



UNIVERSITY OF  
GOTHENBURG

# **Local Welcoming Policies For EU Migrants**

## ***Consolidated Report***

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## **1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The following report details the contemporary situation within the cities of Amsterdam, Brussels, Dublin, Hamburg, Copenhagen and Gothenburg having to do with mobile EU citizens: the flows and types of mobile EU citizens present, the current cluster of formal and informal welcome policies that are intended to facilitate their integration, and the relevant historical background against which these contemporary dynamics regarding mobile EU citizens play out. The data in this report results from the first work stream of the “Local Welcoming Policies: EU Migrants” (WELCOME) project, funded by the Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Program of the European Union, and led by the City of Amsterdam. The project as a whole has the aim of increasing dialog among these six cities, each of whom have a strong interest in further developing various aspects of their welcome policies targeted at mobile EU citizens. The research work stream is intended to provide cities with the empirical basis to explore further how existing policies might be developed and how new policies might be imported from other urban areas. The research is also intended to sensitize cities to the ways in which actors at the urban level – both public and civil society – problematize the issue of mobile EU citizens more generally through the choice to adapt some measures targeting some types of mobile EU citizens, but not others.

Welcome policies are conceived of in this report as a specific constellation of policy initiatives, administrative practices and informal governance responses, the aim of which is to ensure that mobile EU citizens have the appropriate information at hand, and access to the appropriate labor market, civic and educational opportunities that can facilitate a smooth transition from the status of mobile to settled resident. More narrowly, the specific welcome policies that are the subject of this report are: the general information that is made available to newly arriving mobile EU migrants, the forms of front desk training that are offered to those bureaucrats whose work brings them into regular contact with mobile EU citizens, the language education, housing and labor market policies that exists towards mobile EU migrants, the ways in which civic participation for mobile EU citizens is fostered and the manner in which intercultural dialog is promoted, the social rights that are afforded to mobile EU migrants, and the broader access to schooling.

In reviewing the historical context – largely national – in which each city’s contemporary situation regarding mobile EU migrants is embedded, the report shows that to a greater or lesser extent, each host country has substantial previous experience in attempting to develop policy and administrative measures to facilitate the integration of previous waves of migrants, particularly in the era of post-World War II labor migration. However, in hindsight, such measures can be seen as largely being fragmented and ad hoc. Moreover, the historical context confirms an oft-made point regarding the integration measures associated with twentieth century labor migration: policy measures were made working from the flawed assumption that migration would only be temporary in nature, with individuals returning to their countries of origins at some point when economic circumstances no longer warranted their presence. As such, for the cities involved in the project, the historical context section of the report is intended to serve as a powerful reminder as to the possibility that not all mobile EU migrants will be temporary in nature. Responses will need to take into account temporary, circular and permanent forms of integration, and will need to do so via considering the inter-linkages among the various areas in which welcome policies are constructed.

In terms of trends and flows, a central finding of the report is the broad diversity of the types of mobile EU citizens present in each city. While limitation in data collection prevent systematic comparison, a case by case review of the trends and flows underscores that mobile EU citizens are far from a homogeneous group in any of the project cities. This pronounced diversity in the types of mobile EU citizens present within each city should assist cities in exploring the degree to which their policy responses adequately target the full scope of categories of mobile EU citizens that are present, or only those that are rendered most visible by the media or otherwise made political salient.

In mapping the current local policies targeted at welcoming mobile EU citizens, the report emphatically avoids crowning any policy practice as being a “best practice”. To justify what may strike some as an evasive decision, the report emphasizes that the notion of what may be considered a “best practice” is contingent on a range of geographically and historically contingent factors, and also on the political will of the current city administration. Yet, despite this, the report repeatedly calls attention to good practices that exist in all policy set-

tings and all cities. As such, the detailing of such good policies is intended to serve as a catalog of options that the cities can draw upon as they brainstorm in later phases of the project, both jointly and individually, as to how their current set of welcome policies might best be augmented.

In the concluding discussion, the report highlights three issues that could be of value for structuring additional debate within – and between – cities when it comes to exploring possibilities for the further development of welcome policies targeting mobile EU citizens. Drawing upon research highlighting the presence of cognitive locks (the inability of actors to view situations in terms other than those with which they are already familiar), the report argues that previous waves of migration may limit the ability of cities to fully grasp what is distinct about the current wave of mobility when compared to previous migration history. Second, the report stresses that cities must be aware of the significance of media framing for shaping the understanding held by politicians, bureaucrats, and the general public of the challenges associated with developing welcome policies for mobile EU migrants. Media framing of mobile EU migration has the potential to sharply limit how actors understand not just what the challenges are that need to be met, but also who it is that constitutes the mobile EU citizen. Finally, the report suggests that cities might benefit from internal discussions regarding the relationship between the urban brand that it wishes to project to the broader world, and the policies that it enacts when it comes to mobile EU migrants. While offering no definitive answer as to how this relationship might be firmly located, the report nonetheless suggests that certain self-images of cities as expressed through branding may limit the degree to which cities choose to render specific categories of mobile EU citizens visible through policies.

The data included in this report is drawn from the respective city reports that have been produced by the researchers that have been contracted by each project city. Those researchers bear responsibility for any incorrect or omitted information regarding their specific city.

## **2. INTRODUCTION: PROJECT LOCAL WELCOMING POLICIES**

Since January 2015, the cities of Amsterdam, Brussels, Dublin, Hamburg, Copenhagen and Goteborg have been collaborating on the project “Local Welcoming Policies EU migrants”, whose aim is to adapt and improve their welcoming policies towards EU migrants with the goal of creating an ‘ideal’ welcome policy. Furthermore, this project has the aspiration of functioning as an example for other European cities seeking to develop similar policy approaches. The “Local Welcoming Policies EU migrants”- project is divided into three parts, Research, Development & Implementation, and Dissemination. This consolidated report is based on the fieldwork and city reports produced by local researchers in Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Dublin, Gothenburg, and Hamburg, and is the final product of the research portion of the project. The partners in the participant cities selected and employed the researchers: Inge Razenberg (Amsterdam), Marie van Wayenburgh (Brussels), Dr. Liam Coakley (Dublin), Mante Vertelyte (Copenhagen), Frida Sävfall (Gothenburg), and Dr. Ulrich Schenck (Hamburg).

The University of Gothenburg has coordinated the research portion of the project and has responsibility for development of the methodology, framework and guidelines provided to local researchers. In March 2015, a transnational kick-off meeting for local researchers was held in Gothenburg. In May 2015, local researchers delivered interim reports focusing on “lessons learned” and on current migration flows in their cities. Finally, in November 2015 the local researchers delivered their final city reports.

The research portion of this project consists of a qualitative review of the history of local migration and integration policies in participating cities. It provides a detailed overview of the relevant experiences with urban integration leading up to the present day. In addition, the city reports map welcoming policies, language education policy, housing-policy and labor market policies, reviewing them from three different, albeit complementary perspectives: those of local authorities; those of civil society; and those of EU migrants themselves.

The central questions of the research portion of the project are: What social implications can be identified in partner cities resulting from the inward flow of EU migrants, and how have

partner cities sought to develop what they regard as an appropriate mix of welcome policies in order to best cope with these perceived implications? Furthermore, the research has sought to address the question of what we can learn from similar experiences with earlier arrivals of other migrant/refugee groups. To answer these questions, research has focused on three primary tasks:

1. Analysis of lessons learned from former labor migration and refugee flows concerning welcome policies, language education policy; housing-policy and labor market policies.
2. Analysis of types of EU migrants currently residing in partner cities.
3. Analysis of implications for partner cities. A further distinction was made between urban implications in the socio- economic sphere (labor market; education, housing and homelessness), socio-cultural sphere (language values and norms, religion and discrimination) and the legal-political sphere (civic rights, political participation, citizenship, criminality).

The structure of the report is as follows. In chapter 3, we call attention to the key migration flows and national dynamics that have informed each partner city's experience with migration in the decades prior to the current focus on mobile EU citizens. Each case has a markedly different history of migration, which while making comparison challenging, nonetheless allows us to highlight the relevant historical backdrop against which the current efforts to develop and implement welcome policies for mobile EU citizens take place. Chapter 4 describes the EU mobile citizens currently living in each of the cities. As homogenous statistical data amongst the cities is lacking, we present each city separately. Chapter 5 presents an overall mapping of local welcoming policies. Our goal is to provide a critical reading of each policy area, calling attention to the specific formal and informal measures that have been introduced to address the welcoming of mobile EU citizens, as well as to highlight the areas in which substantial policy gaps remain. We do not aim at proving policy prescriptions uniformly for all cities, as research has highlighted the importance of local context, conditions and political will in defining problems and choosing amongst a range of possible policy options. Finally, in chapter 6 we present summary conclusions and recommendations.

### 3. LESSONS LEARNED

In this chapter, we review key migration experiences for each case in the decades prior to the arrival of the current wave of mobile EU citizens. This review provides an important historical context against which the current flows and urban welcome policy responses can be situated. Even where broadly similar trends can be identified among cases (such as the predominant role played by labour migration in the post-World War II era), the historical contexts reviewed in this section are primarily of interest for the way in which they serve as a reference point for making sense of the subsequent integration dynamics associated with mobile EU citizens in each of the partner cities. The development of contemporary policy initiatives takes place within the historical and institutional context of the manner in which actors have previously dealt with similar challenges. While by no means arguing that contemporary responses are solely shaped by previous attempts to develop policy, a central insight of the migration literature (Freeman) is that earlier national experiences with migration have relevance for subsequent episodes in which migration is salient. As such, we see no reason to believe that this national historical context would also not resonate at the local urban level, and as such structure our research by introducing the reader to this pertinent context. This part draws on the desk research of the local researchers and more information on each city can be found in the city reports.

#### ***Amsterdam***

As with most of northern European cities Amsterdam experienced substantial migration from the 1960s onwards. At first, migrants were regarded as temporary guest workers. As was the case throughout Europe however, many of them settled permanently in large cities, leading to various social implications.<sup>1</sup>

The main migration groups of the 1960s and the 1970s consisted of low-skilled migrants who came to the Netherlands in search of employment opportunities; the so-called “quest work-

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<sup>1</sup> The main source of this paper is the report Onderzoek Integratiebeleid (Research Integration Policy). This publication is the product of a parliamentary research committee (Commissie-Blok) regarding immigrant integration policies from the 1970s until 2003 in the Netherlands. The research was commissioned to the Verwey-Jonker Institute. The final publication was published on January 19th 2004. The publication is available online: <http://www.parlement.com/9291000/d/rapportcieblok.pdf>.



ers". Amsterdam also directly recruited labor migrants from respective countries of origin. Migrants came from Southern European countries, especially from Italy and Yugoslavia (Jennissen, 2011) and from Turkey and Morocco.

Due to the fact that the presence of guest workers was perceived to be temporary, the immigration policy focused on allowing migrants to 'retain one's identity', which was believed to facilitate eventual return. Because of the focus on the temporary nature of migration, no consistent set of policies was developed for these new groups of migrants. On the other hand, no explicit return policy was developed and implemented either. The temporary nature of this migration can partially be traced back to the language education policy of the 1970s, which was directed towards maintaining migrants' native language. Preserving language skills would improve the likelihood of return migration. In Amsterdam, hardly any Dutch language courses were provided (Hoenderkanp, 2008).

The government had no specific measures for labor migrants in terms of assisting with housing, other than making employers legally obliged to house guest workers for the duration of their work contract. Migrants in Amsterdam typically resided in pensions and in houses provided by the private sector. Problems with housing mostly resulted from issues of quality with the housing stock (WRR, 1979). Since work was mainly offered in and around large urban cities, most migrants resided in these cities. Since work was mainly offered in and around large urban cities, most migrants resided in these cities. The low incomes and inaccessibility of social housing forced many foreign workers to live in the pre-war neighbourhoods of the cities.

Following the 1973 oil crisis which had a similarly strong impact on the Dutch economy as it did on other countries of Western Europe in which substantial numbers of guest workers were present, there was a consequent decline of guest workers programme, yet migration continued as family reunification migration increased.

In 1979, the Ethnic Minority Report, published by The Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR, 1979) stated that immigration policies needed to shift from measures that largely anticipated the return of migrants, (maintaining one's own language and culture) to full participation of minorities in society, including equal rights and a mutual adjustment of the host group and minority group to ensure that discrimination would be minimized. The

policy of this time can be described as 'integration with preservation of the migrants' own culture'.

Unemployment amongst ethnic groups was three to five times as high compared to unemployment among Dutch workers. This was partly because the majority of guest workers were employed in the industrial sector and also due to discrimination in the labor market. Some policies designed to tackle unemployment for specific groups (Moluccans) were applied in the 1980s but it was only at the end of the 1980s that real measures were taken to tackle unemployment within these groups.

In the 1980s, education in the language of origin was still available but the goal of this policy shifted from remigration to community bonding (Ham & Van der Meer, 2012). In Amsterdam, some language courses were provided but only in adult education, and these courses focused primarily on re-education and self-development of the participants (Hoenderkamp, 2008). In these years, the demand for language courses in Amsterdam was much higher than the actual supply of these courses. By the end of the 1980s, more migrants started to enter the social housing market, leading to concentrations of (especially Turkish and Moroccan) migrants in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

Moreover, educational policies, housing and political participation policies were of particular importance. The Minorities Note of 1983 stated that materials and access must be provided in order to give minority/disadvantaged groups equal access to education. By the end of the 1980s, more migrants started to enter the social housing market, leading to concentrations of especially Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the most deprived neighbourhoods. Voting rights on the municipal level were established in 1985, giving non-Dutch citizens the right to vote. In the same year a law was adopted facilitating access to Dutch citizenship to second generation migrants between the ages of 18 and 25. Third generation migrants would achieve citizenship by birth (Ersanilli, 2007). In the 1990s, the government began to understand that the Netherlands was and would be an immigration country. During these years, family reunification from Morocco and Turkey continued and marriage migration from these countries became quite common as well. Furthermore, the number of refugees increased.

Because employment was regarded as one of the most important means of integration, labor market policies assumed particular importance among policymakers and social partners. Employers in Amsterdam established a foundation aimed at helping immigrants obtain sta-

ble employment. Due to the concentration of migrant-related integration problems in large cities, the government appointed a minister of 'Large Cities and Integration Policy' in 1998. Furthermore, language once again assumed a central role in the efforts to improve the integration of migrants. In Amsterdam, the number of language courses expanded. In the 1990s, Amsterdam provided new migrants with a booklet with information, which was produced in different languages.

Housing policies during this time focused on individual needs through individual rent subsidies, based on income and household composition. Ethnic minorities often received more rent subsidies, compared to natives. In the 1990s, the government privatized the social housing sector which led to rent increases and a decrease in available social housing. As a consequence higher concentration of economically disadvantaged people (among them many ethnic minorities) lived together in specific neighbourhoods.

In 1992, dual citizenship was introduced, which led to an increase in naturalizations (Ersanilli, 2007). Yet, by 2002, the political dynamics had shifted substantially, as the right-wing political party of Pim Fortuyn positioned the integration of foreigners at the heart of the public debate during the election campaign. A more assimilationist brand of integration became compulsory for newcomers and for settled immigrants who received social benefits.

As such, within the Netherlands, a profound change occurred regarding the vision and policy associated with migrant integration from the 1970s until the early 2000s. At first, migration was perceived to be a temporary phenomenon, requiring minimal policies and guidance. However, through the years, the focus shifted to a greater awareness on the Netherlands as a long-term destination country, resulting in greater awareness related social implications such as unemployment, segregation and discrimination.

### ***Brussels***

Similar to the case of the Netherlands, Belgium experiences a shortage of low-skilled workers following World War II in specific sectors, notably mining and heavy industry. Employers, trade unions and the government agreed to recruit foreign labor to alleviate the workforce shortages. During this period, bilateral agreements were signed with Italy in 1946; Spain and Greece in 1956; Morocco and Turkey in 1964; and Algeria, Tunisia and Yugoslavia at the end of the 1960s. During this time there were no government policies related to language educa-

tion, diversity and intercultural dialogue, or schooling policies for newcomers. The migrants were thought to be present temporarily, resulting in government policy being characterized by a short-term vision. There was a naive trust in the possibilities that migration could effectively be regulated, both in quantitative and qualitative terms (Deslé, 1997). Regarding schooling, some provisions were developed to foster country of origin 'education of language and culture' to enable migrant children to keep ties with their 'homeland'. Less attention was paid to language acquisition of the new country. In the course of the 1950s and 1960s, the foundations were laid for the current pattern of housing segregation in the Brussels-Capital Region. Under the impulse of increased purchasing power and rising (auto)mobility, inhabitants of Brussels with financial resources, traded the central districts of the city for the green and peaceful outskirts. The resulting vacancies in light of this suburbanisation were filled by foreign workers.

As the need for cheap labor was persistent, the Belgian government largely adopted a *laissez-faire* attitude from 1962 to 1967. The associational life of migrant groups often reflected the civil society structures of their countries of origin. Over time, links with political and associational structures of the country of origin became less important, and migrants became more included in Belgian organizational structures or developed local organizational dynamics in the diaspora. From the early 1970s onwards, migrant groups and the labor movement began to call for political rights for guest workers. The right to vote and stand as a candidate in "social elections" (i.e. for worker councils) was granted, but demands to also extend formal electoral rights on the local or regional level were systematically rejected by the government (Jacobs, 1999).

Migration policy fundamentally changed in the years 1973 and 1974. The oil crisis provoked a slowdown in economic growth and as a result Belgium, like its European neighbors, decided to close its borders to economic migration. Among both policymakers and migrants, perceptions were changing. 'Guest workers' gradually became 'immigrants', indicating their gradually changing situation into permanent migration.

Parallel to a more stringent implementation of migration law, socio-cultural actors started to emphasize the need for immigrant integration initiatives more clearly (Schoonvaere, 2010). In the absence of an official policy, social workers and local NGOs started to defend the rights of immigrants and their families, and created basic reception structures. From the

mid-1970s onwards some of these structures were financed by the government (Deslé, 1997). On the Francophone side, there was a widespread belief that, given the dominance and international status of the French language, linguistic assimilation did not require policies beyond general alphabetization. The Flemish, however, adopted a more proactive position (given their demographic minority), that led to offering Dutch language courses organised by the VGC, the Flemish Government in Brussels (Vandenbrande, 1997).

During this period, the spatial division in Brussels was consolidated. This generally led to socio-economic segregation and urban polarization: the wealthier middle class at the Western border of Brussels, the wealthiest in the Southeast and the poorer neighborhoods in the center (Vandecandelaere, 2012). In an attempt to limit the creation of ghettos and concentration neighborhoods, a procedure was implemented for an eight-year period, which limited the enrolment of non-EU citizens in certain municipalities of the Brussels-Capital Region. Analyses of the impact of the legal disposition on the mobility of non-EU foreigners have shown that the procedure was unsuccessful in stopping the demographic increase of the foreign population in these municipalities (Bousetta, e.a., 1999).

The economic crisis of the 1970s had a sharp impact on the employment situation of migrant groups. Due to a strong ethno-stratification of the labor market, migrants came to be overrepresented in particular sectors of the labor market (i.e. cleaning sector, services). The psychological shift towards a long-term perspective also pushed a number of migrants towards entrepreneurship. Immigrants began to invest in their own shops where they sold typically hard-to-find products such as halal meat, fresh mint, etc.

At the end of the 1970s, an increasing number of minority organizations were founded. Until 1984, however, foreigners were only allowed to have legally recognized associations if three-fifths of the active membership were Belgian nationals (Bousetta e.a., 1999).

Trade unions sought to adapt their services to this new demographic reality by initiating a quota for foreign workers in their boards. In the 1970s, several municipalities in Brussels installed advisory immigrant committees, partly to counter the call for formal enfranchisement. Continually confronted with their limits to gain political power and influence, and de facto functioning as a surrogate for genuine political rights for foreign residents on the local level, the advisory committees were doomed to question their own reasons of existence and most of them disappeared in the 1980s either officially or de facto (Jacobs, 1999).

In 1980, patronage and subventions for local NGO initiatives were now taken over by the community level in Brussels, either linked to the Flemish or the Francophone public sphere. The Brussels-Capital Region did, however, indirectly develop several initiatives pertaining to immigrants (Bousetta et al, 1999), particularly related to issues of social cohesion and urban development (Jacobs, 1999).

From the mid-1980s onwards and particularly after the fall of the Iron Curtain, flows of (political) asylum seekers became an increasingly visible and salient segment of the arriving migrant flow. In 1986, an important new migration wave from the former Belgian colony Congo started. This evoked a strong rise in the number of asylum requests (Gemeenschappelijke Gemeenschapscommissie, 2007). In the same period, the government decided to open the first shelter for asylum seekers, in a former military barrack in the center of Brussels.

At the end of the 1980s, the topic of 'migration problems' became a political priority, not least of all because of the electoral success of extreme-right-wing political parties. The French and Dutch communities developed different types of policies, influenced by the divergent intellectual and policy traditions of their neighboring countries. The Flemish-speaking community pursued a multiculturalist policy influenced by Dutch and Anglo-American ideas, the French-speaking community opted for a less specific approach more in line with French republican assimilation model (Jacobs, 1999). No major developments took place with regards to language education policies. Perhaps more important was the strategy to promote inclusion in the Flemish educational system for children of all origins in order to counter falling enrolments in the Flemish educational system in Brussels (Jacobs, 2004).

Social housing, which remained of relatively limited importance, became gradually less influenced by political patronage and more easily accessible to non-Belgian migrant groups.

The Brussels-Capital Region developed a number of projects aimed at activating the unemployed, indirectly but firmly targeting immigrant groups. These policies do not directly target migrants as individuals, nor migrant groups, but have a territorial logic focusing on specific neighborhoods where migrants 'happen' to be concentrated.

In the early 1990s, both individual immigrants and immigrant associations were quite active in movements opposing racism and extremist right-wing parties. In the late 1990s, the politi-

cal activities focused on the asylum policy and the issue of undocumented foreigners (Jacobs, 1999).

Local enfranchisement for non-nationals had been on the political agenda for over four decades, since the 1970s. The Treaty of Maastricht led to the enfranchisement of EU citizens in 2000, and in 2004 voting rights for third-country nationals with five years of residency were introduced (Jacobs, 1999).

The most important lesson learned for Brussels is that *guests* became *immigrants* who later became *citizens*. Belgium became more aware of its status as an immigration country and realized it had to adapt to the reality of temporary migration transforming into permanent migration, leading to modifications in nationality legislation and access to political rights. With regard to housing policy, labor market policy and educational policy, adaptations have however been slow, because of the lack of an adequate vision and coordination. In 2004, The Flemish Government came up with a civic integration decree, which led to the creation of 'Reception Offices' [*Onthaalbureaus*] such as the Brussels Reception Office.

### **Copenhagen**

The periods of 1960s-1970s and 1980s-1990s were ground breaking in terms of immigration in Denmark. The first period was marked by labor migration, the arrival of guest workers (*gæstetarbejdere*), the second was significant in terms of the immigration of refugees and asylum seekers.

Until the mid-1960s and early 1970s immigration flows to Denmark were insignificant. Apart from the pre-WWI labor migration from Poland, Sweden and Germany, and free labor movement between Scandinavian countries due to the Nordic agreement established in 1952, Denmark was considered to be a country of emigration rather than immigration (Gyldendal, 1979)<sup>2</sup>.

In the 1960s because of an increased demand for skilled labor, foreign workers were welcomed to Denmark to fill vacancies on the labor market (Tranæs, 2014). The guest worker participation in Danish labor market was seen as beneficial to Denmark's economy, hence

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<sup>2</sup> By the year of 1958, the estimated number of 21.787 Danish citizens were living in USA, Canada, Australia, Germany and Sweden (Gyldendal 1979:11).

the requirements for entering the country and obtaining residence and work permits were relatively easy (Tranæs, 2014).

After the oil crisis and economic decline in 1973, Denmark introduced a “permanent stop” to labor migration in order to prevent increased unemployment. The declared permanent stop to labor migration did not decrease the flows of immigration to Denmark. On the contrary, during the decades of the 1980s and the 1990s, immigration to Denmark increased significantly. The increase of foreign population residing in Denmark was the product of two major trends. Firstly, guest workers did not leave Denmark due to the expiration of their working contracts, as initially expected by the Danish authorities (Hedeltoft, 2006). Secondly, Denmark opened its doors for refugees and asylum seekers.

The decade of the 1990s marked the biggest intake of refugees and asylum seekers. As a result of the conflicts in the Middle East, and the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, Denmark received refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan and Lebanon (Hedeltoft, 2006). Simultaneously, there has been a gradual increase of the labor migration from the European countries, not least from the former Soviet Union states. While in 1993 an estimated number of 3,000 citizens from European countries resided in Denmark, by the year of 2000 the number doubled to 6000 (Andersen, 2010:28). At that time, immigration from the European countries did not receive much attention from the authorities. However, from 2004 onwards, as a product of the enlargement of the EU, labor migration from the Eastern European countries increased significantly.

By 1978, around 30% of the foreign population in resident in Denmark lived in Copenhagen (Jønsson, 2013). In 1986, a system for incoming refugees within different municipalities was implemented, and in 1998 a quota system was established which mandated municipalities to agree on refugee intake in order to balance geographical distribution of foreign population and spread the costs of integration (Andersen, 2010: 41-43). The dispersal program also included an obligation for the refugees to remain in the area to which they had been assigned for at least of three years in order to be granted public support.

Until 1983, integration issues were controlled by the Aliens Act implemented in 1952. Yet, the act did not propose a comprehensive view of the integration strategies. The rationale behind the lack of a structured emphasis on integration drew upon a combined logic of market regulation and the welfare state model (Hedeltoft, 2006). In 1986, the government



amended the Aliens Act, introducing stricter rules in order to be granted asylum and citizenship. In 1992, the automatic right to family reunification was removed (Hedeltoft, 2006). In 1998-1999 Denmark passed the first Act of Integration in Western Europe, centralizing the main goals and structures for the integration in Denmark, yet with little emphasis on multiculturalism and cultural diversity. Instead, the emphasis was placed on migrant engagement in the labor market. In addition, the official time frame of integration was prolonged from eighteen months to three years. As part of the obligation package, immigrants were expected to learn the Danish language, familiarize themselves with Danish history, culture and society - all with the objective of participation on the Danish labor market (Hedeltoft, 2006).

As such, the period of 1990s marked the emergence of the assimilationist policy approaches to integration (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2013). According to some researchers the logic of cultural uniformity was correlated with an idea of equality - the belief that equality can be achieved only through the cultural uniformity and undifferentiated political rights (Bird in Tolley, 2011).

Apart from introducing a more politically centralized approach to integration, the Act of 1999 was important in terms of establishing local frameworks for integration policy making. Municipalities were allocated the more practical tasks associated with integration, such as increasing refugee participation in the labor market, language policy and primary responsibility for finding housing for refugees.

The city of Copenhagen has been actively engaged in issues of housing, language schools and leisure time (Jønnson, 2013). In the 1970s, the municipality began emphasizing the question of spatial segregation of immigrant groups (Andersen, 2010). The sudden change in demographic composition of the city resulted in, and highlighted, a housing shortage problem. As a consequence, guest workers had to move to cheap social housing areas, forming the spaces of social segregation, which also had an effect on other integration aspects such as education and leisure time (Jønnson, 2013). In the 1970s, the city of Copenhagen introduced an educational system known as the Erik Odder System, targeting mostly segregated areas. The system proposed to implement introductory classes (reception classes) for children of minority background. Reception classes offered introduction to the Danish culture and language, prior to entering ordinary Danish classes (Jønnson, 2013). The practice of reception classes is still applied in public schools within the city of Copenhagen. Furthermore, youth

clubs providing social counselling activities have been established, a system that is regarded as being innovative and successful in terms of the integration of ethnic minorities (Jønnson, 2013). The city of Copenhagen has also provided financial support to leisure time activities and guest worker organizations, while the initiatives themselves were mostly organized by non-governmental organizations (Jønnson, 2013).

Denmark's history of integration policymaking points to several lessons to be learned. The guest worker migration created an integration crisis when presumably temporary migrants became permanent settlers. The shortcomings of the absence of an integration policy for guest workers in the 1960s and 1970s, were in many instances addressed in the 2000s by implementing more specialized labor migration schemes (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2013). Since the late 1990s, the emphasis of integration policy has been concentrated on refugees and immigration groups from non-western countries, which to some extent leaves the integration needs of labor migrants from the new EU states to the market (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013).

### ***Dublin***

Ireland has been traditionally a country of emigration. However, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, driven by new economic opportunities, large numbers of 'first-wave' Irish-born emigrants returned to work in Ireland as a newly buoyant manufacturing sector rose. Only very small numbers of non-Irish-born migrants arrived at this time. And, while Ireland was slowly orientating itself towards membership in the European Union, very little integration policy was formulated for those small numbers of migrants that did arrive.

The years between 1997 and 2007 constitute the second period of vast migration towards Ireland, when unprecedented economic growth brought a concomitant expansion in the waged labor markets of Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy. After years of net emigration, Ireland was transformed into an attractive immigrant destination (MacEinri, 2006; Quinn, 2008). Two subsidiary-phases are discernible here – an early 'Celtic Tiger' phase ending in 2003-2004, and a later phase ending with the collapse of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy in 2007-2008.

In the early years of the 'Celtic Tiger' period, immigration to Ireland was dominated by non-European Economic Area (EEA) labor-migrants claiming residency on the basis of either a

‘work permit’ or ‘work authorization’. Nearly 50,000 work permits were issued by the end of this phase. Further significant numbers of non-EEA migrants arrived, around the turn of the 20th century - mostly claiming asylum from countries such as Nigeria, Romania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This first migration phase came to an end in 2003-2004 when patterns of high immigration from beyond Europe decreased. Two events are of particular importance in this regard. First, an amendment to Ireland’s constitution was passed in 2003, effectively removing the country’s historically significant ‘jus soli’ entitlement to citizenship (Coakley and Healy, 2011). The parents of children born in Ireland were now no longer guaranteed residential status and the numbers of people coming to Ireland from non-European countries, and in the later stages of pregnancy, collapsed. Secondly, the enlargement of the EU prompted a change in Irish migration policy, as Irish planners sought to meet the country’s labor needs from within this new pool of European migrants, rather than from non-EU labor migrants requiring visas. The previously significant ‘work permit’ and ‘work authorization’ schemes were now deemed to be of less importance to the country and numbers of people being granted such visas declined significantly.

In 2007-2008 as a banking crisis precipitated the collapse of Ireland’s ‘Celtic Tiger’ economy. A massive retraction occurred in all sectors of Ireland’s waged labor market, with all categories of immigration declining. As a result, Ireland once again became a net emigration country. Approximately 89,000 people emigrated from Ireland between April 2012 and March 2013 ([http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/RIA%20Annual%20Report%20\(A4\)2013.pdf](http://www.ria.gov.ie/en/RIA/RIA%20Annual%20Report%20(A4)2013.pdf)). The release of this figure had a significant impact on the Irish public, as it was broadly equivalent to the number of people who left Ireland at the height of Ireland’s ‘second wave’ emigration ‘crisis’ in 1989. Whilst Ireland has recently begun to emerge from this period of deep economic difficulty, and while many immigrants remain resident in Ireland (Krings et.al. 2013: 99), the national discourse remains one of austerity and the re-emergence of a national discourse.

The two pillars of Irish migration policy have been the waged labor market and the international protection system (MacEinri and Walley, 2003: viii). Alan Shatter (2013), Ireland’s then Minister for Justice, was particularly illustrative of this impulse when he stated that Ireland’s attempts to manage migration seek to “strike a balance between facilitating those who wish

to come here and contribute positively to our economy and our communities as well as providing state protection to persons who are in genuine need of such protection, while at the same time dealing firmly and fairly with those who attempt to abuse and take advantage of the immigration system.”

Yet, nearly 20 years after Ireland first became an attractive destination for migrants, no fully integrated national policy instrument exists and Irish policy makers have struggled to deal with the complexities of immigration. Ireland’s one major attempt to institute a comprehensive piece of integrated migration and integration legislation (the Immigration, Residency and Protection Bill – IRP Bill) was first tabled in 2008, and published first in 2010. But, it quickly became the object of significant public debate and was withdrawn to be revised and re-tabled following consultations. Its successor, Ireland’s International Protection (IP) Bill, was published on 19th November 2015.

On the other hand, a wide range of integration policies has been drafted. The provision of public services has been a central concern (Watt and McGaughey, 2006), with mainstreamed service provision for migrants being the norm. Importantly however, it is also recognized, that migrants may require informational support in order to access these ‘mainstreamed’ services (Coakley and MacEinri, 2009). Some targeted programmes have been put in place for asylum seekers and refugees, but many categories of migrants have not yet benefited from such support.

Municipal authorities, locally-active service providers and civil society organizations have all been active in the provision of migrant services and information. A very strong migrant lobby has been fostered, sometimes with statutory funding being channeled through civil society organizations such as Pobal, an organization that acts as an intermediary for the Irish Government or through municipal authorities. A number of municipal authorities, Dublin included, have been proactively engaging with migrants’ needs and a range of targeted projects and initiatives have been funded at local level.

The lesson from Ireland’s recent experience is that a mainstreamed approach to migrant integration services, especially in times of economic difficulty can only have a limited impact. Locally active agencies that provide mainstreamed information and support as part of their general pattern of service provision have been impacted negatively, as Ireland’s well-documented experience of banking collapse, budget deficit, deep economic difficulty and

national 'austerity' shows. Core budgets have been severely cut across the board and locally active agencies and authorities have been forced to reduce support to previously successful measures. The effects of this austerity-driven cycle of closures and budget-cuts remain in evidence today as service providers struggle to maintain core service provision.

Three domains of migrant life are presented here, albeit in brief, to illustrate some difficulties that have arisen in Ireland: education, waged work and civic participation. Educational access has been a central facet of integration policy in Ireland. At the policy level, a significant effort was made to emphasize ideas of diversity, inclusion and educational service provision (Lodge and Lynch, 2004: 63). The Education Act 1998, the Education (Welfare) Act 2000 and the Equal Status Act (2000) were central to this drive. However, outcomes remain uncertain (see, for example, Ward 2002, Healy 2006) and there is considerable distance between the aspirational nature policy rhetoric and content, on the one hand, and the effective delivery of an inclusive educational pattern, on the other. In terms of waged work, Ireland could not supply the workforce required by its burgeoning 'Celtic Tiger' economy. Immigrants were needed and legislation was enacted to ensure that equality of access was sustained. The Employment Equality Acts 2000 and 2004 and the Equal Status Acts 2000 to 2004 did much to help create an inclusive environment 'in work'. Despite this engagement, many immigrants have experienced difficulties accessing the waged labor force, and academic studies have shown that immigrant labor force outcomes were more limited than those of the host community (Dunbar, 2008). Finally, while migrant access to citizenship and the electoral franchise is deemed to be good in Ireland (MIPEX II), the balance of evidence from Ireland's recent past suggests that most of those entitled to vote, did not (Dobbs, 2009: 14). Despite many positive engagements, Ireland's pattern of policy and provision has not yielded uniform outcomes, at national level. The balance of academic work suggests that more integration of thought is necessary.

### ***Gothenburg***

In 1945 a recruitment of manpower outside Scandinavia began in Sweden (Bugoslaw, 2012:31) to meet industrial workforce needs. Labor migrants were given two-year-contracts for specific professions and guaranteed accommodation by the state upon arrival (Sjölin, 2004:45). There were no formal integration policies, though some employers developed strategies of their own. In 1954, the Nordic Council declared free movement within Scandi-

navia for Scandinavian citizens (Lundh, 2005:28). In Gothenburg companies recruited skilled laborers to work at Volvo, in the shipbuilding industry and at the Swedish ball-bearing factory (SKF) (Bugoslaw, 2012:59; Sjölin 2004:45-46). Quota refugees began to arrive from Italy and Hungary during year 1950 as a type of labor market recruitment based on humanitarian grounds (Demker & Malmström, 1999:98).

In the mid-1960s, the positive framing of labor migration changed towards a framing of labor migration as a source of conflicts, slums and a threat to a universal welfare state (Bucken-Knapp, 2009 in Spehar & Berg, 2011:213). Work permits became mandatory for labor migrants wishing to enter Sweden and by the early 1970s, labor migration was allowed only if the need of workers could not be fulfilled through Swedish workforce (Bugoslaw, 2012:33). Family immigration also increased in the 1960s.

During the 1970s the nature of migration to Sweden was changing: Scandinavian migration was decreasing while migration flows from the Balkans and Southern Europe continued. These immigrants lacked knowledge about Swedish society, had low salaries, poor housing conditions and were seen as “the new underclass”. Swedish language education as a part of one’s paid work-time was legislated in 1973. In 1975, new guidelines for immigration policy were developed upon three principles: equality, freedom of choice and partnership (Bugoslaw, 2012:34). An array of policies were initiated due to these goals: mother tongue education for children, local and regional voting rights, and shortened qualification times for Swedish citizenship, among others (Svanberg & Tydén, 2005:239; Bugoslaw, 2012:35). These national immigration goals had substantial effects on both national policies and local policies.

During the period 1985 – 1994 there was a decentralization trend in Sweden: language education for immigrants was placed under municipal management and a new residence policy was initiated with an aim to disperse refugees throughout Sweden (Bugoslaw, 2012:69; SOU 2004:21, p. 50). New guidelines for immigration policy were presented in 1986, emphasizing that “freedom of choice “ did not entail the freedom to choose not to be part of the Swedish demos (Brochman & Hagelund, 2011:20). The economic crisis in the early 1990s had an impact on the immigration policies, with the “employment line” became the guiding principle for Swedish refugee integration, resulting in several needs-tested policies being introduced for immigrants (Demker & Malmström, 1999:109).

Concerning the 1945- 1964 period, one lesson learned is the positive framing of immigrants as a result of the perceived added value from their work achievements to Swedish society. Immigration was a new phenomenon in Sweden, and there was a belief that the immigrants would adapt to the Swedish way of life (Demker & Malmström, 1999:102). This period is important in terms of lessons for policy making because it highlights the importance of situation in which there are no integration policies. Quite simply, immigrants were solely dependent on employer for work permits and housing. One potential lesson from this period is how the combination of a largely unregulated immigration with an absence of integration policies resulted in a situation where migrant workers were largely excluded from society, lacking in language skills and excessively dependent on their employers.

The most important lesson of the period 1965-1974 is the role of assimilation policies. The emphasis was on Swedish language courses that were largely targeted at employed immigrants. An additional key characteristic of this period is the way in which local companies were more active than the state regarding immigration integration, through identifying migrant needs such as appropriate housing opportunities and language education.

Between 1975-1984 the state tried to fortify immigration policies based the rights of immigrants to preserve their own culture as a way to achieve integration (Demker & Malmström, 1999:84). One lesson learned is that even if the number of immigrant associations did increase, their programmatic focus remained predominantly concerned with cultural and sports activities rather than with political questions (Bäck, 1983 in Soininen, 1999:697). Since the 1980s there has been a declining in corporatist representation and the Swedish model have become fundamentally weakened (Soininen, 1999:698), and as such immigrant associations have never become greatly influential in Swedish civil society. Finally, regarding housing policies, it is apparent that measures allowing migrants the right to settle in the location of their choosing resulted in a unequal burden for Swedish municipalities.

## **Hamburg**

The development of long-term migration policy pursued in Hamburg can only be understood with regard to the background of the development of immigration policy at the federal level. This is explained by the essential legal requirements in this particular policy area, which are subjects to federal jurisdiction. Over the years, Germany has been characterized by very high numbers of immigration and external migration: Since 1950 nearly 42 million people have

moved to (Western-) Germany and about 31 million left the country. The balance of immigration during this period comprises over 10 million people. On the level of policy during the 1960s, Germany was not regarded as a typical country of immigration. In all, the migration and integration policies that were implemented often reflected a more reactive response to what was perceived as the temporarily very high numbers of immigrants, mostly as a defensive strategy to curb the immigrants numbers. A staggered opening of migration policy did not find policy expression until the 2000s. Important milestones in this case were the Nationality Act (2000), the Immigration Act (2005) and the "National Integration Plan" (2007).

From the end of World War II until 1955, the specific situation can be characterized by a primary emphasis on the integration of approximately 12 million displaced persons and refugees. The following history of post-war German migration can be roughly divided into three phases. The first two phases were determined primarily by the development of the German labor market, while the third phase after the unification of Germany was dominated by the consequences of the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the wars in former Yugoslavia.

The 1955-1972 period primary was characterized by economic-motivated immigration due to the manpower needed by the German economy. Based on "Labor Recruitment Contracts" (Anwerbeverträgen) between (West) Germany and Italy (1955), Spain, Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1967) around 6 million migrants received work permits. The demand for labor was chiefly linked to industrial mass production, heavy industry and mining. These were mainly work activities with low skill requirements. Recruitment was not understood as leading to a permanent settlement of foreign workers. As employment contracts were initially limited, many workers arrived without family members. Yet, as the period of residency within Germany increased, family members soon followed.

As a result of the oil crisis, the period of labor migration for non-EEC migrants drew to a close in November 1973. Foreign workers not coming from an EEC country were, in essence, given the option of returning to their home country or long-term settlement in Germany. As family reunification figured prominently for those who chose to stay, the number of foreign population declined only slightly during the immediate years that followed the cessation of labor migration.



## ***Conclusions***

Although it is quite clear that the respective cities do not all have similar national histories of migration, it is nonetheless possible to identify certain common patterns. For Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Gothenburg and Hamburg, guestworkers arriving in the post-WWII era to their respective countries demonstrate how policies resting on assumption of the short-term nature of migration residency are rarely successful. Such policies have failed to take into account that while the migrant journey might be initially be understood as short-term by the receiving society, the passing of time, the development of local bonds, and the ability to acquire longer-term residency in a legal manner result in temporary stays becoming permanent ones. While it is not surprising that policies intended to govern short-term migration have not emphasized migrant integration in practical terms, such an omission has contributed greatly to the labor market, educational and societal difficulties faced by migrants whose temporary relocation became anything but that.

Undoubtedly, these previous experiences with migration suggest parallels with the current situation within the partner cities when it comes to developing welcome policies that can better facilitate the settlement of mobile EU citizens. Indeed, intra EU migration is quite often framed by public authorities as being primarily short-term in nature. We argue that it is crucial to keep in mind the lessons associated with previous national experiences regarding migration, particularly when it comes to duration of stay. This review of the historical context reveals the difficulties that societies face when substantial waves of migration are not matched by comprehensively developed policies – at all levels of government, governance and society. Put in blunt terms, comprehensive integration policies are well-advised, regardless of the expectations that the host society may initially have as to the expected duration of migrants stay. Here, of course, we make no claims as to the type of integration policy that ought to be put in place. Such choices are inherently political, and reflect broader elite and popular understandings as to the appropriateness of either assimilationist or multiculturalist approaches to achieving what will be seen as successful migrant integration. Rather, we simply stress that the historical records underscores the need for some form of targeted integration policies, with an eye towards the awareness that mobile EU citizens, who may be thought of as temporary in nature, have the strong potential of becoming the next long-term residents of the partner cities.



#### 4. TRENDS AND FLOWS OF EU MIGRANTS

This chapter presents an overview of mobile EU citizens living in the different cities included in the scope of this project. It highlights key figures and demographic characteristics associated with mobile EU citizens in Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen Gothenburg and Dublin including country of origin, financial and social situation, and place of residency within the host city, among others.

Due to the limitations of available data from each partner city, it is impossible to compile standardized data. Each city and each country has different standards and methodologies for data collection. Thus, the presentation of the trends and flows of mobile EU citizens will be on a city by city basis. Another important limitation of the data is that not all of mobile EU citizens register within their respective municipalities. Research suggests various reasons for not doing so. The most common ones include: not seeing the added value of being registered, regarding the registration process as overly-bureaucratic, the lack of a home address, concerns that registration data could be used by authorities to identify mobile EU citizens not finding employment within three months and thus required to exit the country, or that the individuals do not intend to stay long term or are frequently commuting to and from their country of origin. The data presented in this report only reflects that having to do with officially registered mobile EU citizens. More details on EU migration statistics can be found in the city reports.

##### ***Amsterdam***

Since 2004, the number of EU mobile citizens in Amsterdam has increased by 41%. In 2015, more than 88.000 registered EU migrants lived in the city of Amsterdam<sup>3</sup>. The majority of EU migrants are from Western Europe, followed by Europeans from the south, east and north. In 2007 there was increase in migration flow, especially for migrants from Eastern Europe and Southern Europe<sup>4</sup>. In the past year (2014), the relative increase was highest among migrants from Southern Europe. The mean age for EU migrants is 36, which is slightly younger

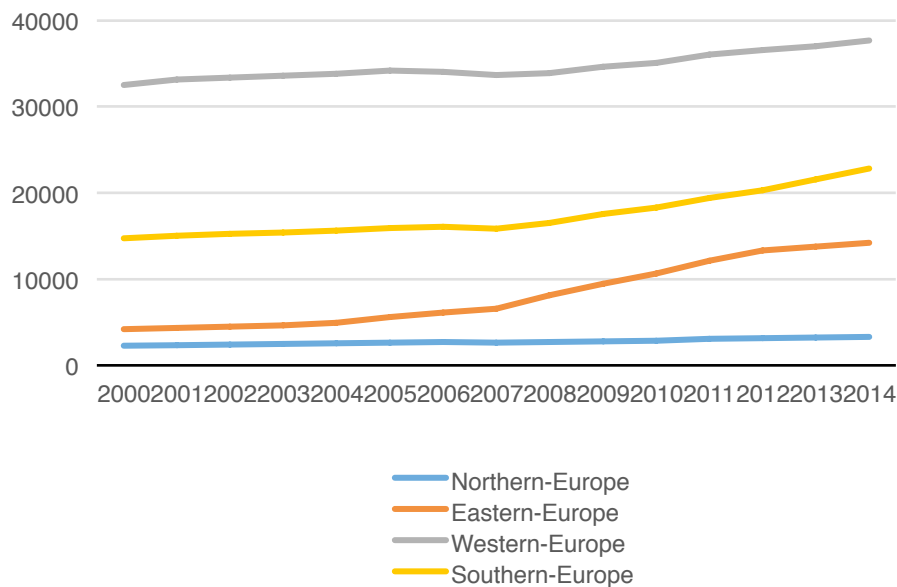
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<sup>3</sup> All data used in this section is produced by the agency for research and statistics of the municipality of Amsterdam . For the analysis, the EU migrant groups are comprised of first and second generation migrants, where the former refers to migrants who were born outside of the Netherlands and the latter refers to migrants who are born in the Netherlands and whose parent(s) were born outside of the Netherlands. Unless mentioned otherwise, all data is based on categorization according to descent (1st and 2nd generation migrants).

<sup>4</sup> The EU migrant groups are divided according to geographical origin: North, South, East and West.

than the average population in Amsterdam (mean age: 37). The majority of EU migrants are single, amounting to more than 50% in each migrant group.

**Graph 1. Flow of EU migrants in Amsterdam 2000-2014**

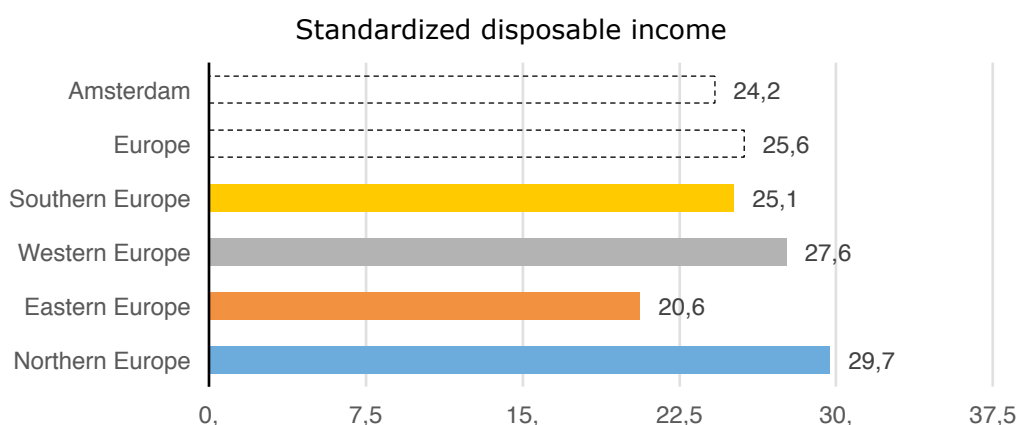


Source: Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2014

For all groups of EU migrants the principle source of income is wages. Eastern European migrants receive their income more often through their own businesses, as compared to that of other EU migrants. Relatively few EU migrants are on welfare or receive other forms of social benefits. In comparison to other EU migrants, migrants from Eastern Europe have the least disposable (net) income<sup>5</sup>. However, the remaining migrant groups have, on average, more discretionary income than the average resident of Amsterdam.

<sup>5</sup> Disposable income is defined as the gross income after wage transfers, taxes, alimony and health insurance costs.

**Graph 2. Average disposable income, 2011 (x 1000, standardized\*)**



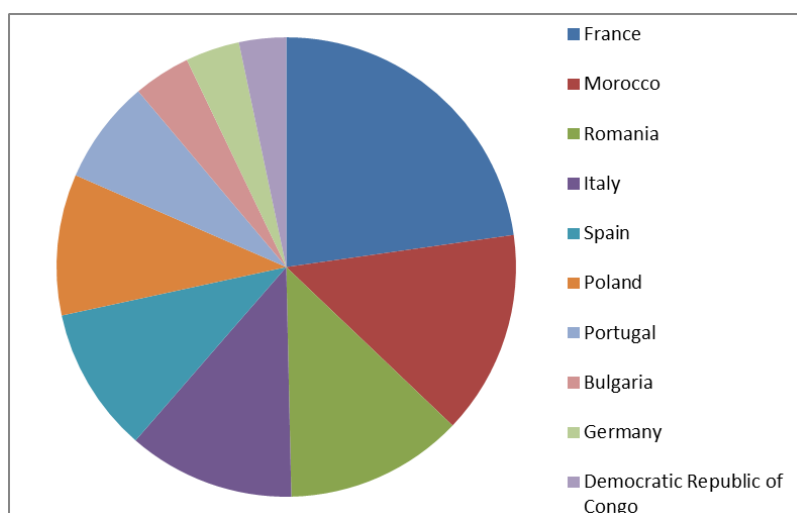
*\*The data has been standardized in regards to differences in the size and composition of households.*

*Source: Bureau Onderzoek en Statistiek, 2014; Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2015*

## Brussels

In January 2015, the Brussels-Capital Region was comprised of 181 different nationalities and 1,175,173 inhabitants. Of these inhabitants, 776,447 are Belgian and 39,726 are foreign residents; a full one-third of the Brussels population does not hold a Belgian passport, which is a much higher rate than in the rest of Belgium (10.9%). Of these 398,726 foreigners, two thirds (264,738) are citizens of another EU member state.

**Graph 1. Representation of the top ten main foreign nationalities in the Brussels-Capital Region in 2015**

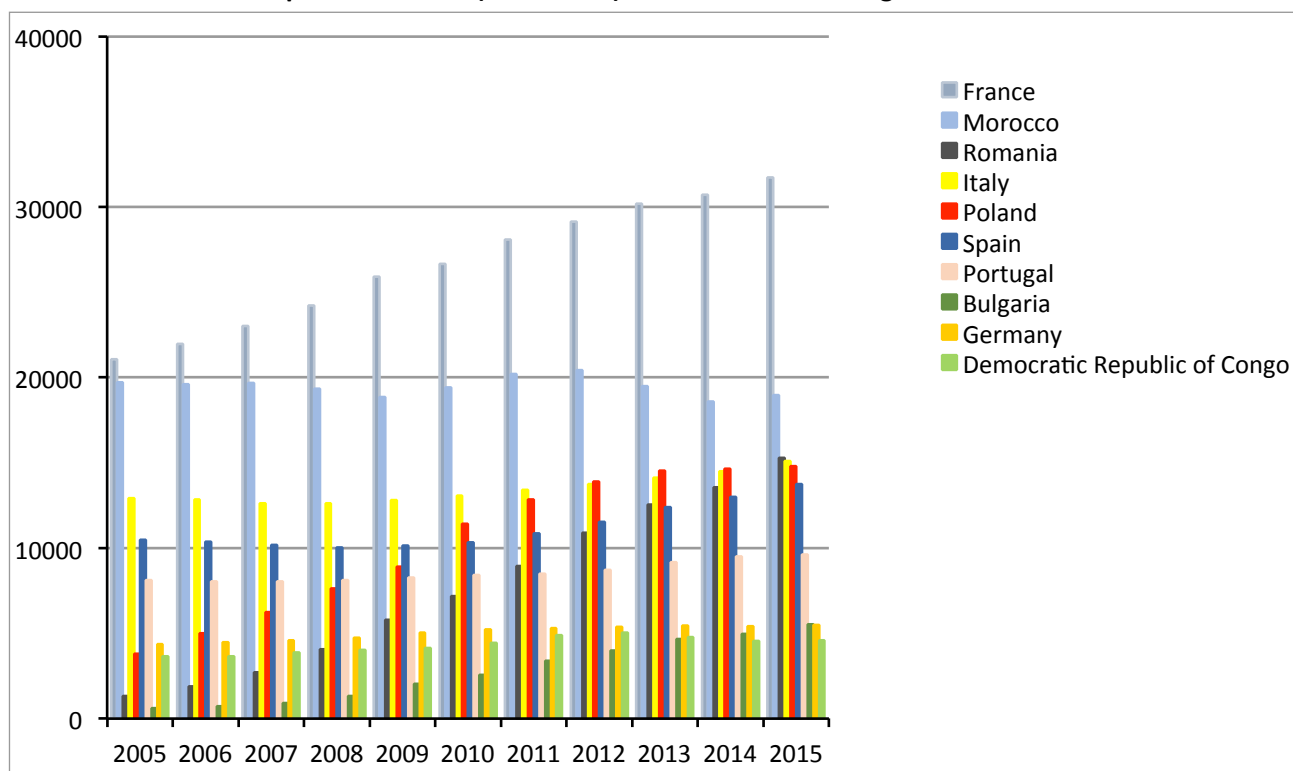


Source: BISA – Brussels Institute for Statistics and Analysis, 2015-07-30

Eight of the top ten nationalities of migrants in Brussels are European. The French comprise the largest share with 60,751 citizens. The Romanians form the second biggest group of EU migrants with 33,399 people, followed by the more traditional groups of migrants; the Ital-

ians (31,361) and Spanish (27,466), closely followed by the Poles (26,590), the Portuguese (19,609), Bulgarians (10,722) and Germans (10,304).

**Graph 2. Evolution (2005-2015) of the ten main foreign**



Source: BISA – Brussels Institute for Statistics and Analysis, 2015

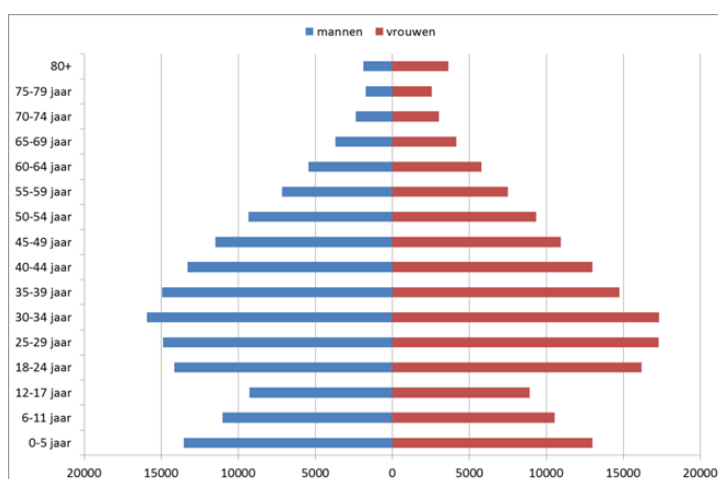
The most remarkable evolution concerns the immigration of individuals from three Central and Eastern European countries: Poland (a European Union member state since 2004), Romania and Bulgaria (members of the European Union since 2007). Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants account for almost 70,711 people, or 1 in 17 citizens. More recently, the number of Poles has stabilised, while the number of Bulgarians and Romanians is still on the rise. One of the reasons could be that there is more circular migration<sup>6</sup> between Poland and Belgium, as the distance is smaller and the networks of mutual assistance are stronger. Moreover, the current socio-economic situation in Bulgaria and Romania is less promising than in Poland. For these reasons, migration of Romanians and Bulgarians has a more 'long-

<sup>6</sup> Circular migration is the movement of individuals who divide their lives between two countries and have regular contacts with their family in their country of origin, while retaining their job in the country of arrival.

term' character than that of the Poles, who often have a return to their country in mind. (BISA, 2015).

Regarding demographic trends amongst EU migrants in Brussels there is a notable gender imbalance in favour of men among the Romanians and in favour of women among the Poles (BISA, 2015).

**Graph 3: EU population by age and sex in the Brussels-Capital Region, January 2013**



Source: Crossroads Bank for Social Security: Data warehouse Labor; processed by the Agency of Civic Integration

**Graph 4: Type of main income of EU migrants in 2013<sup>7</sup>**

Year: 31/12/2013			
Socio-economical position: everything			
District: Brussels Capital Region			
District	Socio-economic position	Nationality	
Brussels Capital Region	wage-earning	EU	57718
Brussels Capital Region	Self-employed	EU	24240
Brussels Capital Region	Helper	EU	2895
Brussels Capital Region	Wage-earning and self- employed/helper - main activity: wage-earning	EU	1723
Brussels Capital Region	Wage earning and self- employed/ helper - main activity: Self-employed	EU	251
Brussels Capital Region	Wage-earning and self- employed/ helper - main activity: Helper	EU	34
Brussels Capital Region	Job seeker after fulltime employment, with unemployment benefits	EU	8338
Brussels Capital Region	Job seeker after a voluntary parttime employment, with unemployment benefits	EU	1046
Brussels Capital Region	Job seeker after studies, with transitional benefits	EU	712
Brussels Capital Region	Full interruption of the career	EU	482
Brussels Capital Region	exempted work seeker	EU	1453
Brussels Capital Region	Retirement (unemployed)	EU	12368
Brussels Capital Region	Fully unemployed with farm payment	EU	464
Brussels Capital Region	Other	EU	140671
Brussels Capital Region	Totaal	EU	252395

Source: BISA (Brussels Institute for Statistics and Analysis), FPS Economy - Statistics Belgium, 2014

<sup>7</sup> The category 'other' consists of children and dependants. Furthermore, some European officials are classified in this category.

For both males and females, individuals between the ages of 18 and 39 years constitute the largest age group. The Romanians and Bulgarians have a significant overrepresentation of (young) adults between 30 and 44 years old, as well as very young children. There are very few older people (BISA, 2015).

Regarding employment and sources of income, the majority of European citizens are wage earners: 52%. Additionally, 26% of EU migrants are self-employed (either fulltime or partially) with 10% looking for employment.

In 2013, the largest share of non-Belgian self-employed people in the Brussels-Capital Region were Romanian nationals (10,478), followed by the Poles (4,754), the French (4,434) and Bulgarians (2,257). The number of non-Belgian self-employed people has been increasing every year, especially amongst the Central and Eastern countries, which is strongly linked to the enlargement of the EU. According to a study undertaken by UNESCO in 2011, 42% of the self-employed Bulgarians and Romanians had no income from their official economic activities while being registered as self-employed for a period of three years. There thus may be a high number of 'false entrepreneurs' or 'bogus self-employed' people potentially working in the irregular sector and using self-employment as a means to obtain a residence permit (Godin & Rea, 2011). This practice should have diminished with full access to the labor market upon the expiration of transitional rules.

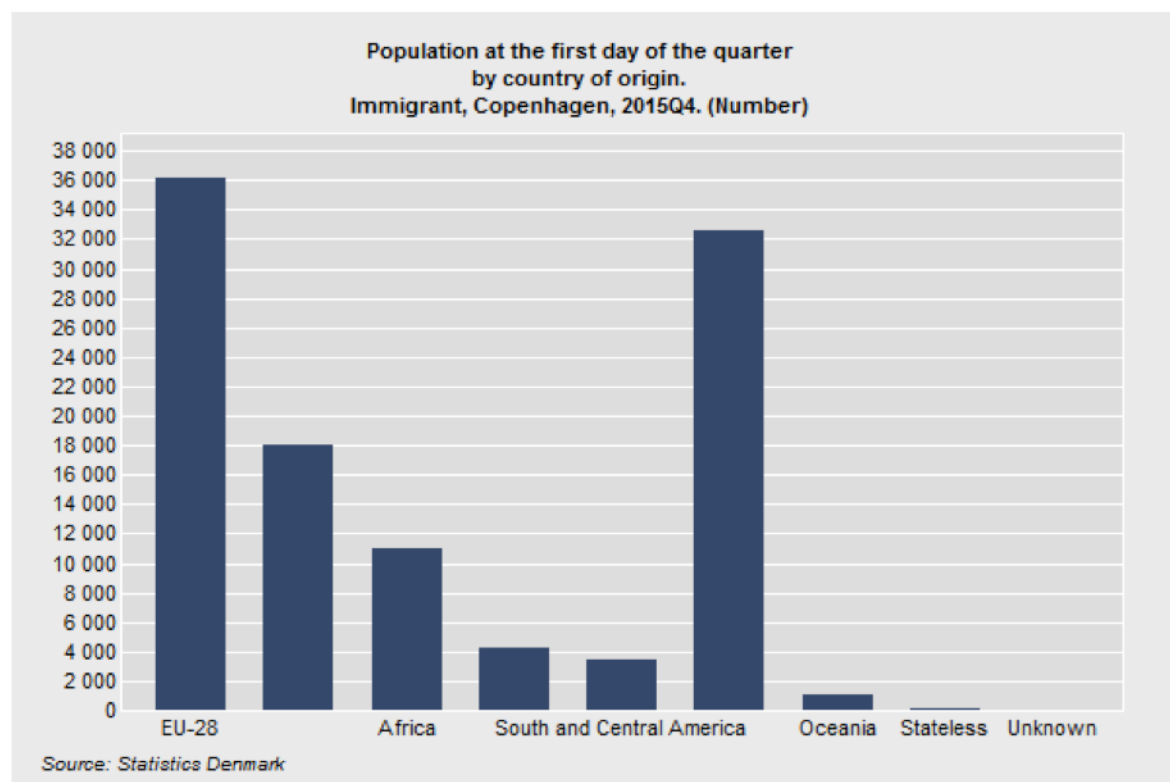
On January 1, 2014, restrictions for Bulgarians and Romanians on the labor market were lifted in Belgium, resulting in 1,300 Bulgarians and Romanians registering as unemployed with Actiris (the Brussels employment office). As a direct by-product of this, the unemployment rate in the Brussels-Capital Region rose to 20.7%.

### ***Copenhagen***

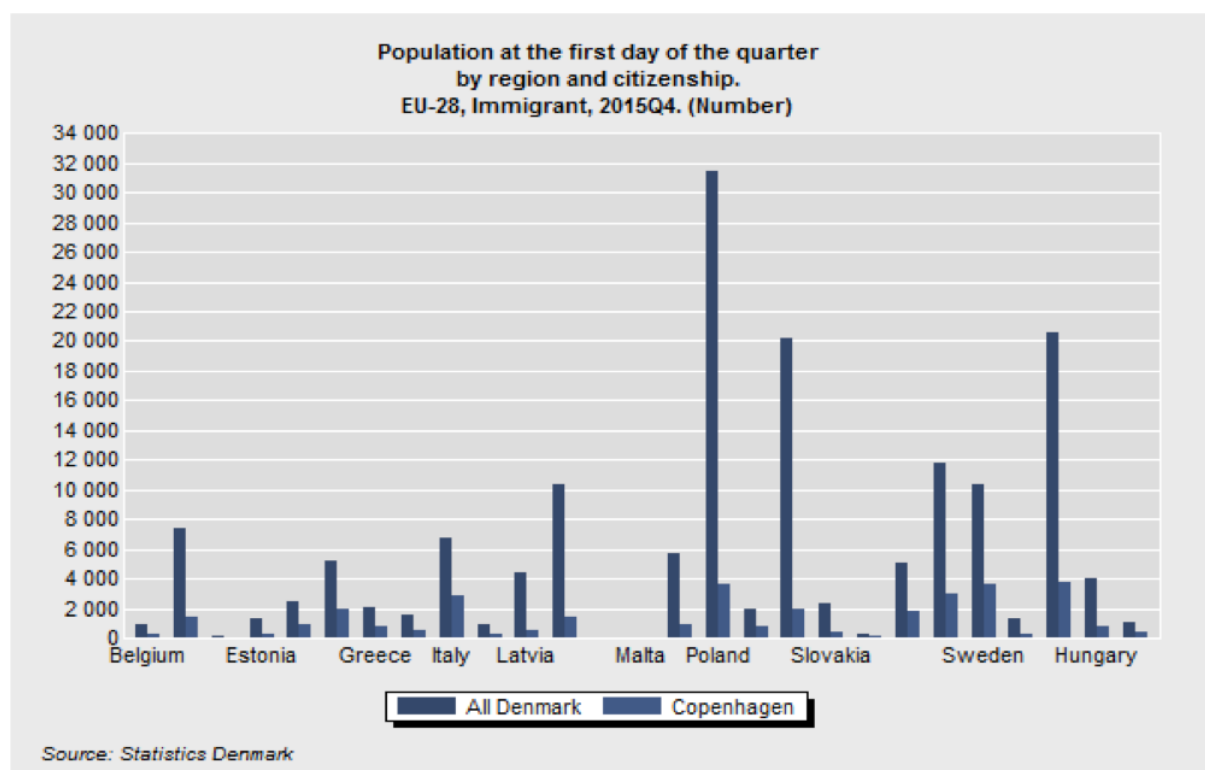
The city of Copenhagen is the biggest municipality in the country with a high concentration of foreign population. Municipality of Copenhagen here corresponds to the City of Copenhagen. It is one of the largest municipalities in the country with a high concentration of foreign population. In general, there is an estimated number of 10,000 people of Danish and non-Danish origin moving to the region of Copenhagen each year. A total number of 580,000 inhabitants reside in the municipality of Copenhagen, out of which international citizens comprise 103,378. Since 2005, the international population in Copenhagen has increased by 18 %, mainly due to the EU enlargement. According to recent local statistics, an estimated



number of 34,470 EU-28 citizens reside in the municipality of Copenhagen. The citizens from European countries outside EU-28 constitute the number of 17,697.



The top EU countries of origins for migrants residing in Copenhagen are: Poland 11,881, Germany 9,160, Sweden 8,159, United Kingdom 6,849, Romania 4,994, Italy 4,444, France 3,650 immigrants, and Lithuania 3,143. In terms of place of residency within Denmark, EU migrants from the old EU countries tend to settle more in the region of Copenhagen in comparison to EU migrants coming from the 2004 and 2007 accession states.



There are no available data that categorizes EU migrants residing in Copenhagen in terms of their level of education or employment. The only available data differentiates between immigrants and residents of the Danish origin. According to the statistical data from 2013, an estimated number of 46,247 migrants in Copenhagen have an unemployment status including: employment without a salary (e.g. volunteering) (169), part-time employment (217), maternity leave (274), leave because of sickness (904), early retirement (602), those on social benefits (5,635), and adults deemed to be lacking in employment prospects (18,212)

In comparison to the Danish population residing in Copenhagen, international citizens have a lower income. 27% of the international citizens have a basic level employment, whereas 35% of Danish citizens have a basic level employment. 21 % of high-level jobs are taken by international citizens, Danish citizens take 33% of this share. The difference between the numbers of self-employed are insignificant (international 8% - Danish origin 10%).

### **Dublin**

Dublin is Ireland's main metropolitan area and center of economic, political and cultural power. As such, it has always been attractive to immigrants. Furthermore, whilst immigrants filtered smoothly down the urban hierarchy in Ireland, during the early 'Celtic Tiger' period (MacEinri and Walley, 2003) Dublin attracted significant numbers, accounting for "almost all the population growth in the city at this time" Fahey and Fanning (2010: 6-8) .

The Dublin city area has a population of 511,344 people. Dublin's broader metropolitan area has a population of roughly twice this figure. 88,038 (17.2%) of Dublin City residents are classified as 'non-Irish' by the census of population. Municipal authorities in Ireland do not provide the same range of services provided by other European authorities; for example, Dublin City Council (DCC) does not provide health or education services. Nor does it seek to leave its policy imprint on the waged labor market. Rather, DCC efforts are largely concentrated to interacting with specialist providers about their activities in Dublin.

**Graph 1. Migrants displaced by age**

	All Nationalities	Irish	%	Non-Irish	%	UK	%	Poland	%	EU 15 (excl Ire and UK)	%	EU15 to EU27 excl Poland	%
All Ages	511344	412645	100.0	88038	100.0	7962	100.0	13438	100.0	13375	100.0	16239	100.0
0-14	79432	70236	17.0	7116	8.1	373	4.7	1380	10.3	521	3.9	1480	9.1
15-24	71898	56878	13.8	13557	15.4	863	10.8	1232	9.2	1915	14.3	2599	16.0
25-34	115630	72756	17.6	40772	46.3	1951	24.5	8355	62.2	6951	52.0	7383	45.5
35-44	74670	56456	13.7	16687	19.0	1991	25.0	1634	12.2	2823	21.1	3116	19.2
45-54	59136	52049	12.6	6142	7.0	1227	15.4	591	4.4	660	4.9	1236	7.6
55-64	45328	41988	10.2	2396	2.7	779	9.8	222	1.7	318	2.4	367	2.3
65 years +	65250	62282	15.1	1368	1.6	778	9.8	24	0.2	187	1.4	58	0.4

Source: Ireland's Census 2011 (Central Statistics Office of Ireland) SAPS data.

Non-Irish people are more common in the DCC area than in Ireland in general. Most of these non-Irish people are European migrants (categorized as EU27 by the census of population). 51,014 'EU27's are included in the 2011 census returns for the DCC area (nearly 58% of all migrants resident here). This population can be divided into two groups – old European 'EU15s' and accession 'EU12s'. 21,337 EU15s (excluding Irish) reside in the DCC area. The largest nationality group is from the United Kingdom (7,962 people). 29,677 EU12s live in the same area, with the most significant population group being those from Poland (13,375). Other significant populations include Latvians (1,900 people) and Lithuanians (3,210 people).

**Graph 2. Migrants resident in Dublin City by principal economic status**

	All Nationalities	Irish		Non-Irish		UK		Poland		EU 15 excl Ire and UK		EU15 to EU27 excl Poland		Other European nationality
Total	431912	342409	100	80922	100	7589	100	12058	100	12854	100	14759	100	2484
At work	219192	164892	48	50243	62	4696	62	9334	77	9919	77	10117	69	1341
Looking for first regular job	4877	3144	1	1675	2	50	1	141	1	142	1	380	3	83
Having lost or given up previous job	45949	36113	11	8815	11	758	10	1532	13	755	6	2242	15	376
Student	52130	37499	11	13824	17	625	8	441	4	1456	11	963	7	379
Looking after home/family	31022	26389	8	3718	5	452	6	417	3	336	3	704	5	211
Retired	56990	54506	16	1245	2	722	10	25	0	156	1	65	0	32
Unable to work due to permanent sickness or disability	19148	17946	5	901	1	233	3	127	1	63	0	208	1	48
Other (incl. not stated)	2604	1920	1	501	1	53	1	41	0	27	0	80	1	14

Source: Ireland's Census 2011 (Central Statistics Office of Ireland) SAPS data.

More young adults of working age are common among the European migrant population in Dublin than in the equivalent Irish-born population. Only 31.3% of the Irish-born population in the DCC area was between the ages of 25 and 44 in 2011 (129,212 people). Proportionately far higher numbers of non-Irish residents are to be found in the same age categories (57,459 people). The numbers of European migrant workers are proportionately higher still: 65% of 2004 EU accession state nationals (excluding Poland), 73% of EU15 migrants (excluding nationals of the UK and Ireland) and 74% of Polish migrants fall into these categories. Furthermore, very small numbers of young people (those younger than 14) and older people (those over the age of 65) are included in the European migrant population resident in Dublin.

164,892 Irish-born people (48% of this population) are classified as working in the waged labor force. Rates of migrant work are far higher in general (62% of all 'non-Irish'). However, the highest levels of work are to be found amongst European migrants. 77% of people from Poland are classified as working in the waged labor force (12,058 people). 77% of EU15 nationals (excluding Irish and UK nationals) are similarly employed (9,919 people). EU12 accession state nationals (excluding Poland) also tend to be employed, but at slightly lower levels (69%, 10,117 people).

### Graph 3. Migrants resident in Dublin City, displayed by household composition

Table 3: Migrants resident in 'Dublin City', displayed by household composition

	All Nationalities	Irish	%	Non-Irish	%	UK	%	Poland	%	EU 15 excl Ire and UK	%	EU15 to EU27 excl Poland	%	Other European
Total	511344	412645	100	88038	100	7962	100	13438	100	13375	100	16239	100	2654
One person	63347	52624	13	9327	11	1310	16	959	7	2259	17	1197	7	319
Husband and wife	48295	39992	10	7909	9	981	12	1380	10	862	6	1325	8	327
Couple	27044	18257	4	8674	10	991	12	1724	13	2434	18	1632	10	186
Husband and wife with children	149497	130282	32	17946	20	1626	20	2500	19	1384	10	3001	18	768
Couple with children	18142	15242	4	2619	3	346	4	592	4	415	3	640	4	75
Lone mother with children	54081	50128	12	3080	3	435	5	384	3	233	2	872	5	135
Lone father with children	6306	5876	1	351	0	59	1	38	0	36	0	70	0	4
Husband and wife with other persons	6048	3290	1	2687	3	69	1	474	4	91	1	594	4	55
Husband and wife with children and other persons	12444	9071	2	3191	4	109	1	551	4	151	1	855	5	85
Couple with other persons	6077	2508	1	3521	4	115	1	743	6	467	3	1029	6	52
Couple with children and other persons	2008	1356	0	612	1	28	0	176	1	36	0	163	1	15
Lone mother with children and other persons	9291	7944	2	1176	1	98	1	232	2	58	0	368	2	49
Lone father with children and other persons	1545	1275	0	235	0	16	0	58	0	7	0	69	0	5
2 family units with/without other persons	16247	13596	3	2325	3	105	1	379	3	58	0	823	5	60
3 or more family units with/without other persons	845	769	0	63	0	3	0	6	0	.	#VALUE!	30	0	.
Households comprised of related persons only	17654	11950	3	5472	6	112	1	752	6	742	6	1059	7	72
Households comprised of unrelated persons only	41882	24572	6	15482	18	913	11	2251	17	3484	26	2190	13	340
Persons not in private households	30591	23913	6	3368	4	646	8	239	2	658	5	322	2	107

Source: Ireland's Census 2011 (Central Statistics Office of Ireland) SAPS data.

The nature of European migrants' household composition further supports analyses suggesting that the European migrant population resident in Dublin consists primarily of labor migrants. More specifically 36% and 13% of the Irish-born population respectively live either in a nuclear family group, composed of two parents and children, or as a single parent, caring for children. Far lower numbers of migrants live in such household structures. For example, only 22% and 5% respectively of migrants from the EU12 live in such household structures. Despite the fact that large numbers of people of child-bearing age are included in the European migrant population resident in Dublin, it would seem that these people are far less likely than their Irish counterparts to be raising a family, at this point in their lives. This point is further reinforced by the fact that far higher proportions of European migrants than Irish-born people are living in what the census classifies as "households comprised of unrelated persons only" (24,572 people, 6% of the Irish born population, as opposed to 2,251 Polish people, 17% of this population sub-group and 3,484 people or 26% of the EU15 population – excluding Irish and UK born people). It is reasonable to suggest, in this light, that many of the European migrants of working age living in Dublin have not yet settled down in Ireland and are following a classically fluid pattern of young adult life in the city.

**Graph 4. Migrants resident in Dublin, displayed by economic status**

	All Nationalities	Irish		Non-Irish		UK		Poland		EU 15 excl Ire and UK		EU15 to EU27 excl Poland		Other European nationality
Total	511344	412645	100	88038	100	7962	100	13438	100	13375	100	16239	100	2654
A. Employers and managers	71821	62254	15	9216	10	1515	19	1241	9	2501	19	1278	8	287
B. Higher professional	41231	35182	9	5884	7	1020	13	598	4	1496	11	449	3	169
C. Lower professional	59799	48268	12	11224	13	1235	16	1014	8	2215	17	796	5	254
D. Non-manual	111273	89601	22	20921	24	1430	18	4375	33	3935	29	4441	27	517
E. Manual skilled	36546	32005	8	4253	5	401	5	1290	10	280	2	1349	8	194
F. Semi-skilled	37733	30354	7	7053	8	468	6	1893	14	418	3	1979	12	202
G. Unskilled	21842	16735	4	4884	6	149	2	1168	9	91	1	2275	14	183
H. Own account workers	16143	14415	3	1641	2	279	4	228	2	167	1	488	3	72
I. Farmers	319	277	0	41	0	9	0	5	0	4	0	12	0	1
J. Agricultural workers	337	289	0	45	0	7	0	10	0	3	0	14	0	2
Z. All others gainfully occupied and unknown	114300	83265	20	22876	26	1449	18	1616	12	2265	17	3158	19	773

*Source: Ireland's Census 2011 (Central Statistics Office of Ireland) SAPS data.*

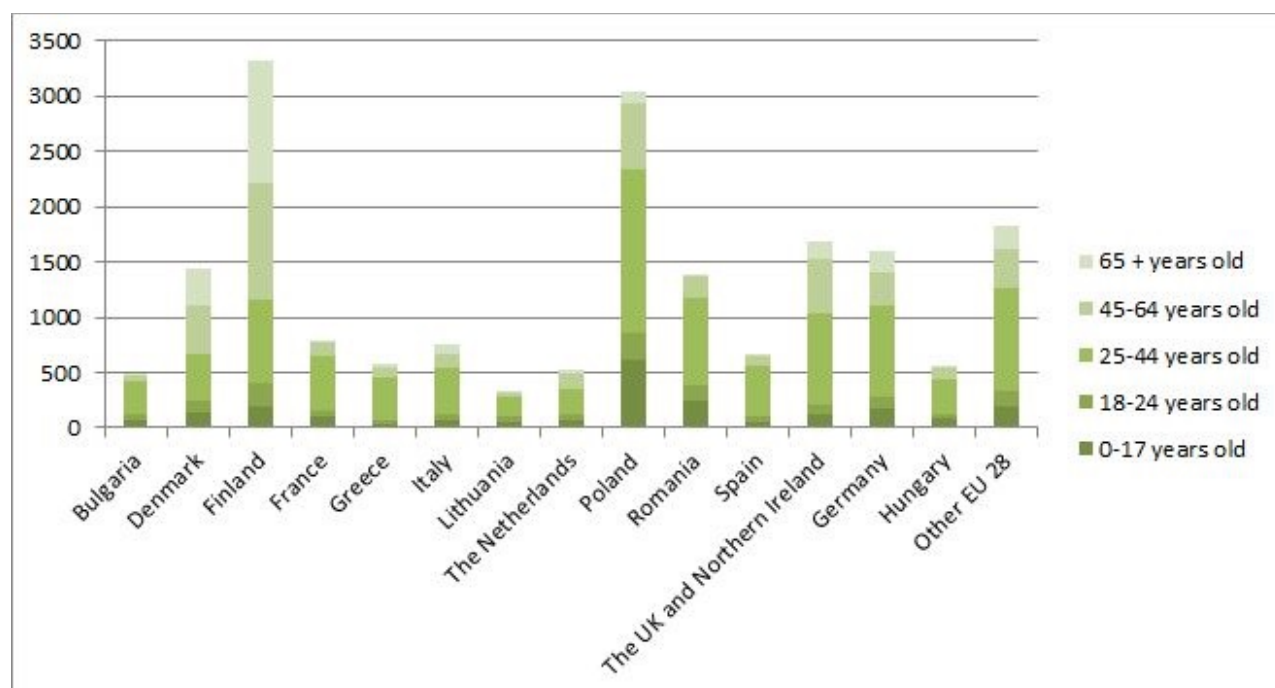
Patterns of intra-EU economic activity are complex in Dublin. EU12 nationals are more clustered in 'lower' reaches of the Irish waged labor force than either other European migrant workers or their Irish born counterparts. Far greater numbers of EU12 migrants work in ei-

ther semi-skilled or unskilled sectors of the labor market in the DCC's area of responsibility. Also, higher numbers of EU12s are classified as "having given up or lost their previous job" than Irish and EU15 (13% of Polish and 15% of EU12s. excluding people from Poland, as opposed to only 11% of Irish, 10% of UK and 6% of EU15s excluding Irish and UK nationals). This latter point is a well-recognized facet of the Irish waged labor market. European migrants from the 2004 accession states have different labor market outcomes in Ireland than other groups (Collett, 2013: 9).

### **Gothenburg**

There is a total number of almost 19,000 EU migrants registered as citizens in Gothenburg as of late 2015. About 55% of them are men and 45% are women. The largest country of origin is Finland, followed by Poland, Germany and the UK.

**Graph 1. EU citizens residing in Gothenburg by age**



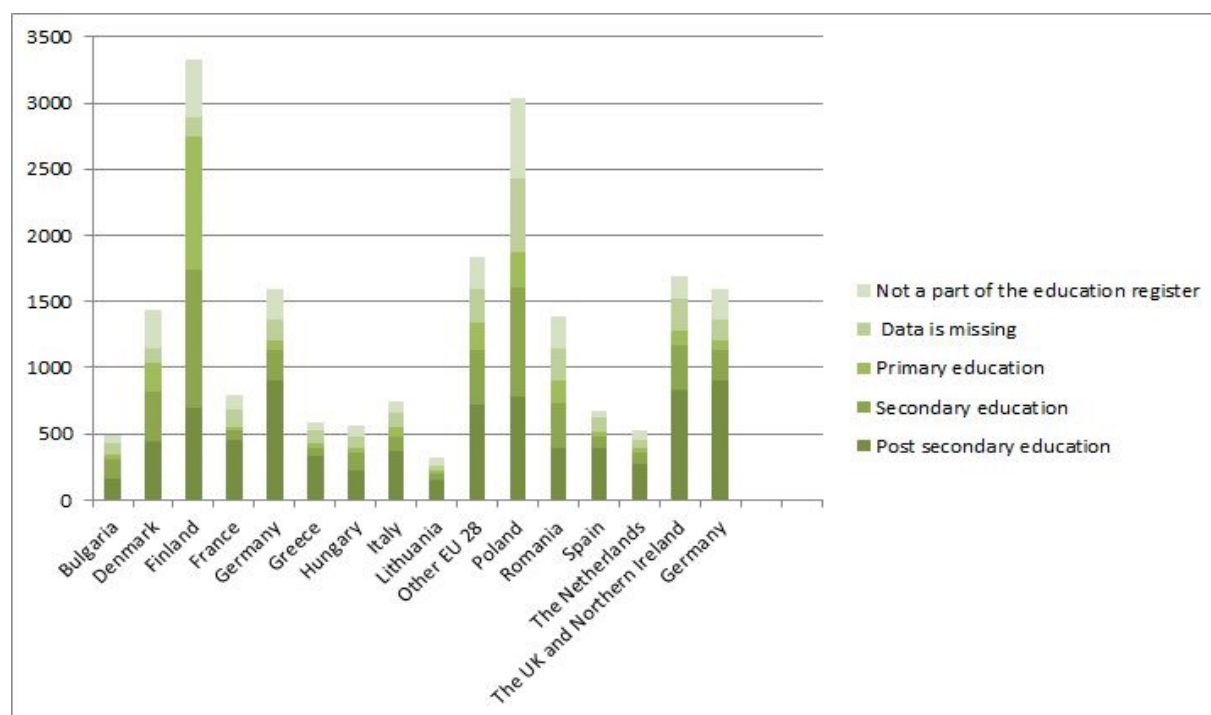
*Source: Statistics Sweden and Stadledningskontoret Göteborg*

The majority of young EU migrants in Gothenburg (0 - 17), come from Poland and Romania. However, the majority of EU migrants residing in Gothenburg as a whole are between 25 - 44 years old with no clear discernible pattern in terms of countries of origin. Among the major countries of origin are Finland, Romania, the UK and Germany. In the older age groups, those between 45 - 65 years old or older, the majority of EU migrants come from Finland, Denmark, Poland and the UK.

The number of EU citizens residing in Gothenburg has increased sharply since 2000. More specifically though, two time periods are distinguishable in the local statistics concerning EU citizens, residing in Gothenburg: the periods of 2005 - 2009 and 2010 - 2014. The EU citizens who increased the most between these two periods were Greek and Spanish citizens, whose inflows increased to Gothenburg by roughly 25% Bulgarian, Finnish and German citizens also arrived in Gothenburg in greater numbers during the overall period of 2005 - 2014.

Concerning EU migrants studying in Gothenburg, the majority comes from Germany, Finland and Greece. In 2014, 63% were female students and 36% were male (Göteborgs universitets årsredovisning, 2014). The most common education level among EU citizens residing in Gothenburg is post secondary education, in which citizens from the Netherlands, Italy and Denmark form the top three countries. Concerning EU citizens with the lowest levels of education, one primarily finds citizens from Lithuania, Romania and Hungary.

**Graph 2: EU citizens, residing in Gothenburg, by education level**

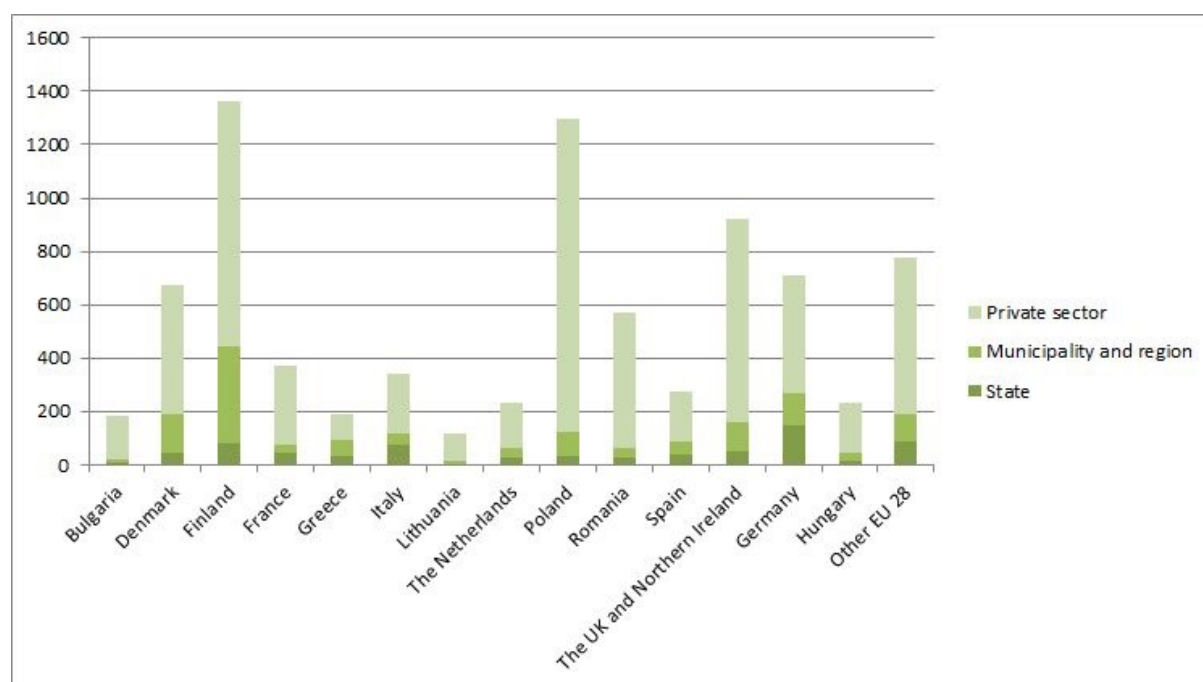


Source: Statistics Sweden and Stadsledningskontoret Göteborg

Regarding the employment of EU migrants in Gothenburg for the ages between 18 - 24 years old; Danish, Polish and Romanian citizens have the highest employment rate. For EU migrants between 25 - 65 years old, the highest employment rate can be seen in citizens from Denmark, the Netherlands, the UK and Germany.

An absolute majority of EU citizens with employment and residing in Gothenburg work in the private sector. Finnish citizens in Gothenburg distinguish themselves by working in the municipality or in the regional government/administration to a greater extent than other EU citizens, whereas German citizens work in the state sector more than their fellow European citizens in Gothenburg.

**Graph 3. EU migrants, residing in Gothenburg, by employment, by sector**

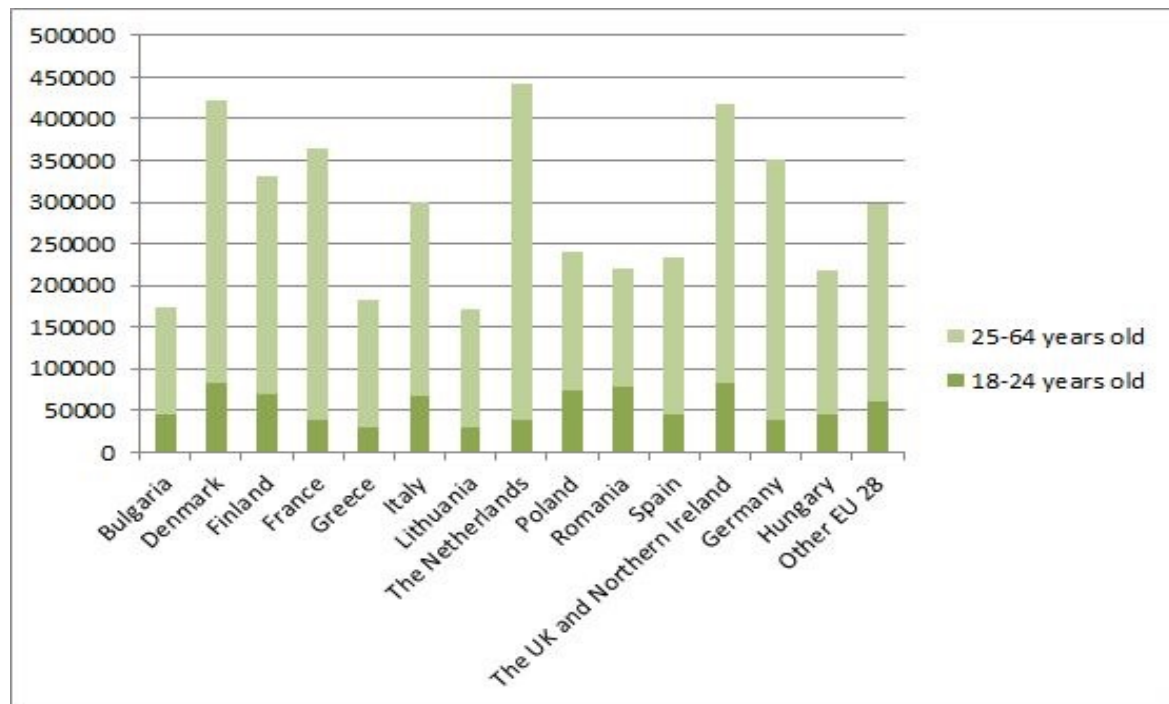


*Source: Statistics Sweden and Stadsledningskontoret Göteborg*

Concerning income levels among EU citizens in Gothenburg, individuals from the Netherlands constitute the group with the highest average income level, followed by citizens from the UK, Denmark, France and Germany. On the lower end of this scale we can find EU citizens from Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Lithuania.

**Graph 4: EU migrants, residing in Gothenburg, by average income (SEK) and age, in SEK**





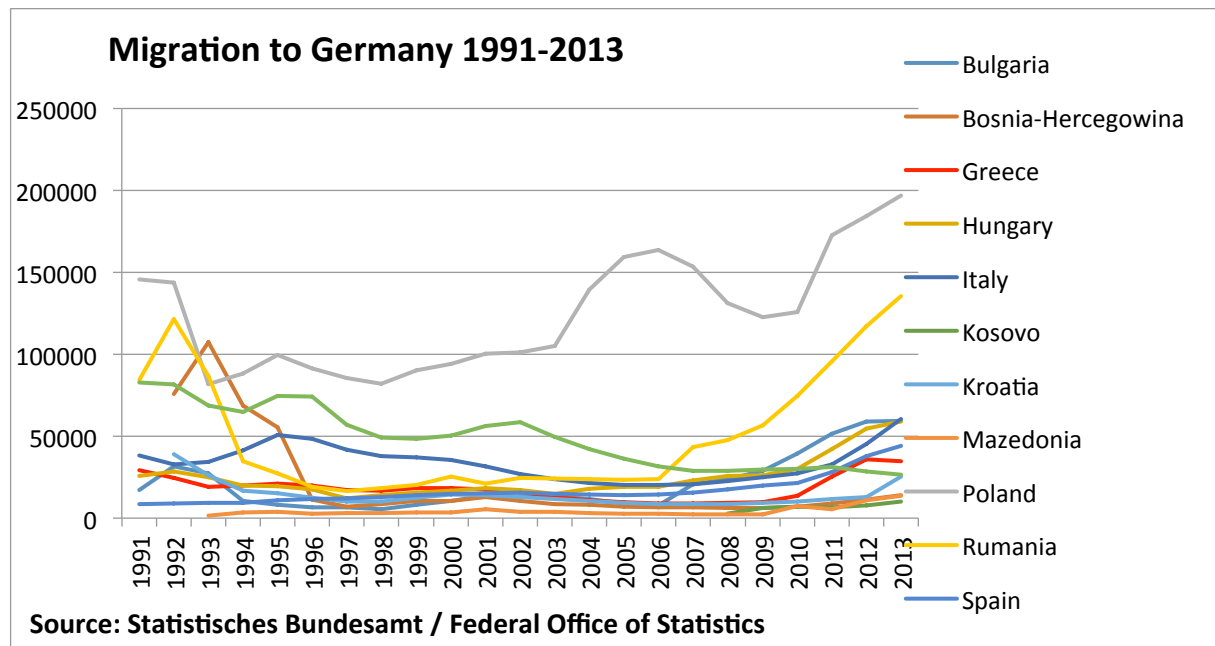
Source: Statistics Sweden and Stadsledningskontoret Göteborg

### **Hamburg**

Hamburg can be seen as “an important economic centre, with a long history of migration and specific policies for managing and promoting foreigners’ inclusion”<sup>8</sup>. Migration to Germany has for many years been dominated by the presence of mobile EU citizens. For example, in 2013, a total of in total 1,200,00 individuals relocated to Germany, 940,000 of them from Europe, 780.000 (of the 1.2 Mio.) from the EU.

A differentiated description and analysis of the development of mobility from the individual, in particular Eastern European Member States shows some changes in the last twenty years: while significant increases in immigration from Bulgaria, Romania and Spain have been the general trend, a corresponding decrease in migration Bosnia and Herzegovina , Croatia and the Turkey has been observed .

<sup>8</sup> EY (Ernst & Young), 2014: 8.

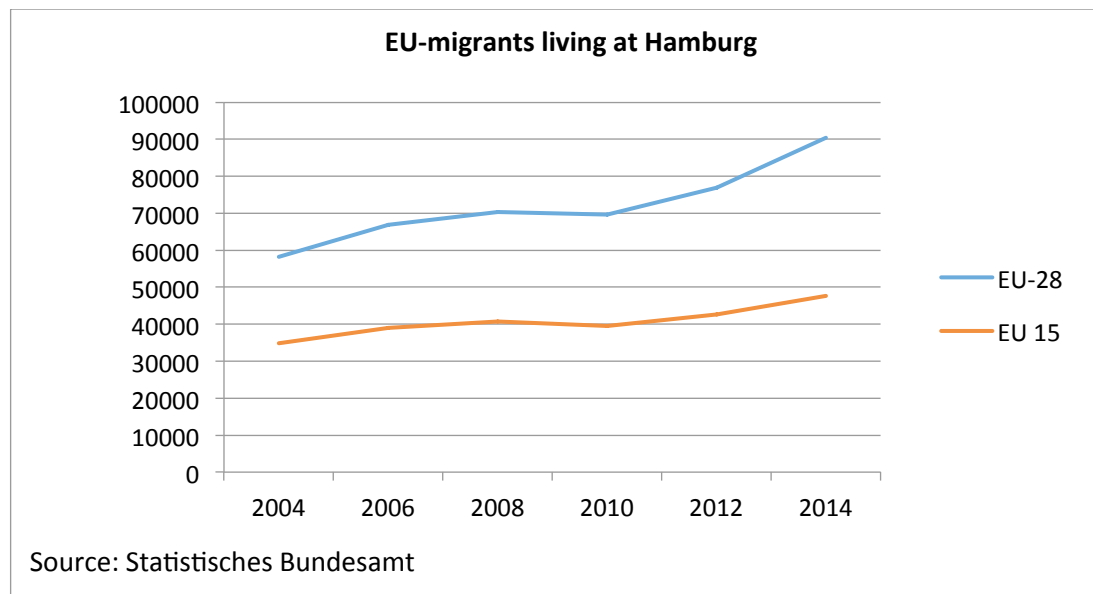


On balance, German migration policy needs to be considered against the backdrop of the effects of re-unification, and the resulting fundamental political, economical and societal changes that occurred. One notable aspect of this was the high degree of unemployment that resulted from as East German were unable to effectively compete with their Western counterparts. To some extent, the high level of unemployment during the final decade of the twentieth century contributed to the decision to postpone the free movement of workers from new EU member states as long as possible, with restrictions being put in place until the end of 2013. Yet, the experience of reunification does not entirely account for the preference of the German state for the imposition of transitional rules. Certainly, substantial societal pressure existed in the form of concern expressed by trade unions regarding the impact of mobile EU citizens on the German labor market:

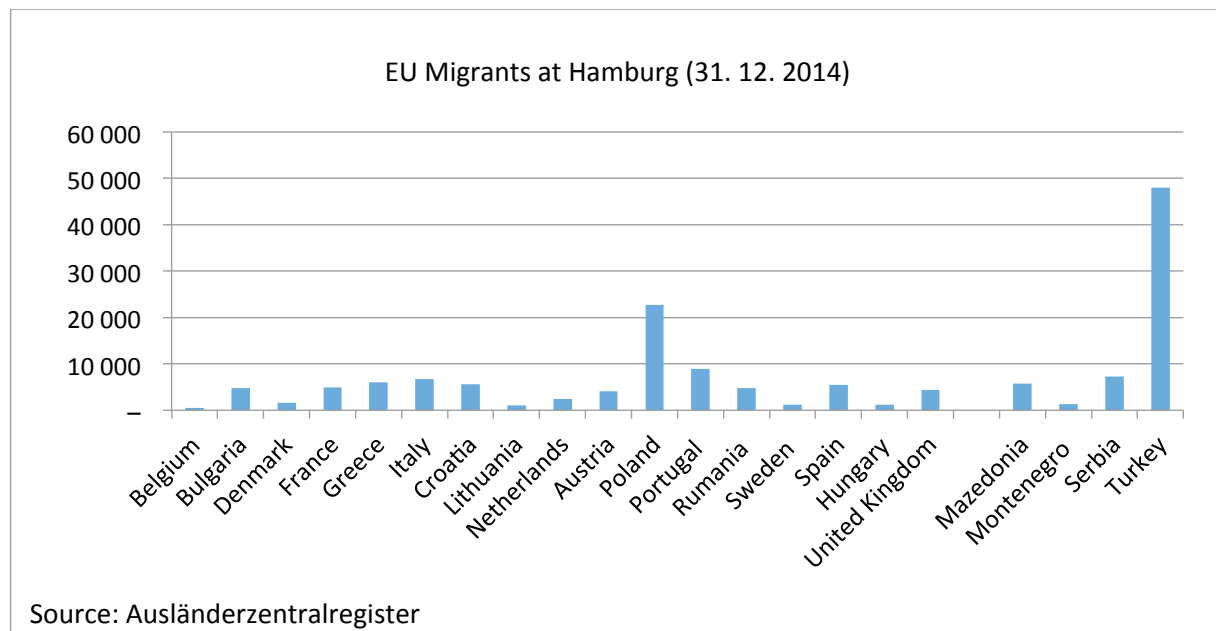
“Officials in the trade unions have called for stricter regulation of the differences between employment and self-employment. As regards the second issue, companies based in Member States with lower wage and social contributions have used the posting of workers to avoid national legislation on wages and working conditions in the host Member State”<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Elspeth Guild: The Legal Framework of EU Migration. In: Organisational Recruitment and Patterns of Migration - Interdependencies in an Integrating Europe. Osnabrueck, 2004: 82

Hamburg represents one of the main destinations for mobile EU citizens coming to Germany. The number of mobile EU citizens living in Hamburg has increased during the past ten years from 58,000 to more than 90,000 by the end of 2014<sup>10</sup>.



Nearly 23,000 of these mobile EU citizens are of Polish origin, and reflecting the impact of the economic crisis on southern Europe, nearly 9,000 from Portugal (see the following chart).



<sup>10</sup> Source: Ausländerzentralregister (Central Register of Foreigners)

The official working-group “Management of Free Movement”, established by the City of Hamburg, has stated that the number of migrants coming from Bulgaria and Romania to Hamburg has quadrupled since 2007, the year that both states joined the EU. While at the end of 2006 slightly less than 3,000 individuals of these two nationalities were living at Hamburg, by 2014 the number had increased to 13,657 persons<sup>11</sup>. As such, six percent of all migrants and one percent of all persons living at Hamburg were mobile EU citizens<sup>12</sup>.

The number of individuals from Bulgaria and Romania receiving benefits for long-term unemployment (Arbeitslosengeld II) had increased more than six-fold in 2014 when compared to 2006, but still represented the rather a disproportionately small percentage when compared to the figures for Hamburg as a whole.<sup>13</sup>

When it comes to unemployment among foreign nationals in Hamburg, a recent Ernst & Young report has documented that nearly two-thirds of the unemployed mobile EU citizens in Hamburg lack any vocational training. While this percentage is lower than the nearly 84% of third country nationals who are unemployed and lacking vocational training, it is substantially higher than the 47% of German citizens who are both unemployed and lacking vocational training.

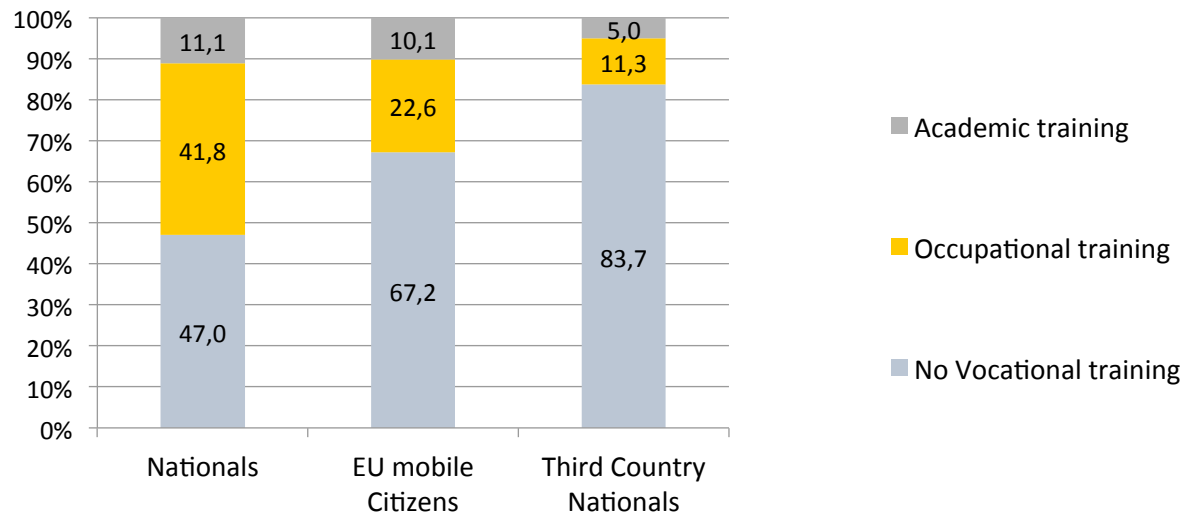
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<sup>11</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2015: 3

<sup>12</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2015: 4

<sup>13</sup> Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, 2015: 4

Skill Level of Unemployed at Hamburg (2012 in %)



Source: EY (Ernst & Young), 2014: 74

## 5. MAPPING OF LOCAL POLICIES

### ***Introduction***

This chapter presents a comparative analysis of the local policies for EU migrants in Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Gothenburg and Dublin. Each city report presents an analytic mapping of welcoming policies, language education policies, housing-policies and labor market policies, reviewing these from three different but complementary perspectives: those of local authorities; those of civil society; and those of EU migrants themselves.

This consolidated report aims at providing an overall mapping of local welcoming policies. It consists of a critical reading of the specific policies in each city for each policy area. The goal is to emphasize good policies already in place, as well as major policy gaps. It is important to stress that policy prescriptions are not provided uniformly for all cities. On the contrary, the research has highlighted the importance of local context, conditions and political will, both in terms of problem definition and also the range of possible policy options as appropriate responses.

Local researchers, under the guidance of the University of Gothenburg, mapped local policies of their cities drawing on the results from interviews, focus groups and desk research. For each policy area, there was a description of the state of affairs, complimented by the challenges and the solutions as perceived by EU migrants, local authorities and civil society. As a result of the research carried out at the city level, we are able to address a rich cluster of relevant policy areas in great detail: general information needs for newcomers, training of front desk staff in local administration, language education policy, housing policy, labor market policies, civic participation and citizenship, diversity and intercultural dialogue and social rights.

### ***General Informational Needs for Newcomers***

During the course of the research, it became apparent that a major component of a welcoming policy for EU migrants is the provision of information for newcomers. All cities, to some extent, engage in the provision of information to newcomers. The format that this can take varies. Some cities remain passive, waiting for the EU migrants to request information about available services, with other cities promote their services through informative campaigns.

Amsterdam is pioneering in terms of proactively providing information to new migrants. The city has developed pilot projects regarding EU migrants with a particular focus on the provision of information. One example of these pilot projects is the 'Welcome to Amsterdam' event. The goal of these regularly held events is to welcome EU migrants to the city and to provide them with practical information about living and working in the city.

Another pilot project targeting EU migrants is the 'Introduction Course Amsterdam'. The free course is comprised of five three-hour sessions in which newcomers are guided around the city. While they learn about the history of the buildings they pass, they also learn about the contemporary Dutch society, the social system and other issues of importance to new community members. Guides provide information regarding education, work and life in the Netherlands, health care, financial matters, the community, and rights and obligations as a citizen. For each topic, the municipality has developed more in-depth hand-outs with further information. In addition to information, providing a forum for migrants to meet one other and exchange tips is an important part of the course, just like at the Welcome Events.

The city of Copenhagen, and in particular the International House of Copenhagen, also organizing thematic events with a strong emphasis on information. One example of such an event is the annual Expat Fair, where different organizations and public institutions (such as banks, job centers, sports clubs, among others) make presentations as to services that are available.

EU migrants in all of the cities stated that a common way of obtaining information upon arrival is through the internet. In the city of Amsterdam, the official website of the municipality ([www.amsterdam.nl](http://www.amsterdam.nl)) has a special page dedicated to newcomers, informing them about practicalities concerning moving to Amsterdam. However, this website is entirely in Dutch, which makes it difficult to consult for newcomers who are unable to read the language. In collaboration with the Expat Centre however, the municipality launched an English website: [iamsterdam.com/local](http://iamsterdam.com/local). This website gives advice to (potential) migrants who are preparing to move to Amsterdam or who have just arrived. Information is provided about several topics, such as necessary documentation, how to arrange housing, finding a job, and learning Dutch. Other topics that are covered include the educational system, the health care system, transportation, taxes and cultural life. Although the website is in English and accessible for

all newcomers, municipal policymakers note that it focuses mainly on medium and highly skilled migrants.

In Dublin, the Citizens Information Centre which is one of the main actors in information provision and maintains a comprehensive digital footprint via its [www.citizensinformation.ie](http://www.citizensinformation.ie) website. Documents in Polish, Romanian and French are available on the website, and include documents on 'finding a job' and 'support services for foreign nationals in Ireland'.

In addition to official webpages in all participating cities, EU migrants stated that they find information through the social media such as Facebook pages and other social media websites. Additionally, EU migrants in all of the cities rely heavily on their social network for information. A further strategy for providing and obtaining information is through physical interaction at the premises of specialized institutions.

In Brussels, one key organization that provides general information to newcomers is the Brussels Reception Office (bon<sup>14</sup>), which is subsidized by the Flemish Community, and offers a programme of social orientation courses in over thirteen contact languages<sup>15</sup>. In the Brussels Francophone community, some NGOs offering a similar set of services, but on a smaller scale. However, starting in January 2016, the BAPAs (*Bureaux d'Accueil pour les Primo-Arrivants*) will be operational. The French Community Commission plans on creating two BAPAs, each with capacity for 2,000 people. They are specifically aimed at newcomers in Brussels: people who have (legally) been in Belgium for less than three years. If the demand exceeds the supply, they will work with priority groups, with a possibility being that EU citizens will be excluded. Basic informational courses will be given in (simple) French, although there is the possibility to work with interpreters. One very distinct group within Brussels is the EU migrants working at the European institutions in Brussels. They are able to get information at Brussels Welcome Desk specifically targeting people working at the European institutions. They have two offices, one of which is located at the European Parliament.

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<sup>14</sup> From January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015, bon is part of the "Agentschap Integratie en Inburgering". The Agency supports the Flemish integration policy. The Agency collects all social and civic integration, social translation and interpreting services (except in the cities Ghent and Antwerp).

<sup>15</sup> The EU languages for social orientation courses are English, French, Polish, Bulgarian, Romanian and Spanish.



In Copenhagen, the International House of Copenhagen (ICH) stands as an example of good practice in terms serving as a “one stop shop” gathering different services for newcomers into one physical location, with different public authorities and private companies concentrated into one building. The IHC is a governmental initiative implemented to establish more efficient services for newcomers arriving to study or work in Denmark. There, together with the general administrative services, information regarding language schools, accommodation, social and cultural activities, schooling and housing are provided. The possibility to have a physical space of encounter is beneficial for both EU mobile citizens and citizen service providers, as both parties can learn about the needs and preferences in citizen service.

Another good practice of the IHC is presentation of frequently requested information in fact sheet (for instance library rules, where to put trash, etc.). The information is provided in English, and in some cases other European languages in order to facilitate needs of people who do not speak English or Danish. Moreover, small-scale surveys, as well as workshops in which migrants have the opportunity to share their experiences are conducted in order to identify user needs. Based on this information, special events are organized to facilitate the indicated needs.

In Dublin there are also physical points of information contact termed Citizens Information Centres (CIC's). The Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service, which has its main public office on O'Connell Street (Dublin city centre's main street), is extremely busy. Almost 65,000 queries (64,742) were recorded in the Dublin City Centre CIS in 2014. It is estimated that 66% of callers were migrants in 2014.

A good practice in Dublin is the involvement of the City Council's Library Service as an information point available to migrants. The Library Service provides many of the same types of 'first- level' official information to migrants as the CIC, but also goes much further, acting as a casual information point and conduit into the world of detailed information support. Both official 'hard' information and unofficial 'soft' information about life in Ireland is accessible here. Library workers provide lists of services and facilities for migrant enquirers. A bank of relevant application forms is accessible. The library's IT facilities enable migrant users to print materials as well. As a result, many types of information about the daily rhythms of life in the city can be accessed very effectively through the service.

Furthermore, the DCC library allows for the search for information to be grounded in a 'physical experience'. The public spaces of the library act as an effective meeting place, countering the sense of separation that migrants may feel from the society around them on many levels. Migrants are regularly seen to avail of the spaces of the library as well as the open-access IT resources that are available in all libraries in the city. No membership fee is charged. Many of the larger libraries host more targeted supports as well. For example, migrant-specific events and clinics are hosted as part of the library service's public education remit. Dublin city's central library is one of Ireland's busiest libraries and a range of events of interest to migrants is hosted here. Language-specific events are also hosted by this library, with ESOL learning provided via the library's 'ROSETTA STONE' online language module. These services and events are commonly used by European migrant workers. Migrant-focused NGOs also regularly hold information exhibitions in the space of the library.

In Gothenburg, the key focus in the media, the public discussion and the city's administrative services is on vulnerable EU migrants. As a consequence, this shapes the way in which EU migrants are provided with information. The main actors providing information are local NGOs, the reception for women in prostitution (Mikamottagningen), the field unit of the municipality and the street magazine for homeless people "Faktum". The Administration for Allocation of Social welfare, which is a part of the municipality, offers services and information to EU-migrants through the Social emergency office. Two officers are only working with the EU migrants. Written information is provided in a couple of languages and in symbols to try to reach as many EU migrants as possible. Of course, there are many other categories of EU migrants in Gothenburg that would not be considered as poor and vulnerable, and these are thought to generally draw on the services provided by the Public Employment Center, EURES or the Swedish Tax Agency.

One good practice that can be identified in Gothenburg regards the collaboration of the city with civil Society. Since 2013, four NGOs and the Administration for Allocation of Social Welfare in Gothenburg are working together in an 'IOP partnership' (Public partnership borne on ideas). The key task for the partnership is to create and establish services for EU migrants in Gothenburg. Each NGO has one specific assignment.

In Hamburg, one of the good practices of the Welcome-Policy is the "Hamburg Welcome Center". It follows the one-stop-shop principle, which can effectively support citizens moving

within the EU to obtain complete information (also online) and adequate orientation towards the services and the opportunities offered by the city.<sup>16</sup> In addition to providing general information for new citizens, the Hamburg Welcome Center also provides a service whereby different immigrant groups can directly manage the legal aspects of the registration and immigration processes.

In addition, the Senate of Hamburg provides additional information on migration related issues, through the integration portal (<http://www.hamburg.de/integration/>), including information on:

- Language and integration courses (German language, German legal system, culture, and history);
- Advice for foreign nationals, both for adults and teens,
- information brochures,
- information about counselling services and meeting places for families in seven languages;
- Information on immigration law;
- A specific service for the recognition of diplomas and degrees.

Other counseling centers are also active in Hamburg, financed by the churches, charitable welfare-organizations and trade unions, but also partly funded by the State of Hamburg and the European Social Fund (ESF). Generally these counseling centers are located at different districts and working with more vulnerable groups. For example the “SOS Service Center”<sup>17</sup> and the “Center Immigration Eastern Europe / Fachstelle Zuwanderung Osteuropa”<sup>18</sup> can be named.

The most important barrier identified by all city reports in the policy area of general information for newcomers is that of language. For instance, when EU migrants search for information online, one of the biggest challenges they face is the fact that most websites of for-

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<sup>16</sup> For more information please see <http://english.welcome.hamburg.de/>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.grosstadt-mission.de/esf-projekte/articles/sos.html>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.diakonie-hamburg.de/de/rat-und-hilfe/migration/angebote/Fachstelle-Zuwanderung-Osteuropa-859915>

mal institutions, such as the municipality, the tax office etc., are only available in the city's official language.

In addition to web pages that are not translated, EU migrants generally cannot read letters sent to them by the municipalities as they are also in the official language of the city. Language also presents a substantial barrier in terms of key information regarding social rights. This especially applies to Amsterdam and Copenhagen when it comes to health care<sup>19</sup>. Another barrier is that although the information events appeal to high-educated migrants they do not manage to reach out to the low-educated migrants.

### ***Training of Front Desk Staff in Local Administration***

There is no specific training for front desk staff members providing services to EU migrants in most of the cities participating in this project. The key exception is Gothenburg, where there have been efforts to increase knowledge of the rights of EU migrants within the public employment center. They have a continuous training of their front desk staff - "competence passes" - two or three times a year, addressing information about how to assist and help applicants whom are EU migrants. The information courses are both for current and new employees who want to be updated about the legal framework.

In Copenhagen, while several specialized courses exist, no systematic multi-cultural training is implemented for those working in international citizen services. Front desk staff and IHC administrators emphasized that experience-based learning is essential in providing a good service. Since a substantial number of the front desk staff are international citizens themselves, the practice of multi-culturalism was regarded as a given. Moreover, the interviewees noted that requirements to get a job in international citizen service and IHC include intercultural communication skills and a fluent level of English language. It should be noted that the international citizen service in Copenhagen does not provide with a special staff dealing specifically with EU citizens. The service is provided on the same bases to all EU mobile citizens and non-EU citizens.

Regarding language skills of the front desk staff, there is substantial variation among the cities. In Amsterdam, civil servants are not formally required to speak Dutch with those seeking services. As such, services offered by front desk officers are almost always possible to

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<sup>19</sup> For the case of Gothenburg healthcare is within the jurisdiction of the national government.

receive in English, and civil servants sometimes even speak an additional language at a high degree of fluency. In Brussels, the front desk staff is officially only allowed to speak Dutch or French. Apart from the municipality, which is bound to language regulations, many organisations working with foreigners have multilingual reception teams. The House of Dutch, Ciré, bon, Foyer, OR.C.A. all welcome people in a variety of languages or rely on (social) interpreters. In Dublin, staff members are trained in the tenets of good customer care. 'Front-of-house' staff are commonly targeted here. The user interface is important to the organization. While the Human Resources Department currently carries out no routine training for its staff in inter-culturalism, it will soon begin to deliver a staff training module in the care of customers. Though the Training Officer reports that a strategy of targeted customer training will be a priority input when budgets allow.

Overall, three main themes of front desk staff training can be identified across all cities. The first is regarding the rights and obligations of EU migrants. EU migrants have rights described in the European and national law regarding their free movement to reside and work all over EU, and it would be beneficial for front-desk staff to be well aware with these, especially in terms of how they may have an impact on service delivery. Secondly front desk staff should have some kind of inter-cultural training that sensitizes them to the different expectations and understandings that may prevail among various EU migrant communities when it comes to engaging with front-line bureaucrats. Lastly, encouraging a flexible language policy for front-line staff should be seen as advantageous, as this will assist in facilitating more effective communication between service providers and target audiences.

### ***Language Education Policy***

Language education has been identified as a very important policy area from all the cities. It is also the most developed policy area. As discussed previously, language education is crucial to the integration of migrants. In all of the cities associated with this project, EU migrants, public authorities and civil society recognized the importance of learning the local language. Knowing the language significantly increases the chances of labor market integration as well as participation in social life.

Most of the municipalities offer language courses. For instance, in Amsterdam free language courses exist that are accessible to EU migrants. The municipality provides language courses for EU migrants who have been registered at the municipality for at least six months. Fur-

thermore, expats are excluded from the service since they are considered to be able to pay for a language course themselves.

In Brussels, the only official bilingual city in Belgium, two national languages are taught: French and Dutch. This creates a certain competition between the Flemish and the French speaking communities, both of which try to promote their respective language. On the Dutch-speaking side, there is an umbrella organization that brings together all Dutch language courses provided in Brussels: the House of Dutch (*Huis van het Nederlands*). 20,000 people registered in 2014. The strategy of the House of Dutch focuses on the positive sides of the language and this approach has clearly paid off, with the number of people wanting to learn the language increasing annually.

EU mobile citizens have a right of five years of Danish language education in Copenhagen. Differentiations are made between refugees and family reunification groups on the one hand, and EU citizens, students, spouses and green card holders on the other. This is due to the fact that refugee and family reunification groups are obliged to sign an integration contract, which also includes a requirement that migrants attend Danish language classes and learn the language within five years. EU mobile citizens are not obliged to sign such an agreement and to attend language courses, as long as they are not receiving social benefits. Those who do receive social benefits, such as for instance unemployment benefits, are obliged to attend Danish classes offered via job centre programs. According to national legislation, language education for adult EU mobile citizens constitutes four and a half years of Danish language education. In the municipality of Copenhagen, the time is rounded up to five years of Danish language education in total. The reason of differentiation between refugee and family reunification groups and those of EU mobile citizens, students, spouses and green card holders is based on the argument of temporary residency. As EU mobile citizens are perceived to be a temporary migrant group, the language education is provided according to this assumption.

This trend of the conditionality of social and civic rights on the basis of language skills is also present in Belgium. In Brussels, one has to prove a certain level of Dutch language competency to have priority for children wishing to enroll at Dutch-speaking schools in Brussels, as 55% of the available places are reserved for children with at least one parent who has a minimum level of B2. These language requisitions do not exist on the French-speaking side.

In Gothenburg, a policy reform regarding language education for EU migrants has been in place since 2015. The national language education course - 'Swedish for immigrants' (SFI) - is compulsory for every municipality in Sweden to offer free of charge. Until recently, only persons with a personal identity number and a national registration of residence were eligible for 'Swedish for immigrants' in Gothenburg. However, since 2015, there is a distinction between persons outside of the EU and those who come from within the EU or Switzerland. The former still need to have a personal identity number and a national registration of residence while the latter only needs to be a resident in Gothenburg and to bring a passport to apply for SFI. This information is distributed on the website about SFI in Gothenburg, and also by the Employment center and through the NGOs upon requests from their visitors.

In Dublin, migrants are entitled to language education, however the courses offered cover only level A1 and A2. In its Operational Guidelines for Providers of Adult Literacy Programmes (2013), the Irish government's Department of Education and Skills states that ESOL provision should be offered to a level of functional competence. It identifies CERFL A2 as that threshold level. A significant distinction is drawn between classes offered during 'office hours' and those offered 'at night'. Day classes tend to be offered by the statutory provider of language training in the city – the City of Dublin Education and Training Board (CD ETB). These are free to learners and part-time in nature. Day classes can also be sourced privately, via the fee-paying education and training institutions. Night classes are also offered by the statutory provider and by colleges of further education attached to the statutory provider. These courses tend to be more advanced in nature than the ones offered during the day. The part-time, daytime ESOL training service is well-used by European migrant workers. This is the most significant point of contact for most European migrant learners with Dublin's language education sector.

In addition to the official language education providers there are complementary service providers located within civil society or the private sector in all cities. In Amsterdam, these include for example language lessons provided by private companies or migrant organisations.

In Copenhagen, various language education services are provided by public libraries, NGOs, as well as private organizations and companies, that arrange special language courses for their clients and employers. Moreover, several public libraries in Copenhagen organize lan-

guage cafes, in which people who want to improve their language skills can get help from local volunteers.

In Gothenburg there is a variety of Swedish language education courses available to migrants. The street magazine Faktum and the NGO Räddningsmissionen jointly offer Swedish language courses for the vendors of Faktum and to the parents of the children attending pre-school. The course is free of charge, partly financed by the municipality, and is offered at both the beginning and intermediate level. It is taught by salaried teachers and is financed through funds and contributions provided to the NGO Räddningsmissionen. Moreover, participants receive magazines following each lesson they attend, and also a certificate upon completion of the course. The NGO Stadsmissionen also offers Swedish language courses free of charge, one or two days a week. Volunteers serve as instructors and there are no distinct levels within the course since the group members are constantly shifting. The NGO Frälsningsarmén has language training cafés, where migrants can practice their Swedish.

EURES collaborates abroad with the “Swedish institute” concerning Swedish language education. The “Swedish institute” has multiple sites abroad where people can learn Swedish. Folkuniversitet (The People’s University) also provides multiple Swedish fee-based language courses in Gothenburg, including ‘medical Swedish’ for persons who work or would like to work in the Swedish health sector, as well as tailored Swedish language education for PhD students at Chalmers, the technology university in Gothenburg.

In Hamburg, there are a variety of German language courses available to different migrants groups. The most widely used language course is offered as a part of national integration course.<sup>20</sup> Integration courses consist of a language and an orientation component. They cover everyday topics such as the workplace, family life, media and politics. The language course usually consists of 600 hours of instruction, the orientation course takes 60 hours. There are special courses for women, parents, young adults up to the age of 27 and other groups. At the end of each course, all participants take a final examination, free of charge. Hamburg offers additionally a wide range of language training for migrants including EU mobile citizens. There are for example, a wide range of private lecturers and training-

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<sup>20</sup> For more information see <http://www.make-it-in-germany.com/en/for-qualified-professionals/living/integration-courses>



institutions working without public funds, for professionals, ex-pats and transnational companies. Cheaper courses are also provided by the public “Adult Education Center” (Volkshochschule), financed by the City of Hamburg and the “Federal Office for Migration and Refugees”. The “Adult Education Center” (Volkshochschule) offers daytime and evening classes for all levels of the “Common European Framework of Reference for languages” (from Breakthrough A1 to Mastery C2). The courses offer 90 minutes of teaching twice a week, pupils can join a class at any time during the semester, sizes permitting. The fees are 55 € - 222 € for 4 months, reduced fees are possible. The “Adult Education Center” (Volkshochschule) also offers intensive integration courses – which can be taken 4 times a week in the morning or afternoon - consisting of 16 lessons in all - according to the new German migration law. The fees are 294 € for 100 lessons (6 weeks), reduced fees are possible. The intensive courses start in January, March, May, September and November. There are assessments for individual language levels and afterwards language tests on the levels of B1, B2, C1 and C2, special preparation courses are offered.

A common issue for the cities is the advertisement of the language education programmes. In Amsterdam, migrants are informed about the free language courses by the means of leaflets. The leaflets are available in Dutch and English, and are always available at the seven local facilities regarding language (‘language points’). The leaflets are also occasionally distributed in community centres and libraries. Furthermore, the municipality has created a special language section on its website, however, this information can only be read in Dutch. In Copenhagen the information of accessibility of the language courses is extensively provided via general information web portals. IHC distributes a wide variety of information on language schools offers.

Another challenge that has been identified has to do with the provision of language education to illiterate migrants or those with low levels of education. In Brussels, for example the alphabetization courses<sup>21</sup> do not meet the actual needs for both French and Dutch language course providers. As a result the waiting lists are very long for people who are illiterate or do not know the Latin alphabet.

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<sup>21</sup> Alphabetisation courses are the ones offered to migrants who do not know how to write in any language.

In conclusion, although language education policies are in place in all of the cities there, are aspects that can be improved. In particular, the advertisement of the courses should be available in English and preferably in more European languages. Also, it is highly recommended to find ways to bundle information about service providers. Another recommendation is to ensure that all EU migrants regardless, of their educational level can access and follow, language education courses.

### ***Housing Policy***

Housing policies are quite different for EU migrants in each of the cities. This is mainly the result of different housing policies that exist for the population as a whole within those cities. The degree of liberalization of the housing market indicates whether there is room for the cities to play a role in structuring policy responses. All of the participating cities have significant housing shortages, and from the perspective of EU migrants, locating appropriate housing represents a major challenge. For instance, in Amsterdam and Copenhagen EU migrants stated that is easier to find a job than a place to live.

In Amsterdam the municipality does not have specific housing policies for EU migrants. A good policy, though, is that EU migrants have the same rights on the housing market as the native population. Amsterdam has many houses in the social housing sector: 60 % of the whole housing market of Amsterdam. EU mobile citizens can register to be on the waiting list, but the waiting time can be as long as ten years. Just like other citizens, EU migrants are entitled to a housing allowance when their income and rent do not exceed a certain amount.

In Brussels, although the majority of the housing is private, there is a small amount of public housing. The major issue identified is the segregation in the city, which results in migrants and the most economically disadvantaged locals residing in the same neighborhoods. However, just as in Amsterdam, one is able to identify a good policy aimed at preventing discrimination. EU migrants have the same rights and duties as other people in terms of access to public housing. According to the Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities diversity barometer created, the shortage of public housing creates a situation of widespread social injustice, with the government unable to ensure equal opportunities for all those entitled to social housing (Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities, 2014).

In Copenhagen, an estimated 10,000 inhabitants move to the city every year, both in terms of internal and external migration. There is an approximate shortcoming of 20,000 apartments when it comes to housing market needs in Copenhagen. EU migrants are entitled to housing benefits based on the income of the household, and also have access to social housing. Although in theory social housing is accessible to all people registered in Denmark, in practice access to social housing is limited due to long waiting lists and the selection procedures of the municipalities. In more central cities, such as Copenhagen proper, the waiting time can be up to 10 years, which is not a feasible option for EU migrants workers who need housing upon arrival. In other municipalities, in the area of Greater Copenhagen, waiting time is shorter, depending on the apartments available. Yet, it can still take a longer period of time than newly arrived EU citizens would like, and are able, to wait. As such, local city dwellers have a considerable advantage in access to social housing, as they are able to register from the age of fifteen.

In Gothenburg there is a model of social housing for people outside the regular housing market accessible through the social services. People with low income can also get social benefits by the municipality level. Housing allowance, through the state (Fousing allowance), is given to a few target groups, households with children or people between 18-28. There is also support for unemployed or sick people. This applies as well to people that receive sickness allowances, or handicap allowances from another EEA country equivalent to Swedish allowances. Municipalities in Sweden are responsible for the planning of housings and are required to arrange a waiting list for rental accommodations. The average waiting time in Gothenburg depends on the district and varies from approximately three years to six years or more. To register on the waiting list for rental accommodations in Gothenburg, an annual fee of 100 SEK (€ 10) is compulsory. There is no need for a personal identity number, but it is compulsory in order to sign a contract.

A substantial barrier to EU migrant integration in Gothenburg, has been identified by EURES, who has noted that the jobseeker or recruited worker often has to buy a place of residence, when coming here for work. As a result, EURES see tendencies that Swedish employers are afraid to search outside of Sweden because of the difficulties in finding a place to live for the recruited workforce. In addition, there is also a general impression among some local employers that Swedes from other parts of the country have the ability to locate housing more

easily than other European citizens. Thus, the low supply of rental accommodations in Gothenburg is both directly and indirectly having an impact on the recruitment of European workforce to Gothenburg. In a report written for the West Sweden Chamber of Commerce a survey shows that the housing situation is a genuine challenge for both Swedish national and EU citizens in the region.

Dublin is also experiencing an acute housing shortage. There is under-provision in all sectors of the market and there is significant pressure on the city's residential housing stock. There is also a 'homeless crisis' in Dublin, with homelessness being a common topic of discussion in the media. The prospects for migrants to locate housing is unsurprisingly difficult at all levels of the market. Most pressure is experienced in the private rental market, where costs have tended to be high (Petthe et.al. 2010: 186) and where many recent migrants tend to cluster.

An important subsidiary objective of Dublin authorities is to maintain building standards so that the city can attract European migrants and international students. There is no direction from central government about the provision of housing supports for European migrants. But, the provision of social housing remains a core municipal function. Such groups therefore come to the attention of the municipal authority when they fall within the general pattern of need for housing support. Entitlements are set out in legislation and communicated to the authority via Housing Circular (SHIP) 41/2012. Ship 41 states that European migrants are entitled to apply for such support if "they are in employment/self-employment in the state, they are temporarily unable to work because of illness/accident or they are recorded as involuntarily unemployed after having been employed for longer than a year and they are registered as a job-seeker with the Department of Social Protection" (Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2012:2). While governed by the provisions of SI656 of 2006 – the European Community's (Free Movement of Persons – 2) regulation, this entitlement is therefore dependent on current/previous economic activity in Ireland. European migrant workers are not entitled to such supports in instances where no such relationship exists. In 2013, slightly more than 2200 European migrants were registered with DCC and qualified for housing support (Housing Agency, 2013: 16).

Private housing markets exist in all of the cities and constitute one available option for EU migrants. In Amsterdam, different requirements exist to determine who qualifies for a residence in the private market, with one example being an income requirement. In most cases,

the net income per month of the renter has to be at least three times the gross rent. Compared to the average citizens of Amsterdam, EU migrants more frequently rent via the private market and are less present in the social housing sector (Booi, Lindeman & Slot, 2014). The English website does provide several tips about how to find a private rental house (housing sites, estate agents, and expat forums on internet) and a list of housing agencies is also displayed on the website (housing agencies pay to get mentioned). EU migrants can also buy a house. On the English website for the city of Amsterdam, information is provided regarding buying a house and mortgages.

In Copenhagen, there are several options when looking for housing, such as specialized online housing databases, social media groups and private relocation companies. As most of the private online databases and private relocation companies are costly, online housing searches are the easiest accessible and most popular means while looking for an apartment. Focus group interview data shows that the most common way to look for a living space is via social media (such as specific Facebook groups) or through one's own social networks.

In Brussels it is also challenging to find housing, especially for the unemployed. This is the case not only because of the shortage of affordable apartments, but also because of landlord discrimination, and requirements for high deposits. This represents a problem both for economically vulnerable people and migrants, especially upon their arrival).

In the case of Copenhagen, one good practice that was identified is the IHC attempt to establish a network of municipalities and social housing organizations in order to promote social housing in suburban municipalities. Through, promoting suburban areas as functional places of residence, the project challenges the idea of what constitutes central Copenhagen, by constructing a broader discursive understandings of urban areas, in which presumed idea of far away spaces are rethought of as near by places. Simultaneously, an extensive collaboration with neighboring municipalities is a suitable strategy for approaching the housing problem in collaborative terms. Moreover, the initiative seeks to target social housing as a possible solution for international mobile citizens, which relates to the broader approach of social mixing applied in several Greater Copenhagen area municipalities.

When looking at the current situation on the housing market in Hamburg, several problems can be identified similar to the situation in other cities, from an acute lack of affordable rental housing, particularly social housing for tenants with a low income, to the prevalence

of poor housing conditions for the most vulnerable citizens. Homelessness among EU10 mobile citizens poses a major challenge for the city administration. Hamburg has a special consultation-service for homeless migrants from Eastern Europe. The center has the following tasks: consulting and information on the perspectives in the country of origin; clarifying individual legal rights; and, preparing the return to the Country of origin. Housing is one of the priority actions of the Hamburg integration policy, and different initiatives have been launched to fight discrimination and raise awareness on the importance and benefits of co-existence of people with and without a migration background. Also, the Hamburg Welcome Centre has specific counseling services providing foreign nationals with advice for finding suitable accommodation.

An especially important issue arises in terms of how to provide housing to homeless EU migrants. Amsterdam has specific services for homeless people, including homeless migrants. 'Regenboog Groep', is a social organization in Amsterdam that mainly helps homeless people, albeit at a very basic level. The organization has locations in Amsterdam where people can come and get coffee or an inexpensive, use the telephone, etc. They have a small number of beds but these are only for people in acute situations or for Eastern European migrants who take part in the repatriation programme that the Regenboog Groep organizes. A relatively large share of their clients are EU migrants.

In Brussels the organizations Foyer and Ciré created the platform *familles en errance*, whose initial goal was to lobby for more projects like the 'Housing First'<sup>22</sup> project, aiming to assist Roma families living on the streets. According to Foyer, many of these individuals suffer from self-esteem that is so low that they lack the capacity to look for work, and are completely dependent on society. Indirectly, there is some lobbying by organizations such as Ciré to mobilize the city authorities to help the homeless. This turns out to be very difficult, since no one considers them their responsibility.

In Copenhagen, constantly increasing prices in the housing market can have especially severe consequences for those who do not have strong social capital (network, access to internet, social media) or sufficient economic capital. Having officially registered place of resi-

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<sup>22</sup> The 'Housing First' project is a pilot project for two Slovakian families; one in Molenbeek and one in Ixelles. The aim of this project is integration through housing: via the stability of having a house they can invest in training and find a job. There is intensive guidance in which the ultimate goal is independence and social cohesion. This project is funded by the CPAS/OCMW of the municipalities.

dence is of utmost importance for obtaining a CPR number. Homeless working migrants suffer in particular the effects of a complex housing situation, as they are often unable to raise substantial deposits, lack relevant networks and face apparent social discrimination. Although housing is not considered to be the biggest obstacle for EU homeless migrants whose primary goal is labor migration, for some not being able to obtain housing can hinder labor market opportunities and broader access to the society. While generally there is lack of local policies targeted at working with homeless migrants, NGOs note that the approach has recently changed, with the social department of Copenhagen Municipality having recently established a program offering homeless migrants the opportunity to return to their countries of origin.

Homeless migrants are entitled to the same rights as the Danish homeless and have the right to enter night shelters if they are legally residing in Denmark and if they have an additional social problem (drug or alcohol abuse, mental illness). However, the project manager of an NGO working with homeless migrants noted that because it is hard to make firm determinations as to who is legal and who is illegal, and it is thus up to personnel at the shelter to make a decision. As an alternative, there are several shelters providing food and temporary sleeping places for homeless migrants, despite lacking legal residence.

In Dublin, emergency accommodation is provided initially, but longer-term solutions are quickly sought. A 24-hour 'homeless helpline' is in place in the city and a range of statutory providers is operational. Importantly, homeless charities and advocacy organizations are active and offer housing support to those deemed to be in need. The Citizens Information service has prepared an advisory reference document containing lists of appropriate service providers and outlining the procedure followed by city homeless services. EU migrants who find themselves in a homeless situation are entitled to avail of these services. People who find themselves in such a situation are also entitled to go directly to the city's Homeless Person's Unit (HPU). Caseworkers there assess whether an EU migrant is entitled to any mainstream social protection payments that could positively impact their situation.

In Gothenburg, the problem of homeless EU migrants is largely addressed through the close cooperation of the city and civil society. Mikamottagningen, which is a part of the social allocation of the municipality, addresses the needs of EU migrants by engaging with EU migrants involved in street prostitution as well as those who may be victims of trafficking in

human beings for sexual purposes. They generally use informal contacts to engage with their target group, who often live in crowded apartments in the suburbs.

Within the IOP partnership, a night shelter is provided by the NGO Bräcke Diakoni, called Stjärnklart. Those who wish to make use of its services will have to pay the public transportation to get over there. The majority of the EU migrants that the city's Field unit meets are people living in settlements, often on city property. Most of them live in caravans, tents and cars. Some EU migrants are living under bridges near the central train station in Gothenburg. One pattern that the Field unit as well as the Administration for Allocation of Social Welfare can see is that many in the target group choose to live on the streets for practical reasons.

In conclusion the cities are constrained by their budgets and long term planning regarding housing policies for EU migrants. Moreover, in some cases the policy makers are not willing to introduce policies which could resolve the housing problems. The aspect of housing policies that is realistic to improve is very clearly the level of detailed and linguistically accessible information that is provided to EU migrants in a coordinated manner terms regarding available housing options.

### ***Labor Market Policies***

Citizens of the European Economic Area, which includes the member states of the EU, Iceland, Norway, and Liechtenstein, have the right of free movement within the territory of the member states (Directive 2004/38/EC). The Directive 2004/38/EC was introduced in 2004 to bring along certain rights that would be enjoyed by citizens of Member States of the European Union. Under the Directive, citizens and their family members enjoy right of free movement and right of residence in Member States cannot be denied. However, under the Directive, citizens of member nations have the limited right of residence in the host state for a period not exceeding 3 months. The Directive applies to all, but special treatment is given to workers or people who are self-employed. Article 7 of Directive 2004/38/EC provides for residence rights beyond the period of 3 months, resulting in a concept of favored citizens who enjoy greater rights due to their employment or sufficient funds to support themselves without being employed. Recent case law and interpretation of Directive 2004/38/EC from the Court of Justice (CJ) have created an open space for discussion regarding whether all citizens enjoy equal rights or whether particular citizens are favored over others when it comes to residence rights in Member States. For instance, in *Orfanopoulos v Land Baden-*



Wurttemberg<sup>23</sup> it has been held by the CJ that, for reasons of public interest, the rights enjoyed by citizens can be curtailed. However, if the rights of workers have to be curtailed then the court must consider whether such obstruction would likely impact the freedom of movement of workers. In this case, it was established that workers are favored citizens because their rights cannot be curtailed even under public interest, unless such measure is proportionate to the aim pursued, and compatible with the fundamental rights enjoyed by the workers (Kennedy 2001:29). On balance then, the freedom of movement is restricted under certain preconditions and the favorable position of workers in the Directive as well as in the case law indicates that the main focus is the free movement of labor.

No specific labor market policies exist for EU migrants in the city of Amsterdam. One good practice in place is the provision within the free language courses of a focus on securing employment. The municipality offers a course titled 'language towards work and education' in which EU migrants learn about applying for a job and finding and reading job announcements. The municipality also offers language courses regarding employment for people who are already active on the labor market. When EU migrants are not entitled to social benefits or when they want to start a free language course, they can make an appointment with a NUG-consultant<sup>24</sup>, who can conduct an intake session and provide advice on the labor market. There is, for example, a roadmap to finding employment for people that are unfamiliar with how to go about locating work or educational opportunities in Amsterdam. Civil servants can also advise newcomers as to the procedure for having foreign diplomas evaluated.

Another way in which EU migrants in Amsterdam can obtain assistance in finding a job and increasing their chances on the labor market is to attend Welcome Events. At these events, newcomers can have their resumes evaluated by CV specialists and receive advice on how to make them more competitive.

In Brussels, all work seekers are expected to register at Actiris, the Brussels employment office. In 2014, 110,336 people were registered at Actiris: 66.7% of those were Belgians, 15.1% of another European nationality and 18.2% with a non-European nationality<sup>25</sup>. Registering at Actiris is a mere administrative procedure that does not require an appointment,

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<sup>23</sup> [2004] ECR I-5257

<sup>24</sup> Niet-uitkeringsgerechtigden consultant: not entitled to benefits consultants

<sup>25</sup> Data provided by Actiris

although the queues can at times be long. For migrants who seek guidance regarding employment opportunities, an appointment is necessary and obtaining one can take up to one month. An identified issue regarding registering to Actiris is that job seekers are not always aware of the advantages that enrolment can bring, such as reduced prices for professional training, possible guidance, access to particular social rights, etc. Actiris does not have the means to actively promote enrolment. According to a consultant at Actiris, two groups of people are primarily excluded: those who are illiterate and highly-skilled workers. There are not many organizations where these groups have the ability to obtain good guidance targeted to their specific needs.

In Copenhagen a similar pattern exists. Besides the general EU free movement of workers legislation, no specialized local policies are adapted. While looking for employment, EU migrants can register with public job centers that offer job searching services such as personal counseling meetings, job seeking courses, help in finding internships and salary subsidy programs. Attention is also put on understanding working culture. Informal, non-hierarchical work relations are thought to be key features of Danish workplace culture. According to public authorities working with labor market issues, it is imperative that international workers are familiar with this cultural trait.

The job centers in Copenhagen, unlike other municipalities in the country, differentiate themselves in terms of services that are directed towards EU workers, spouses, students and people who have migrated on the basis of possessing a green card. The services include career and culture host programs, as well as specialized programs helping current students to get involved in internship programs and build connections with professional networks. Engagement with professional volunteers during the career hosts programs is a good practice providing migrants with professional gatekeepers. Student and spouse retention is especially targeted in the strategies of the labor market. International students graduating from Danish universities represent a perspective pool of highly skilled labor. Students from EU member states have a right to receive benefits from unemployment fund after the graduation from a Danish university, which is a significant factor for why EU mobile students choose to look for employment in Denmark.

In Gothenburg, EU migrants receive the same services as Swedes from the employment center. The guiding principle is that EU migrants should be provided with as much information

as possible. EU migrants who are struggling to get a job are thought to have the same characteristics as Swedes in a situation of unemployment: lacking a professional education but with a variety of experience and interested in any type of employment. However, not speaking Swedish, frequently not having permanent housing situation and not knowing “the rules of the game” can be factors that make labor market integration difficult in Gothenburg.

One good practice in Gothenburg is the collaboration between the employment center and the NGO Stadsmissionen provides information about the Swedish labor market, and assists job seekers. Many EU migrants visit NGO Stadsmissionen prior to visiting the employment center in order to obtain information and assistance with locating employment in Gothenburg. Some staff of NGO Stadsmissionen speaks Romanian and can help them communicate with the Employment center. Also, forms and brochures from the Employment center are available at NGO Stadsmissionen and if an individual has a “realistic opportunity” to get an employment, NGO Stadsmissionen allows job applicants to use the organization’s postal address as their own when applying for jobs. Neither the Employment center nor NGO Stadsmissionen follow up the results of these efforts. Nevertheless, it seems as if there is a well-grounded collaboration between the Public Employment Center and the NGO Stadsmissionen in Gothenburg.

In Ireland, a number of agencies are funded to assist with job searches. Most have a national remit. The municipal authority of Dublin does not have a remit to act in the waged labor market. The Local Employment Service Network (LESN) is a statutory provider of information on employment opportunities in Ireland. This agency lies outside of the municipal authority’s control. However, the Local Enterprise Office (LEO) is each municipal area’s statutory provider of enterprise information. DCC’s LEO is located in the city’s Civic Offices.

Migrants make frequent use of the services provided by both the LESN and the LEO. European migrant workers are entitled to the full range of support offered by these agencies, in the same manner as their Irish-born counterparts. It must be noted however, that the LESNs are mandated to support potentially vulnerable people in their journey to the labor market. No highly qualified migrants with significant earnings potential are included in this caseload. In this way, the LESNs provide a useful point of contact for potentially marginalized European migrant workers in Dublin. Support provided includes: assistance in applying for jobs, curriculum vitae preparation, interview preparation, etc. LESNs do not seek to support people

who are active in the informal economy. Such work practices are deemed to be inherently exploitative and ultimately unsustainable. Migrants seeking information/support for their informal work practices are encouraged to change their pattern of work and engage with the formal waged labor market instead.

A good practice in Dublin is the launch of some specific programmes targeting migrant integration in the labor market. The Employment for People from Immigrant Communities programme (EPIC) is a high-profile programme funded by the government of Ireland providing support and training for the labor market. EPIC has an active digital footprint (see [www.BITC.ie](http://www.BITC.ie)). The pan-European Diversity in the Economy and Local Integration programme (DELI) is also active in Dublin. This programme seeks to encourage migrant enterprise in the city. These programmes seek to support migrants in general and are not aimed at European migrants in particular and a significant language requirement is often in place. For example, one of the key eligibility requirements for participation in the DELI programme is a demonstrated competence in the English language. Similar support can be accessed through the LEOs. Government policy states that LEO is the first point of contact for anyone seeking to establish a commercial enterprise in its area of operations. Well-developed protocols are also in place ensuring that other organizations active in the enterprise sector refer potential beneficiaries to LEO when appropriate. LEO is, in effect, an operational ‘first stop shop’ for all in this regard. Many and varied supports and services are assessable through the LEO. Innovation sessions are held on a weekly basis. Business mentoring/business boot-camps are provided. Grants and loans are accessible. Furthermore, LEO maintains a wide range of strategic links into the wider world of startup/enterprise support in the city. LEO provides funding and expertise for a range of potentially useful inputs in the sector such as ICE – Inner City Enterprise, the Springboard programme and the Larkin Centre).

In Hamburg, there is a growing concern about exploitative practices in the labour market. This seems to be happening especially in low-skilled migrant work in service, care, manufacturing and construction, where terms of employment and working conditions are found to be poor and unfair. Hamburg introduced various outreach activities with the aim of increasing awareness of EU mobile citizens’ rights at the labour market and integration in local communities. The goal of the consulting-agency “Fair Mobility” is to help push through fair wages and working conditions for migrant workers, mainly from Central and Eastern Euro-

pean (CEE) countries. The agency, working on the federal level is managed by German Unions (Deutscher Gewerkschafts Bund) The “Service-Point Free Movement of Workers and Employees” (Servicestelle Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit) is working in close cooperation with the German Unions at Hamburg. The Service-Point is carried by the charitable organization “Arbeit und Leben Hamburg” (Working and Living Hamburg), a joint-venture of the Unions and the City of Hamburg, represented by the Volkshochschule (Adult Learning Center). The objective of the “Service-Point Free Movement of Workers and Employees” project is to help push through fair wages and working conditions for migrant workers from Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries.

A common issue in all cities is the accessibility to information regarding the labor market in general as well as the more specific issue of currently available employment opportunities. In Amsterdam, for example, websites and meetings provide information on the Dutch labor market on how to find jobs, such as from the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV), are in Dutch<sup>26</sup>. In Copenhagen, EU migrants emphasize the role of social networks in finding work. In Dublin, LESN provides support upon request. European migrants simply need to be better informed about the existence of LESN and the services on offer. For all these issues a policy targeted at informing EU migrants about their options in the local labor market would be highly effective.

Another important issue that emerged in the context of this research, especially in Brussels, are the fraudulent self-employed. Before the restrictions for citizens of these countries were lifted, being self-employed was the easiest way to obtain a work and residence permit in Belgium. In return for a (usually poorly) paid job, the employer enjoyed cheap labor and many other advantages: no payments for social security, no need to arrange insurance for labor accidents, no minimum wages, etc. Many employers saw that this as a comparatively easy way to exploit migrants without the actual threat of being caught. Most of the times, these fraudulently self-employed were not aware of the implications of their status. Self-employed individuals have to pay 780 euros every three months in social security, regardless of their income. Very quickly, these fraudulently self-employed individuals end up with substantial debts. Employers do not inform their ‘employees / co-managers’ about these costs.

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<sup>26</sup> These websites and services are offered by the national government. The city of Amsterdam has no jurisdiction over them.

OR.C.A., the Organisation for Undocumented Workers, is an NGO trying to help these individuals. Information about this pattern of exploitation could prevent this phenomenon. OR.C.A. is currently developing a brochure that can be used by other social organizations confronted with this form of labor market exploitation.

In conclusion, providing EU migrants with better insight of the local labor market could enhance their integration. Moreover, the information regarding the labor market and the advertisements for available jobs should be at least in English and even better in more languages. Furthermore, processes could be developed for the recognition of foreign degrees and trainings. This could make it easier for employers to evaluate the quality of the applicant's foreign education and work experience.

### ***Civic Participation***

Civic participation is an important aspect of integration that allows for EU migrants to assume a role beyond that of workers and taxpayers, and as genuine community members. The right to vote for EU migrants in local elections is one especially important expression of this membership in the local demos, but is not the sole means of attaining civic inclusion.

In Amsterdam the city does not provide information about civic rights to EU migrants. One official that was interviewed stressed that this is the responsibility of the national government and the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV). In principle, EU migrants are allowed to vote for the local elections when they have lived in the same municipality for five years. EU migrants can stand for local elections from the age of 18, are resident in the city in which they seek municipal office, and have been living in the Netherlands for five consecutive years. EU migrants cannot stand for election or vote at either the national or provincial levels of government, as Dutch nationality is a prerequisite for this.

In Brussels, EU migrants can vote for local and European elections, but not for the regional and federal elections. They are sometimes targeted by local political parties, but not to the extent that they could be. All eligible EU residents are sent letters reminding them that they have the right to vote and can register to do so. This is a good practice that encourages the civic participation of EU migrants. However, according to Belgian national law, once registered, one is obligated to vote. As such, the fact that individuals can be fined for not voting works as a barrier hindering their willingness to register. People working at the European institutions are sometimes considered to live in a 'European bubble', and not generally par-

ticipating in community life. To counter this, the Expat Welcome desk organizes information seminars within European institutions about the importance of civic participation and the importance of voting. Voting is also promoted during social orientation courses, especially during election campaigns. Finally, to encourage participation, Foyer promotes the establishment of Roma organizations.

In Denmark, EU citizens have the right to vote for regional and local elections as well as for the European Parliament elections. Voting rights for general elections is reserved for Danish citizens. Individuals eligible to vote and who are listed in the electoral register receive poll cards at their place of residence place no later than five days prior the election. The eligibility to vote for local, regional and EU parliament elections also grants the right to stand as candidate in regional and local councils. EU migrants constitute 40 % of the entire foreign population in Copenhagen and thus they constitute an important target group for local political actors. State administration offices provide information about civic participation and voting rights. A good practice is the organization of special events for civic participation and active citizenship by IHC. Events are organized shortly before the election and serve as a platform for politicians to present their political agendas. The idea behind the events is to raise awareness among the international population as to their voting rights, the significance of voting, as well as enforcing the idea of civil society, where everybody, despite citizenship status, can actively participate in society. Besides Copenhagen's proactive approach to voting rights and electoral participation, civic engagement is encouraged through individual volunteerism. "Copenhagen Volunteers" is a municipal initiative to support event organizers with volunteer recruitment. International volunteers are also an important asset in social and cultural arrangements, because of their diverse cultural backgrounds as well as their international experience in Copenhagen. For instance, leisure-guiding projects<sup>27</sup> established within the IHC recruits experienced international volunteers to help with cultural and social settlement for newly arrived migrants. Nearly half of the interviewed EU mobile citizens have been engaged in various volunteering activities. From their perspective, this is not only a good way to expand their social and professional networks, but also to establish a sense of belonging and local engagement.

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<sup>27</sup> These projects encouraging migrants to participate in leisure activities in the city.

In Gothenburg, EU migrants who are registered as resident have the right to vote in local and regional elections, 30 days after their registration. In the 2014 local elections, neighborhoods with a larger share of immigrants had a lower average participation rate in local, regional and national elections.

European migrants are also entitled to vote in local and European elections in Ireland. European migrants are not entitled to vote in elections to the Irish parliament, the election of the Irish president, or in referenda to change the constitution of the country. In addition, European migrants are entitled to stand for elections at local level and are entitled to vote in European elections via the 'out of country' voting system. A number of European migrants sought election to Dublin City Council during the most recent local elections. None of these candidates were successful. Ireland does not require its citizens to exercise their voting rights. European migrants are not obliged to exercise their right to vote in Ireland either. A voluntary registration process is in place. Individuals may opt in by joining Ireland's register of electors (as long as they have a residential address) or they may choose to remain outside the franchise. Information campaigns, such as 'check the register' are mounted on a twice-yearly basis (November and February). Whilst these are general campaigns that seek to reach the population of the DCC area as a whole, DCC's franchise section is very conscious of the need to reach out to migrant populations who are entitled to vote, but no migrant-specific campaigns are mounted.

Overall, the cities should provide information regarding voting rights and enrolment in the registers. Though this is not enough to motivate EU migrants to vote. What is suggested is to communicate not only the right to vote but also the importance of voting. Finally, this can be achieved by integrating to regular voting campaigns the aspect of migrants' participation. The case of Amsterdam differentiates regarding this policy area since the policy makers do not perceive the promotion of voting rights or information regarding voting rights of migrants as a priority.

### ***Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue***

All cities participating in the project are engaged in promoting diversity and intercultural dialogue. In most cases, these policies do not specifically target EU migrants. Nonetheless, they are certainly included within the general target group of migrants as a whole.



Over 180 different nationalities are represented among the residents of Amsterdam, and only half of all Amsterdam's residents are native Dutch. The city has a welcoming attitude towards all migrants. EU migrants in particular are perceived to be no different from native residents. A good policy is that the municipality has a Diversity department. The city values and embraces differences and aims to contribute to more tolerance and acceptance of differences in ethnicity, life choices and religion. The department has defined seven key themes for its work in 2015. None of these actively focuses on EU migrants. EU migrants may apply for grants available to voluntary migrant organizations. Furthermore, the department has a complaint office for discrimination, but has not yet received complaints filed by EU migrants.

In Brussels Intercultural dialogue is a side effect of the activities of many organizations working with migrants. Additionally, a good practice is the organization of activities aimed specifically at intercultural dialogue between immigrants and Belgian citizens. *Café Coloré*, for example, is a dialogue between a group of immigrants and a group of Belgian students, allowing substantial numbers of participants from both groups to come into contact with each other for the first time.

Copenhagen has an active approach to diversity and is noted to be a pioneer municipality in this regards, as evidenced by its aim of being the most inclusive metropolis in Europe by 2015. This stems from a 2011 shift in policy that saw the city prioritize inclusion over integration. The inclusion plan, implemented by the Employment and Integration Administration, emphasizes the need for inclusion, diversity, anti-discrimination initiatives and active engagement in civil society. According to Danish statistics, EU migrants fall under the category of western migrants. As such, EU migrants do not constitute a target group of the municipal integration/inclusion policy plans. Nevertheless, different initiatives provided by the IHC and related NGOs are thought to address the inclusion needs of EU migrants.

The expat study of 2014 shows that one of the main reasons why international workers leave the country is not being able to establish a social network with the local population. The need to address social cohesiveness more thoroughly is acknowledged by local authorities in Copenhagen. Several initiatives illustrate this effort. For instance, the establishment of the IHC itself reflects the importance of this goal, resulting in the creation of a space for international encounter and emphasizing the need for integrative reception practice as a sig-

nificant factor in successful welcoming policy. “Becoming Copenhagen” is a common framework used by the international citizen service. To become a Copenhagen, from local authorities point of view, is not a demand to apply to certain fixed values, but rather an offer to join the city’s activities and be Copenhagen in an individual way.

In Gothenburg, one example of intercultural dialogue was initiated by the parent organization for the NGO Stadsmissionen, which is the NGO Stadsmissionen. In 2013 this organization implemented a project called “Social mobilization” with the purpose of engaging people to identify problems in Swedish society concerning human rights and to collectively address them. One of the groups initiated as part of the project was “Göteborg EU migrants”. The group was working to promote human rights for migrants and immigrants and for the improvement of their situation in Gothenburg.

Dublin is a diverse and inclusive city in policy and practice. For example, migrants sit on a number of important DCC boards and committees such as the city’s Joint Policing Committee. DCC’s Public Participation Networks (PPNs) also provides an effective channel for migrant engagement in the governance of the city. DCC’s diversity policy is operationalized by the Social Inclusion Unit of the municipal authority. This unit has a very broad remit and is charged with the implementation of programmes to support all population groups in danger of exclusion. Migrants are one of the groups which the unit supports. DCC, whilst active at a range of levels, is generally not the primary point of contact for the migrants. For example, a member of DCC’s senior management team states that community organizations are likely to be European migrant workers’ first point of contact in the city. Community organizations, cultural institutes, own-nationality-communities and local Migrant and Ethnic-Led Organizations (MELOs) are ‘frontline’ service providers in Dublin. DCC often relies on organizations such as St Andrews Community Centre to partner its community development and inclusion programmes in their local area.

A good practice in Dublin is the allocation of community grants (maximum €10,000). This funding is available to qualifying groups who are active in the area of inclusion/integration. Migrant and Ethnic-led organizations (MELOs) and community groups are commonly supported, along with all other interest groups. Whilst there is no ‘ring-fenced’ funding assigned to European migrant communities, these communities have received significant funding in recent years.

In conclusion, although all cities are involved with the development and implementation of policies regarding diversity and intercultural dialogue, there is little in the way of specific measures targeting EU migrants. A specific gap in this regard are programs that facilitate social interaction between EU migrants and locals, as EU migrants in all cities expressed difficulties in integrating within the local community.

### ***Social Rights***<sup>28</sup>

Directive 2004/38/EC did not provide with details on the mobility of the social rights of mobile EU citizens. An issue identified throughout the course of this project is the gap between freedom of movement and transferring social rights from one EU member state to another. Even in cases where EU migrants have some access to social rights, there is insufficient information.

In Amsterdam the municipality does not inform EU migrants actively about their social rights. EU migrants stated that they often lack information regarding these social rights, or that they come to be familiar with them later than needed. This primarily applies to allowances, such as for healthcare and housing. EU migrants especially need information regarding healthcare allowances since the compulsory health insurance is quite expensive. Moreover EU migrants have difficulties choosing a health insurance, as the language of the terms is Dutch. EU migrants which are not registered and do not have health insurance are only entitled to emergency healthcare. There is also comparatively little information provided when it comes to minor benefits such as free library cards for the unemployed.

In Brussels, EU migrants can access information about their social rights through attending a social orientation course or through getting in contact with relevant organizations. EU migrants stated that they do not believe that they are properly informed about their social rights and must rely on themselves or on their networks in order to obtain necessary information.

In Copenhagen, EU migrants who are legally resident and registered have the right to social assistance. As such, the ability to get social benefits is directly linked with being eligible for the CPR number. One good practice that has been in place since 2013 involves students from EU member states who are enrolled to Danish universities. Those who have a part time

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<sup>28</sup> For this policy area, data has only been made available from Amsterdam, Brussels and Copenhagen.

job (a minimum of ten hours per week) are entitled to student grants on terms equal to those of Danish nationals. This decision generated substantial debate in the Danish media and the broader public, with some arguing that issuing student grants to EU nationals has the potential to threaten the Danish welfare state.

Unemployment insurance is voluntary. Individuals who wish to have unemployment insurance need to register with one of the unemployment insurance funds (*Arbejdsløshedskasse* or in short *A-kasse*) and pay a regular membership fee in order to receive unemployment benefits. In order to be eligible for benefits a person has to be a member of *A-kasse* for a year and have full-time employment. EU students studying in Danish university programs are eligible for unemployment benefits after their graduation and if they are members of unemployment insurance fund. In Copenhagen, there are various organizations providing information about social rights for non-national residents. In the IHC, information about social rights is provided as a fact sheet upon a request from international citizens. Despite this, EU students studying at Danish universities have expressed varying degrees of awareness about the possibility to be eligible for Danish unemployment insurance.

Health insurance and accessibility to social services is a genuine problem for the EU migrants coming to Germany. Many migrants arrive lacking health insurance, as they are no longer covered by health insurance programs in their country of origin. In order to resolve this situation a special institution was established, the so-called “Clearing-Stelle” at the Refugees-Center (Flüchtlingszentrum). After consultation with migrants an application for membership in a health insurance provision service is submitted, frequently to the public “Allgemeine Ortskrankenkasse AOK”.

If the application is denied, the case will be forwarded to one of two other advisory-boards: the “Evangelische Auslandsberatung / Lutheran Consultation of Foreign Affairs) or the “Fachstelle Zuwanderung Osteuropa / Service-Point Migration Eastern Europe”. If there is an urgent need for medical treatment the patient must apply for a voucher at the City of Hamburg – supported by one of the two agencies. It is the experience of the agencies that legal action is often required in order for migrants to be granted health insurance. Access to information in languages other than German is also quite limited, with only one health insurance provider offering information in Bulgarian and Rumanian. Despite these hurdles, or perhaps because of them, there are five special medical centers for migrants who are work-

ing in Hamburg, staffed by volunteers and funded via donations. A special center for EU-migrants is the “westend – Hamburg site of hope / westend – hoffnungsorte Hamburg”. The private center, financed by the Lutheran “Metropolitan Mission / Großstadtmission”, offers consulting hours and basic medical treatment.

Generally, information about social rights should be centralized and easily accessible across all cities. Moreover, since social rights are directly linked to the legal residence and being eligible to for a social security card, the relation between these two factors should be directly and clearly explained to EU migrants at the outset of their stay.

### ***Schooling***<sup>29</sup>

Schooling can be particularly important policy regarding the integration of EU migrants. Attending school is not only important for children and their integration, but also for the parents who can also be socialized through playing an active role in their children's education. Most of the cities participating in the project do not have specific schooling policies for EU migrants but some of them have schooling policies that can be relevant to EU migrants.

In Brussels school-age<sup>30</sup> children of newcomers, including EU migrants, can benefit from adapted programmes when they enrol in school for the first time. Reception classes (also called ‘welcome classes’ [*DASPA / Dispositif d’Accueil et de Scolarisation des élèves Primo-Arrivants / OKAN / onthaalklassen*]) have a special focus on language learning and individual guidance for newcomers, children after which they can move on to regular education. Both French and Dutch reception classes are limited to one school year, which is not long enough for all children, especially the most vulnerable ones with difficulties in reading and writing. After one school year, there can be an extension of six months, in exceptional cases. Apart from regular education, there are four European schools in Brussels. In 2013, 11,000 children were enrolled. The European schools are primarily intended for children of staff employed at EU institutions, but other children may enrol if places are available.

A good practice in Brussels is the promotion of schooling by the NGO “good p focusing on Roma. According to Foyer, schooling is crucial in order to break the circle of exclusion and poverty. They motivate parents to enrol their children in a variety of ways: by explaining

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<sup>29</sup> For this policy area, data was only made available from Brussels, Copenhagen and Gothenburg.

<sup>30</sup> School is mandatory for children aged 6-18 years. From the age of 16, youngsters can study part-time in combination with a professional training.

rights and obligations, by pointing out the advantages of going to school, etc. Their work does not stop once children are enrolled. If children are absent from school, the school has the ability to contact Foyer who can then do a house visit. In many instances, it then emerges that the family also struggles with other problems regarding health, housing, and finances. Foyer helps with those problems on the condition that the family makes a commitment to send their children back to school.

The growing number of international workers, among them workers from EU member states, in Copenhagen created a demand for international schools. This creates a challenge, as waiting lists for international schools often take long time and there is a lack of international day care schools. International citizens residing in Copenhagen can choose between public and private schools or day care options. EU migrants have the same rights to enter public schools or day care as Danish nationals. The same rights also apply for EU cross border commuters, whose employment is based in Denmark.

A good practice, and part of the efforts to meet the demand for international schools, is the establishment of a public international school, the *“European school”*. This school was established in Copenhagen as a part of municipal and private effort to meet the demands of attracting and retaining skilled international citizens in Copenhagen. The curriculum of the school is established in accordance with the European School system. The children of parents working within EU administration sectors in Copenhagen, have priority. For other groups, admission is based on application. Local public schools provide reception classes for children without sufficient Danish language skills. The reception classes are provided for up to two years. Reception classes are specifically aimed at combining the teaching of school subjects together with providing instruction in the Danish language.

Another good practice is that the responsible department in the municipality is proactive in providing information regarding schooling through a physical space located in the IHC. An improvement could be to make information more visible and accessible on the website and preferably in English since many EU migrants would prefer to get this information before arriving to the country.

Formally, only children that are registered in Sweden are entitled to public schools and a compulsory school attendance. Nevertheless, children of undocumented parents are also entitled to public schools since the Swedish Education Law changed in 2013. However, chil-

dren of EU migrants are often not entitled to schooling if they are not registered, as they are not considered to be children of undocumented parents. Thus, many municipalities do not enrol children of EU migrants in public schools. Gothenburg has the good local policy of enrolling all children in school. Although this is an informal policy, it is commonly accepted by politicians and civil servants. Also, the NGO R Also, the NGO ci, which has been financed by the municipality since 2013, has a preschool for children without a clear right of residence.

An introduction unit provides children that have no previous experience of schooling in Sweden with background to the Swedish education system, as well as ascertaining the current educational level of each child about to start school in Sweden. One of the concerns regarding EU migrants is that their right to schooling is voluntary in nature. Education Act stipulates that only resident children are obliged to attend school. For those children that are not registered schooling is optional. The NGO Rhe NGO Rse childr supports migrant families seeking education for their children. They are able to attend an initial meeting at the school with both the child and her/his guardians, and have acted in instances as the contact person if the child would be absent from school.

In Gothenburg, there are also international schools. For instance, there are two English speaking preschools called “ABC All About Children Preschool” and “Happy kids”. The “French school”, the “Russian school”, the Swedish-Finnish school and the “English School Gothenburg” are bi-lingual schools and provide education for children in preschool and primary school. One school, called “Viktoriaskolan”, also offers students German classes from the age of 7. The “International School of the Gothenburg Region” has English education from children in preschool ages up to secondary school.

Linguistic diversity, often considered as a barrier to the social inclusion of foreign children, has been promoted as an asset by the city of Hamburg through the creation of public bilingual schools. This project aims at reducing mechanisms of social inequality and at improving foreign children’s educational achievements.

in 2000, a new project launched the creation of bilingual schools for some of the largest foreign languages, and namely German-English, German-Portuguese, German-Italian, German-Spanish and German-Turkish. The bilingual school is a public school which offers subjects taught in a target language (i.e. the classroom language is Italian, the materials are in Italian, the tests and assignments are in Italian, and even the *Abitur* (German High School Diploma)

can be taken in Italian). The goal of bilingual education in the Hamburg school system is to introduce the students to a foreign language, and, through classes in the target language, help them to develop the working skills necessary to be competent users of the target language. In Hamburg, since the school year 2011/12, primary schools increased the number of English classes offered and all children learn English from the first grade.

In conclusion, the schooling policies of the cities should be open to EU migrant children of all backgrounds and socio-economic backgrounds. Equally important is the active dissemination of information regarding schooling options.



## 6. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous sections of this consolidated report have addressed the key building blocks necessary for obtaining a clear impression of where the cities of Amsterdam, Brussels, Copenhagen, Dublin and Gothenburg currently stand with regards to the integration of EU migrants. The focus on previous experiences has not only highlighted lessons that can be learned when comparing urban responses to previous migration flows to the present situation, it also serves to call attention to the formative role often played by previous experiences with migration in shaping contemporary understandings of how integration ought to be managed. Indeed, as Freeman has observed, initial host country experiences with migration have the ability to leave a long-standing impression on the way in which receiving societies will make sense of subsequent waves of migration.

The focus on recent flows of EU migrants to the five cities featured in this report illustrate that there is broad variation in the categories of EU migrants present in each city. EU migration is emphatically not solely a tale of vulnerable individuals from new EU member states seeking improved economic opportunities in the urban regions of Western Europe, nor is it an idealized tale of a highly-skilled class of mobile EU citizens making use of free movement opportunities unhindered by national institutional and cultural differences. The material presented in this report should underscore the fact that the flows of EU migrants to these five cities reflects multiple categories – students, those seeking more basic employment opportunities, established professionals looking to advance their career, as well as those who see free movement as a means for escaping situations of profound economic deprivation. This diversity of the types of EU migrants, as well as their length of stay, within each of the cities included in this project needs to be better understood and appreciated by many of the key stakeholders involved in the development and administration of policy responses targeted at welcoming EU migrants: political parties, public administration, and NGOs.

The focus on mapping policy responses has shown that these five cities may be proceeding with the establishment of welcoming policies for EU migrants with both the best of intentions and also with some considerable victories under their belts in terms of good policy practices, but no city has yet managed to achieve a comprehensive approach fully respond-

ing to the needs of a diverse EU migrant population. While it may be regarded to as unrealistic to set the bar so high for these cities, there is good reason to do so. Each of the five cities in this project has expressed a clear interest in, and an aspiration for, developing better-functioning welcome policies targeting EU migrants. That will, existing at both the political and administrative level, and simultaneously supported by a wide range of committed NGOs, is not insignificant, least of all from a scholarly perspective. A repeated finding in the public policy literature is that an important explanatory factor for understanding the degree to which public and private resources are mobilized in order to address a perceived political problem is the degree to which a political will is present in support of such activities. The engagement of the cities in this project, along with that of relevant civil society actors, stands as testimony to the presence of this will. It is simply a matter for cities to make judgments as to how much more comprehensive they wish their welcoming policies for EU migrants to be.

Against that backdrop, the remainder of this concluding discussion addresses what we see as three key points for each city to keep in mind when working with the further elaboration of welcome policies for EU migrants. We will call attention to the potential dangers of cognitive locks when trying to make sense of the challenges posed by EU migration, the important role that media as a societal actor plays in developing and amplifying societal discourses about EU migration, and the competitive/collaborative relationship that cities have with one another on a broader European stage. With the exception of the nature of the relationship among European cities – sometimes collaborative, sometimes competitive, none of these issues is firmly “under the control” of municipalities. We will nonetheless argue that they represent important factors that can shape the way in which municipalities problematize the challenges associated with EU migration, the scope of welcome policies thought to be most advantageous, and even the categories of EU migrants that should be targeted by, or excluded from, those policies.

### ***The Importance of Resisting “Cognitive Locks”***

Within the comparative public policy literature, there exists a well-established tradition of invoking “path dependency” (Pierson 1996), and more recently, “cognitive locks” (Blyth 2002) as concepts that allow scholars to make sense of the way in which new policy problems are often met with responses established under an earlier set of conditions that may

no longer entirely be fit for purpose. While the path dependency concept often speaks more to the manner in which prior institutional arrangements constitute a type of lock-in effect limiting the structural ability of actors to pursue innovative responses to new policy problems, cognitive locks address how ideas and prior understandings may prevent actors from seeing the different nature of the policy challenge facing them, in comparison to previous seemingly analogous situations.

Regardless of the term invoked, and regardless of whether one wants to privilege institutions or ideas as factors with the power to constrain the choices of policymakers and administrators, there should be a clear cautionary tale apparent to each of the cities. As is highlighted in the lessons learned section of this report, each of the cities has significant previous experience with substantial waves of migration, such as in the form of labor migrants from outside the European Union, those seeking refugee or asylum status, and instances where the effects of a colonial legacy shape migratory flows. On the one hand, there prior experiences serve as a valuable resource for cities to draw upon, in essence, allowing them to ask how previous challenges with integrating substantial numbers of migrants were successfully resolved. Yet, the cautionary point raised by emphasizing cognitive locks is that municipalities have the potential to continue to regard subsequent waves of migration in largely similar terms, as opposed to exploring the extent to which it is necessary to depart substantially from previous understandings of migratory flows, challenges and solution may be necessary in order to grasp the complexity of a new migratory flow.

It is our impression that cognitive locks exists most clearly in the city of Gothenburg, while they are certainly present in each of the cities to a greater or lesser extent. There is little question that the city of Gothenburg represents, especially in the Swedish context, an approach to welcoming EU migrants where substantial efforts have been allocated to working with those who are most vulnerable. That is highly laudable, especially in a political climate where voluntary repatriation of vulnerable EU migrants is a regular option. Yet, the research in this project hints at the way in which the current Gothenburg response is often times in line with well-established traditions for meeting the needs of previous waves of vulnerable migrants. Again, this is positive. However, as a cognitive lock, there is evidence that the city has not yet fully problematized the needs of other, more-established groups of EU migrants to an equal extent. While it is possible to make the argument that priorities

must be made in the face of limited resources, there is little question that the attractiveness of the city of Gothenburg as a setting for EU migrants from both new and old EU member states, and regardless of whether they are professionals, skilled-labor, entrepreneurs or students, could be further developed. This is especially the case when it comes to meeting the informational needs of those who have the ability to quickly integrate in the labor market and civil society, but often find that information does not target their needs.

### ***Media As A Societal Actor***

Understandings of what constitute pressing societal challenges are not made in vacuums, of course. Certainly, previous institutional arrangements devised to handle similar situations inform contemporary understandings, as do the ideas that emerge and persist in tandem with these structures. Yet, for an issue as contentious as migration, it is clear that the contemporary discursive landscape is greatly shaped by media frames. While media framing has been beyond the scope of the current research, we argue that actors charged with devising and implementing welcome policies need to be aware of the way in which media discourse can have an impact on the manner in which mobile EU citizens are problematized and how the related policy and administrative solutions that become salient. As commonly defined within the media and policy literature, media frames can be understood as the sum total of the components that constitute media output, such as a newspaper (Benson 2015): editorials, “hard” news coverage, comments made by those interviewed, and opinion pieces contributed by other actors, be they experts, politicians, NGO representatives or everyday people. In the case of EU migration, there is substantial evidence that media frames played an important role in structuring the understandings held by old EU member states in the wake of the expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007. A similar emphasis on EU migration in the media occurred in the wake of the 2008 economic crisis, with media in some states highlighting how job losses led to return migration, while those states better insulated from the effects of the crisis (particularly in Northern Europe) stressed the arrival of the unemployed from the crisis-stricken lands of southern Europe. In highlighting the framing role of the media, we encourage the cities to bear in mind that it is not simply the public who are subject to adopting new understandings of migration-related challenges in the wake of media coverage, but also the policymakers themselves (Comas-d’Argemir 2014), who have the potential to authoritatively allocate resources in the service of certain policy problems.

In terms of the ambitions of the cities in this project to better develop more successful welcoming policies for EU migrants, we therefore would call attention to two related matters of importance. First, municipal politicians and administrators need to continue supplementing their information regarding the situation of EU migrants with material from other sources, especially those that might offer a perspective at odds with what seems to be the conventional wisdom. Through the research conducted in this project, we are aware that several cities have engaged in policy learning trips to other municipalities at home and abroad in order to gain more knowledge about best practices for integrating EU migrants. This is encouraging. Yet, in many of the informal conversations that have been held with city officials, direct reference to media coverage has been made reference to as an objective authoritative and understanding of what constitutes the problem, and as such, what the solution ought to be. A critical awareness of the agenda-setting function of the media in relation to EU migration would, quite simply, benefit municipalities seeking to develop broader understandings of the overall categories of migrants present, the challenges they face, and the policy and administrative solutions that they themselves see as most beneficial. While a formal media analysis has been beyond the scope of this project, sufficient anecdotal evidence has emerged to allow us to speculate that key media sources do not address the full scope of EU migration to any given municipality, nor do they uniformly devote attention to those are better-resourced yet still in need of assistance.

Second, we would encourage the cities to adopt a more proactive communications policy regarding the dynamics associated with EU migration, in an effort to counter mistaken understandings that a complex phenomenon has been reduced, in some cities, to matters of economic vulnerability, transient workers and poor housing conditions. Such a strategy could easily be achieved through informational campaigns highlighting the broad character of EU migrants and their experiences that could be targeted at the broad public. Similarly, municipalities could engage more directly with the media regarding the overall nature of EU migration, providing them with detailed briefing information that shows the discrepancy between the characteristics of the flows and the media coverage. Finally, the cities in this project should consider how to develop and implement training modules for front-desk staff that sensitizes them to migration as a complex social phenomenon, and not one that can be reduced to simple overall characterizations of who is an EU migrant.

### ***Possible Links to Urban Branding Policies***

One of the most positive aspects associated with this project is the enthusiastic manner in which the involved cities have joined forces to share information and seek to discover good practices that have the potential to be meaningfully exported to other settings, when local conditions and political will warrant doing so. Yet, just as municipal policymaking exists is informed by a broader discursive logic in which media plays an important role, city officials charged with developing and implementing welcome policies for EU migrants must understandably ensure that their work is consistent with broader strategies of the respective city. One of the more recent strategies that has gained substantial currency among municipal officials across the globe is the idea of urban branding as a strategy for increasing economic competitiveness, attracting a talented workforce and boosting tourism (Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005). It is clear that high-profile welcome centers can play an important role in highlighting the degree to which a given city is receptive to an international labor force, especially when the services are targeted at the integration needs of the professional classes. That is certainly a positive strategy for ensuring that certain categories of EU migrants feel welcome, and we regard the overall idea of the welcome center, particularly in its one-stop shop form to be an effective practice.

Yet, we urge the cities involved in this project to explore the relationship between the welcome policies currently in place (and perhaps more importantly, those not in place, especially in terms of groups who are not explicitly targeted) and the overall branding objectives of the city viz a viz other European cities. While we do not argue that a direct relationship is observable in any of the cities, we believe it would benefit cities to address the degree to which the aspirational identities that are held may be undermining a more holistic response to the development and implementation of welcoming policies for EU migrants as whole. Perhaps in some cases there are cities who view themselves as attractive locations chiefly for a highly-skilled workforce. In that instance, we would urge them to review existing welcome policies to see if they target this group at the expense of others who may be less visible, yet more vulnerable. In other cases, given national and urban traditions of welcoming migrants in need, the city brand may not necessarily be one of seeking to attract the best and the brightest, despite calls to do so from local chambers of commerce. In such in-

stances, we would urge cities to consider how welcome policies for EU migrants could be better dispersed throughout the administrative structure of the city as a whole, and not solely concentrated to those agencies who deal with economically disadvantaged individuals.

For each of the areas addressed above, we urge the cities to devote some discussion as to whether and how the aforementioned factors may constitute an obstacle in the further evolution of well-functioning EU welcome policies. We make no claim that all three factors are equally present in each of the cities. Yet, we do believe that, given the substantial enthusiasm on the part of the cities involved in this project to build on the knowledge gained in the research phase, they would substantially benefit from understanding the broader constraints that may be preventing them from implementing policies and practices that speak to the full scope of EU migrants present in their communities, and allow them to improve services beyond the impressive work that has already been done with prioritized EU migrant groups and issue areas.

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## **8. METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX**

The University of Gothenburg (GU) designed the methodology for the research portion of the project. The respective city researchers were chosen by each city and the GU research team provided guidelines, consultation and monitoring.

The first portion of the research consisted of desk research. The researchers were tasked to review the local policies of the past decades and to analyse the current flows of EU migrants. They were encouraged to choose one or more historical reference periods and to review the existing policies at the time with the aim of seeing what lessons could be learned from these previous experiences with migration. In terms of relevant policy areas, researchers were tasked with focusing on the following: i) Welcoming Policies – Providing information regarding migrant rights as well as practical information regarding settlement, ii) Language Education Policies, iii) Schooling Policies, iv) Housing Policy for newcomers, v) Labour market Policies, vi) Civic Participation – Citizenship – Voting Rights, vii) Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue.

In order to analyse the current flows, researchers were advised to gather the following data: nationality, age, place of residence, occupation, family status, income, and education. This data was obtained from Eurostat and from local official sources (i.e. the city's official websites). In addition to population statistics, data was also drawn from the Labour Force Survey, as well as statistics on specific forms of mobility such as that of posted workers, or commuters. Finally, as EU migrants are frequently not included in the population statistics and household surveys of national statistics, other possible sources for data were suggested, and researchers were asked to provide estimations of non-registered EU migrants.

The second key portion of the research consisted of interviews and focus groups that were conducted in each city. The objective was to obtain necessary data in order to map the local state of affairs concerning welcoming policies. Researchers conducted approximately 15 interviews with local authorities in each city: elected officials in local or regional government dealing with issues related the targeted policy areas, street-level bureaucrats, senior bureaucrats, and policy makers. Moreover, researchers were asked to contact relevant national level authorities. Researchers also interviewed civil society representatives: NGOs (dealing with language education, homelessness, vulnerable EU migrants, schooling, intercultural mediation, integration, etc.), churches, shelters, as well as migrant organizations and associ-

ations. Regarding, focus groups researchers in each city were tasked with organizing two focus groups of approximately eight EU migrants each. GU provided researchers with detailed guidelines regarding the interview and focus group processes, including interview guides, consent forms and templates for recording key data. The main deliverable associated with this portion of the research was the recordings/transcripts of the interviews that were conducted, as well as the focus groups, and the completed templates.

The third portion of the research consisted of the drafting of the city reports that were produced in accordance with detailed guidelines regarding an overall template, data presentation, style sheet and report length.

The city of Dublin provided no primary data to GU. As such, the Dublin material presented in this comparative report is based solely on reports from the city researcher. For the city of Copenhagen, material presented in this comparative report is based on a draft city report, as no final report was submitted by deadline for the delivery of this overall comparative report.