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Conceiving governance: a state of the art and analytical model for research on immigrant integration

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Abstract:
Governance has become an increasingly plurivalent concept in the study of political responses to immigrant integration. While there is a growing literature on the governance of immigrant integration, a systematic conceptual approach is so far missing. This Working Paper fills this gap by developing an analytical model for future empirical research on the local governance of immigrant integration. It reviews the growing body of literature on immigrant integration policies and politics in Europe and delineates directions for future research.

Introduction

Governance has become an increasingly plurivalent concept in the study of political responses to immigrant integration. While there is a growing literature on the governance of immigrant integration, a systematic conceptual approach is so far missing. This Working Paper fills this gap by developing an analytical model for future empirical research on the local governance of immigrant integration in European cities. Immigrant integration is used here as an analytical concept (similar to the concept of 'immigrant incorporation' that is common in the US-American literature) and not in its normative sense. It refers to the process of becoming an accepted part of society after migration (Penninx & Martiniello 2004).

The Working Paper focuses on the European context, as this is where a trend of governance has often been pointed at (Le Galès 2009, Pierre 1999) and it is the geographical region the author is most familiar with. However, Europe also contains much variation in regards to immigrant integration and governance structures and different patterns might be found across Europe.

Instead of focusing on one or the other type of actors and their role in the local incorporation of immigrants, a governance perspective allows more systematically examining the interactions of different structures and agents involved in local responses to migration to diversity. Interactions vary along different degrees of hierarchy and different degrees of intensity, resulting in different patterns of interaction. While state and non-state actors may inform or co-opt each other, coordinate or cooperate, only co-operation should be seen as governance. . The Working Paper then reviews the existing literature on immigrant integration policies and politics in Europe and suggests distinguishing between local government and local governance as well as between multilevel government and multilevel governance studies. Finally, the Working Paper reflects on the scope of applying the analytical model at neighbourhood, regional, national or supranational levels, for studies of governance in other world regions and for studies of immigration governance, and delineates some directions for future research.

The concept of governance in the policy literature

A substantive body of literature on governance has developed since the 1990s and 2000s and governance has become a ubiquitous concept in the social sciences. Originating in the field of political science, nowadays geographers, sociologists and anthropologists draw on the concept as well (Ansell and Torfing 2016).

I do not use governance as a normative concept, but consider governance as an empirical phenomenon as well as an analytical concept. Many definitions exist for the concept and they have three key aspects in common:

a) Governance comprises actors from public, private, voluntary and community sectors (Rhodes, 1997; Sullivan and Skelcher , 2002; García, 2006, p. 745; Hambleton and Gross 2007, p. 12; Giersig, 2008). It thus blurs the boundaries between private and public (Stoker, 1998, p. 17) and between governmental and non-governmental actors (Jessop, 1995 cited in Le Galès, 2001, p. 172).

b) Governance involves the interaction and interrelationship (Polèse and Stren, 2000, p. 17) of a number of autonomous but interdependent actors (Polèse and Stren, 2000; Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden, 2004, p. 152). Their interactions can take the form of informal coalitions, or be formalised in structural arrangements such as partnerships (Hambleton and Gross, 2007, p. 12).

c) Governance as an empirical phenomenon is geared towards attaining a common purpose or goal, such as the delivery of public services or projects promoting local development (Jessop, 1995, p. 317; Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002), and to solve societal and political problems (Jessop, 1995, p. 317; Klijn, 2008, p. 505). It is a negotiation mechanism for formulating and implementing policy (Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998; Pierre and Peters, 2000; García, 2006, p. 745).

One of the most cited works on governance based its observations on the national level. Exploring developments in the UK during the Thatcher years, Rhodes identified a shift away from a Keynesian welfare state and a trend away from "government" by a unitary state (Rhodes, 2007, p. 1249) to the specific mode of "governing with and through networks" and the evolution of a "differentiated polity" (ibid, p. 1246). This was closely interrelated with the observation of a decline of the national government's role as single and most important actor (Klijn, 2008, p. 505). However, the initial assumption that government was replaced by governance was soon exposed as an overstatement, because hierarchical steering continued to play a role (Hambleton and Gross, 2007, p. 9). Instead, as some authors argued, governance complements existing forms of hierarchical steering and involves loose processes of influencing and negotiating with a range of private, public and community sector agencies and bodies (ibid, p.164).

In this Working Paper, I focus on governance at the local level as well as intergovernmental relationships that link the local level with other levels of government. In the urban studies literature, local governance has received increasing attention over the past years, as the range of actors involved in urban politics has widened since the 1970s. As some have argued, governance is today a characteristic of urban politics in Europe (Pierre, 1999, p. 373) and therefore studies on institutionalised politics or social protest movements need to be complemented by new studies that take a close look at the phenomenon of urban governance (Le Galès, 2009).

In the migration literature, much research has discussed the relevance of cities in responding to migration (Penninx *et al*., 2004; Caponio and Borkert, 2010). The role of local authorities (Bommes, 2012) as well as immigrant associations (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004; Schrover and Vermeulen, 2005) for immigrant integration has long been recognised. Yet, studying the governance of migration-based diversity is not yet an established field of research. Perhaps this is because the literature on urban governance developed for a long time quite separately from discussions about migration-based diversity (Allen and Cars, 2001, p. 2196). As it stands, there

is a general consensus that cities are an important sphere where immigrant integration is being governed and the formula that integration is "taking place at the local level" (Penninx and Martiniello, 2004, p. 160) has been often cited. According to Penninx and Martiniello, it is in cities where globalisation and the consequences of migration become most visible and where the state is under pressure to accommodate diversity (ibid, p. 5; p. 160). For instance, when conflicts arise in cities-areas with a high concentration of immigrants ("inner-city riots" in the UK, "problèmes des banlieues" in France), city authorities are forced to react in order to prevent civil unrest and violence (ibid, p. 154). According to these authors, it is also at the level of cities where the implications of policies are more immediately felt, especially by immigrants (ibid, p.160). Immigrant organisations can play an important role in giving an organised voice to immigrants' experiences and claims and often have served as important intermediaries for local authorities.

Whether or not one agrees with ascribing a key role to the local level, recent propositions of "a local turn" (Zapata-Barrero, *et al.*, 2017) attest to the fact that the debate about whether and in what ways migration-based diversity is governed at the local level is far from over.

Fairly recently, migration scholars have been paying increasing attention to the interaction of supranational, national and local levels of government in integration policy-making (Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero, 2014). This interest in other levels than the national one has emerged due to an increasing discontent with a dominant focus on the national level of immigrant integration policy-making (Joppke, 2007; Bertossi and Duyvendak, 2012, Van Reekum, Duyvendak et al. 2012). As a common starting point, critics assert that policies on integration are devised not only at the national level, but multiple levels are involved (Zincone and Caponio, 2006; Caponio and Borkert, 2010). In a comparative cross-country study on the governance of immigrant integration, Alexander (2007) argued that we should not conceive integration policy-making as a top-down, binary system of government, where the national level devises policies that are then implemented at the local level. Instead, we should conceive it as a recursive, interactive process of governance, involving several levels of government and civil society as well as supra-national actors. This strand of literature is interested in the question whether dissonance occurs between national and local level immigrant policies. Multilevel government research then seeks to investigate the relationship of local level policy-making on integration with policy processes at regional, national or supranational levels (Jorgensen, 2012; Scholten and Penninx, 2016).

While the responses to migration at the local level and its relation to policy-developments at other levels have become an important topic and the role of different local actors has been acknowledged and explored, so far we lack a research framework that brings these elements systematically into a conversation. In other words, we need analytical models that allow examining the ways in which non-state and state actors are involved in the making of local policy-responses to migration-based diversity. How do they interact and interrelate in this process? In addition, in what ways may their interrelationships inform local policies on migration-based diversity? It is the aim of the following section to identify a tentative model for studying these questions.

## Towards a conceptual model of local integration governance

Based on this initial definition of governance, the following section proposes an analytical framework for studying the local governance of immigrant integration. It focuses not only on state actors, but also on non-state actors. This is rather novel, as so far researchers often have focused on one or the other. The governance lens allows bringing into view their interrelationships and how state and non-state actors are involved in defining the parameters of local immigrant integration. The aim is to provide a sorting device for identifying and comparing different forms of governance.

I want to propose two main aspects that characterise different forms of immigrant integration governance. The first aspect is the distribution of power between state and non-state actors. State or non-state actors can have a stronger or weaker role in governance interactions, and can lead or follow the development of policies. The second aspect addresses organisational differences between fora of interaction, which can be organised with a high or low intensity. Bringing these two aspects together on a scatterplot, the vertical axis shows the aspect of power. It captures the degree of hierarchy between state and non-state actors, which informs the interrelationship of different types of actors. In some cases, one type of actor may have a more determining position, reflecting a steep hierarchy. In other cases, the different types of actors may have similar possibilities to inform the policy-making, reflecting a flat hierarchy. While non-state actors can play an important role in initiating the development of policies (Caponio *et al.*, 2016), state actors often are steering governance interactions and have a more determining role in the policy-making process. Taking into account the degree of hierarchy is important, as it informs the degree to which non-state actors are able to influence the policy-making.

The horizontal axis on the scatterplot shows the intensity of collaboration. Collaboration can be of varying intensity, depending mostly on the ways in which the forum of interaction is set up. In some cases, governance may entail a very low intensity of collaboration, with only rare or ad-hoc/flexible/intermittent interactions. In other cases, governance may involve intense interactions, with regular or frequent meetings. State and non-state actors may work rather independently, reciprocally, or in close face-to-face joint interventions (Nylén, 2007).

When bringing these two axes together on a scatterplot, we arrive at a wide spectrum of possible patterns of government and governance.

Table 1 Analytical model for research on the government/governance of integration policies
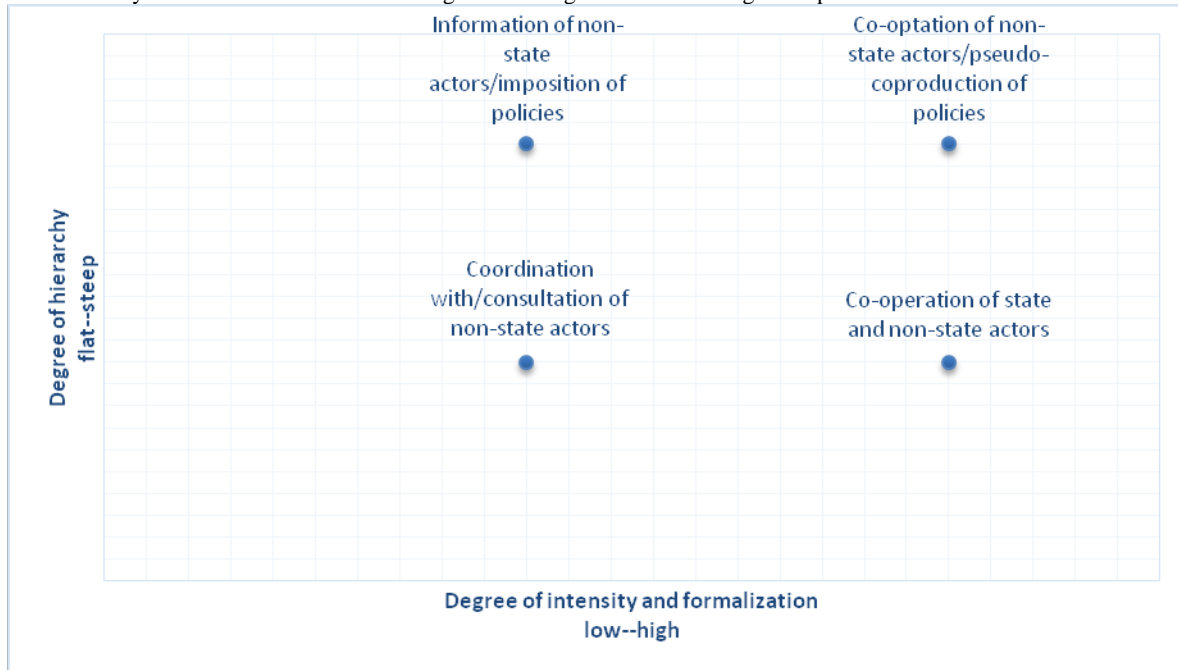
Aiming to conceive of governance and its different forms conceptually, we can identify the character of state and non-state actors' relationships as involving different degrees of hierarchy and different degrees of intensity. On the scatterplot, I have identified four extreme situations. These are extremes and not ideal types. The boundaries of different forms of governance are not clear-cut and potentially bleeds into another. This is important, because it allows taking into account and bringing into view the dynamic nature of governance, which is subject to ongoing negotiation. A specific form of governance is therefore not static, but can change. What is a co-operation at one point in time can quickly become co-optation or mere information when state actors increasingly take a determining stance in governance interactions. What is information of non-state actors about new policies can become co-operation if the intensity of the interaction is increased and the relationship between state and non-state actors is becoming more collaborative than hierarchical. The model thus allows to investigate and identify the ways in which the form of governance changes. Such a dynamic model has the advantage of better capturing the dynamic character of relationships between state and non-state actors and the possibility of change in their relationships.

i. *Information of non-state actors/Imposition of policies* by state actors

A steep hierarchy and a low degree of intensity in the relationship of state and non-state actors characterise the first extreme form of governance. When state actors impose policies and non-state actors only learn post-facto about the policy-making processes or the outcome, this form of governance is at hand.

ii. *Coordination/consultation* between state and non-state actors

Coordination/consultation is in place when there is a flat hierarchy and a low degree of intensity. In this form of governance, (state) actors coordinate and consult (non-state) actors intermittently.

iii.   *Co-optation of non-state actors* in the formation of local integration policies
When there is a steep hierarchy as well as an intense interaction, state actors co-opt other actors in the policy-making process. Consequently, we arrive at policies where non-state actors play an active part in the design/implementation, but state actors only cooperate with organisations that hold similar views or who were made to conform to the their views.

iv.   *Cooperation and co-production* of local integration policies by state and non-state actors
This form of interrelationships between state and non-state actors entails the most intense collaboration and a flat hierarchy between different actors. Both the views of state and non-state actors inform the policy-making process.

If we stick to our initial definition of governance, governance is only in place when state and non-state actors cooperate (and thus tend towards the bottom-right of the scatterplot). The other three extremes capture patterns of "government", because state actors inform, consult with, or co-opt non-state actors, but do not leave room for non-state actors to inform the policy outcome. As mentioned before, there is no clear-cut boundary between these four extremes and as a result, there will be patterns that are somewhat in-between government and governance. Nonetheless, I hope that the model can serve for evaluating governance based on the variables of hierarchy and intensity.

I do not use this distinction for making any normative judgement about different forms of interactions between state and non-state actors. Instead, it seeks to stimulate further thinking about the ways in which the character of the governance relationship between state and non-state actors informs the process of developing and deciding on policies and measures. Empirical research can, for instance, show how conflicts over the form of relationship emerge, when non-state actors' expectations or perceptions of their relationship with state actors diverge from the expectations or perceptions of state actors.

Furthermore, empirical research may expose how conflicts erupt among state actors or among non-state actors. When they hold diverging opinions, interests or goals and cannot act in unison, this unanimity weakens actors' position and the form of governance they establish. For example, unanimity makes non-state actors more vulnerable to co-optation and state actors may decide to merely inform or consult them in the future.

The relevance of this model in light of existing research

How does a framework for studying governance relate to the existing literature on local immigrant integration? Using this research framework, we can now revisit some of the existing literature and locate local immigrant integration governance in the broader literature on the role of cities in immigrant integration and on the role of relevant actors in the area of immigrant integration. We can then suggest some possible new directions for future research.

Let us start by clustering existing research in a matrix. On the first level, research may focus on the role of the state in defining immigrant integration policies or on the interaction of state and non-state actors (horizontal axis of Table 2. On the second level, research may focus on a single

level (here: the local level) and on multiple levels (the local level in the intergovernmental setting) (vertical axis of Table 2).

Table 2: Typology of research on the government and governance of immigrant integration

Bringing together the level of policy-making and the involved actor types in a matrix, we arrive at four types of research:

1) Research on multilevel government

Research on multilevel government investigates the interactions between local and other levels of the state for the making of integration policies, also captured as studies of "intergovernmental relations" (Caponio and Jones-Correa, 2017). For instance, research may focus on the interactions between local administrations and the European Commission or between the national and local government for designing integration policies. Conceptually separating such research from the multilevel governance literature and referring to it as literature on "multilevel government" allows to focus on the collaboration of state actors and to exclude the collaboration of state and non-state actors.

A multilevel research framework offers itself to researching whether the development of integration policies at the national level has a systematic effect on integration policies on the local level (Penninx and Martiniello, 2004, p. 158). Research, for instance, has shown that a shift from de-politicisation to politicisation of immigrant integration at the national level can inform local-level policy-making (Poppelaars and Scholten, 2008, p. 335). Different levels of government may also share or transfer responsibility amongst each other, for example through processes of decentralisation or devolution. Zincone has referred to the practice of "passing the buck", which means the offloading of problems from the national to the local level (Zincone, 2011, p. 429). Research has also recognised the role of local governments in informing national levels of government (Zincone and Caponio, 2006; Jorgensen, 2012; Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero, 2014; Hoekstra, 2015, Scholten *et al.*, 2016). Local leadership, local politicisation and the evolution of institutional policy structures at the local level (Scholten, 2013, p. 5) can be important factors for informing national policy-making. Also the regional next to the local and national level can play a role in informing other level's integration policy-making (Campomori and Caponio, 2017).

Other research has brought into the view the influence of the European Union and other international or supra-national institutions on local integration policies. Confronted with the reluctance of national governments to join into a common European agenda, the European Commission has tried to inform local level integration policies (Borkert and Caponio, 2010, p. 10ff.)[i]. The Council of Europe is another supra-national institution that has promoted exchange and learning across cities with its Intercultural Cities programme, aiming to influence local integration policies by way of soft policy instruments (Collins and Friesen, 2011; Barrett, 2013; Downing, 2015). European organisations target cities with networking opportunities and funds for promoting policy-learning processes and benchmarking and cities create networks and lobby organisations (Faist and Ette, 2007; Borkert and Caponio, 2010, p. 11; Caponio, 2017).

2) Research on multilevel governance

Research on multilevel governance analyses the relationship of different state levels as well as the interaction of different types of actors, including state and non-state actors. Existing multilevel research, while considering the possibility of horizontal interactions of different types of actors conceptually (Alexander, 2007; Hepburn and Zapata-Barrero, 2014), has de-facto empirically analysed patterns of multilevel government. Even though some studies mention how cities bring in civil society or economic actors in multilevel government decision-making (Caponio, 2017; Scholten *et al.*, 2017; Spencer, 2017), so far there is no systematic study of the role of non-state actors in multilevel governance. This reflects the development of the policy literature on multilevel governance, which has first focused on state actors in multilevel relationships and only since the 2000s considered the role of non-state actors as well (Caponio and Jones-Correa, 2017, p. 3).

3) Research on local government or on local immigrant actors

It examines immigrant integration at the local level and focuses on local authorities or on local immigrant actors. Some studies investigated the practices of city councils and administrations (Baringhorst, 1991; Rogers and Tillie, 2001; Penninx *et al.*, 2004, Filsinger, 2009; Gesemann, 2013; Gesemann and Roth, 2018). They focus on the financial support of immigrant associations (Fennema and Tillie, 2004; Uitermark, 2012), decisions on the building of mosques (Cesari, 2005; Maussen, 2006), local asylum seeker accommodation (Aumüller, 2009; Hinger *et al.*, 2016; Schamann, 2016) and the creation and implementation of integration and diversity policies in cities (Bommes, 2003; Schiller, 2016; 2017; Scholten, Collett et al. 2017).

Research may also focus on local immigrant councillors (Schönwälder *et al.*, 2011; Sinanoglu, 2017), local immigrant associations (Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Myrberg 2011; Voicu and Serban, 2012; De Graauw, 2016) or social movements that mobilise around questions of immigrant integration (Nicholls and Uitermark, 2016) and their role in informing local immigrant integration.

4) Research on local governance

It studies the involvement of state and non-state actors in immigrant integration policy-making at the local level. To date, only limited in-depth research exists that provides insights into the collaboration of a wide range of local actors in governing immigrant integration in European cities. Only recently, some empirical studies have investigated the interrelationships of administrations, immigrant organisations and other actors.

In a Swedish case study, Ljung (2013) researches the local cooperation agreements set up by the administration with other public and private actors and their effect on the labour market integration of immigrants. The article focuses on the networks that integration officials build with these other actors. Based on the case of Rome, another recent study (Long, 2015) looks into the networks of Filipino, Bangladeshi and Peruvian immigrant communities with host institutions at the local level. Furthermore, the ongoing CITYDIV research project at the Max

Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity [ii] considers a broad range of urban actors and analyses their interrelationships in the governance of urban diversity.

The innovation of the study lies in broadening the scope of surveyed actors, by including the mayor, different departments of the local administration, different political factions, economic actors, welfare organisations, trade unions, immigrant advocacy bodies as well as civil society actors advocating on different aspects of diversity policies (for example, on topics regarding migration, age, gender, sexual orientation). Based on an original survey in 20 French and 20 German cities, the study elucidates the position of these different local actors in local governance networks that address issues of integration and diversity.

One of the findings in the literature is that intermediaries can play an important role in linking immigrant populations and state actors in cities (Caponio, 2005; Long, 2015; Pilati, 2012). In a study on the relations of immigrant organisations with Italian political institutions in Milan, Pilati (2012) has shown that immigrant organisations have used their contacts with autochthonous organisations – in her case study, Catholic third sector institutions – to build up contacts with the local political institutions. In another study set in the Italian context, Caponio (2005) pointed out a pattern of level-switching in the governance of immigrant integration. Local governments in Milan, Bologna and Naples mostly cooperated with national welfare organisations in immigrant policy-making instead of directly interacting with local immigrant organisations. While these have been important and innovative contributions to the field, to date we lack a systematic study of such intermediaries and their role in informing local immigrant integration governance. Also other actors, such as local economic actors, may serve as intermediary organisations, as research has shown (Refs?)

Some empirical research exists on the interactions and relations between local actors as well. The study by Dinham and Lowndes (2008) finds differences between the ways in which local government actors and faith actors conceive faith engagement. Using an ethnographic approach to examine the collaboration between government and immigrant civil society in Barcelona, Peró (2007) shows how consultative bodies for immigrants as well as well-established NGOs, trade unions and smaller immigrant-led organisations were highly conformist in the political decision-making process (Peró, 2007, p. 282). Yet, the existing literature has not thoroughly elucidated the dynamics of relationships between state and non-state actors: at what point do cooperations become co-optation? What makes state actors not only inform residents but also coordinate with them? Moreover, how does policy-making differ when there is information, coordination, cooperation or co-optation between state and non-state actors?

Overall, while there is a growing body on multilevel government and on local government of immigrant integration, we still lack a systematic discussion of the role and position of non-state actors in the negotiation of responses to immigrant integration between different governmental levels and on the local level.

Conclusion and possible directions for future research

Governance to date is often a broad-brush label used to designate all kinds of activities that involve the state. In order to retain governance as a useful analytical concept, it is important to define in a clear manner what governance is and what it is not. Based on a narrow definition of

the concept and by delineating a spectrum of different patterns of the phenomenon, we can arrive at a fine-grained and differentiated analysis. In this conceptual section, I differentiated a concept of governance from the concept of government. Government entails providing information to non-state actors, coordinating with them or co-opting them, reflecting a more hierarchical approach of steering. Governance, by contrast, entails a flat hierarchy of interactions of state and non-state actors and a high intensity and formalisation of these interactions.

Even though this Working Paper was written with having the European context and more specifically the Western European context in mind, there is the possibility of applying the analytical framework outside of Europe as well. Recent work has conjointly analysed local immigrant integration in the US and in Europe (Foner *et al.*, 2014; de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016), suggesting that there is scope for developing a common analytical framework for immigrant integration on both sides of the Atlantic.

Furthermore, a specific interest in immigrant integration motivated the development of this Working Paper. However, one should no longer treat the governance of migration and immigrant integration as unrelated phenomena, as there are important connections between decision-making on immigration and on immigrant integration. Examples that come to mind are phenomena such as local sanctuary policies in the United States, where cities have refused to cooperate with federal immigration agencies for the deportation of undocumented immigrants. Lastly, while this Working Paper was mainly interested in immigrant integration at the local level, the analytical model may help elucidate dynamics between state and non-state actors on other levels of the state, such as on the neighbourhood, regional, national or supra-national levels.

Future research on integration governance should engage with different patterns of interaction between state and non-state actors. It needs to illuminate whether a steep or flat hierarchy characterises interrelationships and whether there is a high intensity and formalisation of these interactions. Especially conflicts among as well as between state and non-state actors can be particularly revealing. By doing so, future research can explain variation in the set-up, process and resulting policies of interactions between state and non-state actors in the field of immigrant integration.

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[i] All of these EU policies are "soft" third pillar policies that are based on intergovernmental consensus and that are implemented through the open method for coordination. For a discussion, see (ibid, 2011, p. 9)

[ii] www.mmg.mpg.de/project/citydiv/