms < 2

In the Table 2, it could be noted that the practices with:
- a **density** *lower than 0.30*, seem to not be successful.
- The value *around 0.33* is linked to a stronger centrality of the end users.
- *Above to this value (> 0.33)*, the involvement of several actors produces a more dense network. Particularly, the involvement of third sectors and stakeholders could push on the institutional groups in order to get some benefits for migrants.

The **complexity** of the network is also relevant for the success of the policy; *the involvement of European Union, national level but above all sub national level, makes the network more complex but the policy could be more effective*. Thus, the **bottom up approach versus top down** has a clear impact on effectiveness of the policy.

The **centrality of end users** allows to focus the **needs of migrants and to finalize effective policies**. The connection with other actors – and the mechanisms activated - through the linkages become crucial to modify behaviours.

Table 3 - Values of indicators

	Less effective	*Effective policy*
Density	<or =0.30	> 0.33
Complexity	One level	More levels
Centrality	More central actors	One central actor
Mechanisms	Absence	> numbers 2

A few recommendations can be drawn from the case studies: the need to **design smart integration policies** according to the criteria mentioned and **not just to transfer** best practices/policies. The policy design has to be tailored on the country realities and on the needs of end users; a network characterized by complexity, density, centrality, triggered mechanisms between actors has to be drawn.

According to our analysis, we suggest how to design an integration policy in an innovative way more than transfer a policy from a different context (see also, Coletti, 2013).

The **preparatory phase** implies the identification of the integration problems and the analysis of the peculiarities of the target case trying to categorize the actors involved in the policy.

During the **analytical phase**, it should necessary to choose a sample of the practices that seem to work better according to precise criteria and collect evidence of *"what works"* in the source case. Then, the analysis of the policy process have to be scrutinized by gathering evidence. While the success of the policy cannot be guaranteed, a thorough analysis of the case studies safeguards the policy designer against the risks involved with a mindless implementation and replication of a policy.

The **comparative phase** can be useful to analyze the similarities between the source case and the target case to check whether there are the necessary conditions to transfer the innovation.

Finally, it should be necessary to design an integration policy according to the target context; it can be draw a complex architecture with creativity, having in mind the network of the actors involved in the process so to make the policy successful. The network of actors should have an high density and complexity and more than two mechanisms activated between actors.

At this point, some general considerations could be proposed.

First, the selection of stakeholders to be included in the network might produce a long and fatiguing decisional process, but the inclusion of the different actors can produce *smarter policies* according to the needs of stakeholders. Given the difficult to transfer successful policies from a context to other, it seems smarter to design new policies on the basis of the criteria identified by our analysis.

Second, the political culture of the various Member States influences the European integration process (Martinelli, 2013); some competing explanations might be presented as the declining of social capital, the progress of human empowerment, the different orientation to the concept of democracy, the enforcement of social movements and civil society. Moreover, there are political and cultural factors that seem crucial. From this point of view, the problem is the relationship of trust between migrants, indigenous people and public institutions (Parliament and government, public administration and public services), since the latter are not always able to meet the most basic needs of migrants. It is clear that the dissatisfaction with the quality of the services provided will reflect negatively on the elementary forms of social cooperation, with repercussions on the rate of civilization of the whole political community.

Finally, the **National government level** is becoming weaker in the enforcement and implementation of the policies of integration; while the role of the **Sub national level is getting** stronger. Given the positive results stressed by the local level, a prominent role should be given to the sub national and non-governmental actors. Thus, the integration policy is no longer a problem to be managed only at the National level by single States. The role of **European Union** is become crucial above all in specific policy sector like education and welfare which can be chosen as priority area of intervention.

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