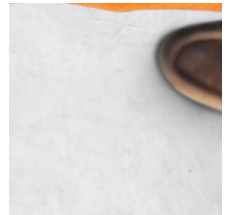
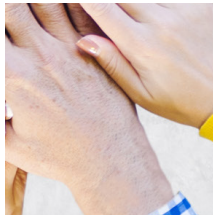
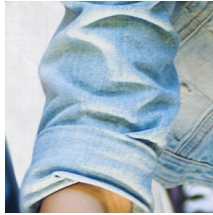
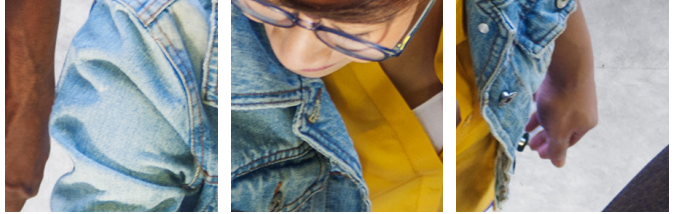


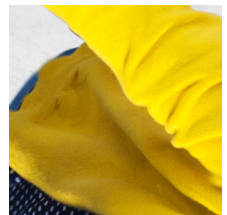
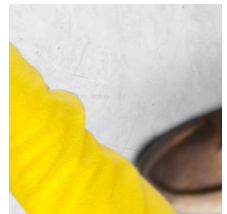
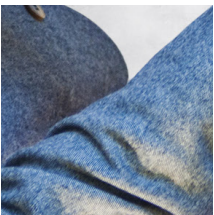


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THE INTEGRATION OF  
MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES  
An EUI Forum on Migration,  
Citizenship and Demography



Editors:  
Rainer Bauböck  
Milena Tripkovic

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# THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

An EUI Forum  
on Migration,  
Citizenship and  
Demography

Editors:

RAINER BAUBÖCK  
MILENA TRIPKOVIC

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# BEYOND THE NATION STATE? GLOCAL CITIZENSHIP AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR INTEGRATION

Barbara Oomen  
Utrecht University  
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In September 2016, the mayors of Paris, London and New York wrote an op-ed in the *New York Times* calling on “world leaders assembling at the United Nations to take decisive action to provide relief and safe haven to refugees fleeing conflict and migrants fleeing economic hardship, and to support those who are already doing this work.”<sup>1</sup> In making this plea for inclusivity, they set out how they were already doing their part, providing services and programmes to all those residing in their cities, including diverse immigrant populations. One example put forward was that of the municipal ID programmes in Paris and New York, which provide every city dweller – whether undocumented, homeless or otherwise – with certain rights and access to services. This instance illustrates the central point that I wish to make in response to Maarten Vink’s paper on citizenship and legal statuses – the importance of considering the role of local authorities as well as the nation state in shaping citizenship, and thus the type of integration that citizenship status leads to.

Vink’s insightful analysis of why, how and for whom citizenship transitions matter adds nuance to citizenship studies but departs from a relatively binary understanding of citizenship – as a door to pass through to have access to full social, economic

<sup>1</sup> De Blasio, B., Hidalgo, A. & Khansept, S. (2016, 20 September 2016), Our Immigrants, Our Strength., *New York Times*.

and political rights. This point of departure does not recognize the degree to which citizenship as a legal status with specific related rights and responsibilities is increasingly given its formal content within other polities than the nation-state alone.<sup>2</sup> There is the ‘world community,’ which bestows rights upon all individuals via an ever-expanding system of international human rights treaties and monitoring mechanisms, thus giving meaning to cosmopolitan citizenship. There is the European Union and European citizenship, with a wide variety of rights attached that it has formally created and which makes the added value of national citizenship differ considerably for those who do or do not possess it. Additionally, although this has received less recognition in the literature to date, local authorities increasingly formally bestow rights upon those living within their borders, creating a type of urban citizenship. All this leads to an interplay between local, national, regional and international layers of government in defining and recognizing migrant rights. This is called ‘multilevel constitutionalism’ by lawyers and ‘constitutional pluralism’ by anthropologists, adding a spatial dimension to citizenship that is critical to understanding of its relation to migration.<sup>3</sup>

Of all these polities shaping citizenship, the focus here will be on local authorities, such as cities. Over the recent years, cities have increasingly been given and have claimed formal powers to both recognize and give meaning to the rights of those residing within their boundaries, resulting in a wide range of divergent practices impacting directly upon the main markers of integration set out by Vink – the

<sup>2</sup> See, among a wide range of literature on the topic, Isin, E. F. & Nyers, P. (2014), *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies*: Routledge; and, for instance, Benhabib, S. (2008), Investigating Citizenship., in E. F. Isin, P. Nyers & B. S. Turner (Eds.), *Citizenship between Past and Future* (pp. 18-35), Abingdon: Routledge.

<sup>3</sup> Pernice, I. (2015). Multilevel Constitutionalism and the Crisis of Democracy in Europe., *European Constitutional Law Review*, 11(03), 541-562; Walker, N. (2002). The Idea of Constitutional Pluralism., *Modern Law Review*, 65(3), 317-359.



labour market, education, political participation and access to housing. The following sections will briefly discuss the rise of local authorities as self-acclaimed key players in the field of integration, and will subsequently set out how this also affects the legal status of migrants and their integration. One interesting aspect of this development is the interplay between cosmopolitan and local norms – leading to a type of *glocal* citizenship. This leads to a final reflection on how these developments could and should be taken into account in research on citizenship and migration.

## CITIES AS KEY ACTORS IN INTEGRATION

Over recent years, policy makers, scholars and – most importantly – cities themselves have come to recognize and explicate their key role in welcoming and integrating migrants. Where it concerns refugees, for instance, movements all over Europe such as the International Cities of Refuge Network, the Cities of Sanctuary, the Save Me campaign and the Eurocities network specifically assert the independent role and responsibility of cities in welcoming refugees. The Global Parliament of Mayors, initiated by Benjamin Barber, author of the widely influential *If Mayors Ruled the World*, explicitly chose the notion of ‘Cities of arrival: Migration and Refugees’ as the theme for its first plenary session during its inaugural conference in September 2016.<sup>4</sup> More widely, the policy network of Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP) unites 30 European cities working on the social and economic integration of migrants.

The reasons for this rise of local authorities in the field of migrant integration are manifold. One is that a general trend towards decentralization has led to more local government autonomy, and more direct responsibility for a variety of social and economic challenges heightened by austerity measures. As for *cities* as such, there

4 Barber, B. (2013) *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities*, Yale: Yale University Press.

is also the general influx of urban population. Currently, more people live in the city than in the countryside, and cities are more diverse than ever. Scholars have also come to emphasize the degree to which cities are best suited as loci for migrant integration, be it because of the pragmatism of local policy-making (the local pragmatist thesis) or because of the differences between localities (the localist thesis).<sup>5</sup> In all, recognition of the relevance of local authorities in migrant integration has led to a general local turn in migration studies, and a departure from ‘methodological nationalism.’<sup>6</sup>

One key finding in this general literature on local governments and migration is the degree to which local governments seek to depart from national policies, a ‘decoupling’ between national and local policies.<sup>7</sup> As national migration policies throughout Europe become more and more restrictive, cities often have both principled and pragmatic difficulties with such policies and seek ‘room for manoeuvre’ to steer towards more inclusive policies.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously, other local authorities witness protests against migrant influxes, particularly involving refugees, and yield by, for instance, refusing to take part in refugee reception. One result of the way in which local authorities increasingly claim the autonomy to make these choices is a variation in the degree to which migrants can meaningfully access political, social and economic rights, irrespective of their legal citizenship status.

5 Emilsson, H. (2015) A national turn of local integration policy: multi-level governance dynamics in Denmark and Sweden., *Comparative Migration Studies*, 3(1); Scholten, P. & Penninx, R. (2016) The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration., *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe* (pp. 91-108): Springer.

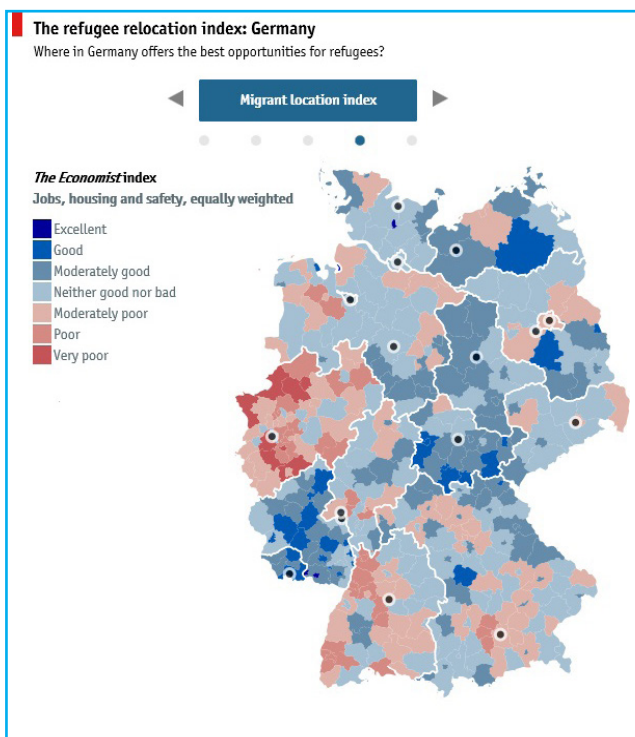
6 Schiller, N. G. & Çağlar, A. (2009), Towards a comparative theory of locality in migration studies: Migrant incorporation and city scale., *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(2), 177-202.

7 De Graauw, E. & Vermeulen, F. (2016), Cities and the politics of immigrant integration: a comparison of Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City, and San Francisco., *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(6), 989-1012.

8 Gebhardt, D. (2016). Re-thinking urban citizenship for immigrants from a policy perspective: the case of Barcelona., *Citizenship Studies*, 1-21; Eurocities (2016), *Refugee reception and integration in cities*, Brussels: Eurocities.



An illustration of the variation in access to the labour market, to housing and to safety in general between local authorities is offered by the ‘migration location index’ put together by the Economist.<sup>9</sup> The index is based on an equal weighting of job, housing and safety data from different German local authorities, and thus identifies the localities most suitable for newly arriving refugees. Whereas the jobs, houses and general security available to migrants in a given location result from a variety of factors, it is safe to assume that local policies pertaining to migration partially determine the variation that is revealed.



## THE FORMAL DIMENSION OF LOCAL POLICIES

Cities thus form the space in which the citizenship that “gives substance and meaning to legal standing” practically takes shape.<sup>10</sup> Additionally,

9 The Economist Migration Location Index, “Refugees might be seeking asylum in the wrong places”, published on 25 April 2016, <http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2016/04/daily-chart-8>

10 Staeheli, L. A. (2003), Cities and citizenship. *Urban*

there have been more and more recent examples of cities actually expanding the rights that come with a particular legal status, for instance by granting refugees certain rights before formal recognition of their status. The city of Utrecht, for instance, seeks to connect asylum seekers to the city from the day of arrival.<sup>11</sup> By offering them language lessons, lessons in entrepreneurialism and general education, the city departs from the general Dutch policy of only offering education to those who have already received a formal status. The city of Münster, to give another illustration, has rejected the notion of centralized asylum centres and immediately provides decentralized housing to those waiting for formal status.<sup>12</sup>

Even more far-reaching are developments towards the creation of a formal urban citizenship explicitly destined to all living in the city, thus breaking down the divide between citizens and non-citizens. Paris, for example, recently introduced a *carte citoyenne* which gives all Parisians access to municipal services, and which “carries the values of Paris, liberty, diversity and tolerance and connects Parisians to municipal life.”<sup>13</sup> The card is modelled on the NYCID, the New York City ID card that is recognized for interactions with the police (such as reporting crimes), for opening bank accounts, and that gives all city dwellers – including undocumented migrants and the homeless – access to public services and also to museums. New York is only one of the ‘cities of sanctuary’ in the US that through such practices enable those without citizenship status to still exert political, social and economic rights.<sup>14</sup>

.....  
*Geography*, 24(2), 98.

11 Huisman, C. (2016). Utrecht: asielzoeker direct binden. *De Volkskrant*, 27 April 2016.

12 <http://www.stadt-muenster.de/zuwanderung/startseite.html>

13 “Paris lance une carte de citoyen”, *Europe 1*, 10 February 2016, <http://www.paris.fr/cartecitoyenne>

14 Lippert, R. & Rehaag, S. (2012), *Sanctuary Practices in International Perspectives: Migration, Citizenship and Social Movements.*, Routledge. See, for instance, [www.citiesofmigration.ca](http://www.citiesofmigration.ca)



## GLOCAL CITIZENSHIP

One interesting aspect of the way in which cities shape citizenship, also in a formal sense, is the degree to which they often refer to cosmopolitan norms, such as international human rights law, in setting out and defending their positions. The mayor of Palermo, for instance, is a strong advocate of the recognition of mobility as an inalienable human right.<sup>15</sup> Palermo's 'International Human Mobility Charter' serves as the basis for migrant welcome and integration in this Sicilian city facing a large influx of refugees.<sup>16</sup>

More widely, these policies are in line with a trend of increasing numbers of human rights cities, which base their urban policies on international human rights law, often taking a more progressive stance than national governments.<sup>17</sup> In Europe, for instance, 400 cities have signed the European Charter for the Safeguarding of Human Rights in the City. Forerunners, such as Graz, Barcelona and Nuremberg, have human rights offices and engage in human rights monitoring, thus basing their urban policies on cosmopolitan norms. The way in which citizenship in a given locality and the rights that it has to offer become shaped in the permanent interplay between international, national and local authorities can be called 'glocal citizenship'.<sup>18</sup>

## CITIES, CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION

The examples quoted, and the developments mentioned show how the actual benefits associated with 'national' citizenship depend on its relationship and interplay with regional (EU), international and also local understandings of citizenship. For a variety of reasons, reaching from the general strengthening of cities as political actors to local discomfort with national policies, there is an increasing divergence between local policies with regards to migrants in general and refugees in particular. This divergence impacts on all the main markers of integration – from access to housing, education and work to political participation – and thus also affects the added value of citizenship status. This means that any understanding of how, why and for whom citizenship transitions matter should also include a spatial understanding of where – at the subnational level – this is the case. It could well be, after all, that the advantages of acquiring citizenship differ more between, for instance, Paris and Perpignan than between France and Belgium.

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15 Citta di Palermo, International Human Mobility Charter of Palermo 2015.

16 Kirgaessner, S., (2015), From mafia city to a haven for refugees: Palermo moves on from its criminal past, *The Guardian*, 27 December 2015.

17 Oomen, B., Davis, M. & Grigolo, M. (2016). *Global Urban Justice: the Rise of Human Rights Cities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

18 See, for instance, Papisca, A. (2011), Relevance of human rights in the glocal space of politics: how to enlarge democratic practice beyond state boundaries and build up a peaceful world., in K. De Feyter, S. Parmentier, C. Timmerman & G. Ulrich (Eds.), *The Local Relevance of Human Rights* (pp. 82-108), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.





