On 12 and 13 December 2017, Lyon Métropole hosted the 7th peer-to-peer meeting of the MC2CM project – the last of the project's first phase. MC2CM cities and project partners gathered to explore the question of international coordination in the field of migration governance. They were joined by representatives of national governments (Cyprus, Estonia, France, Libya and Portugal), regional and national associations of cities (MedCities and Cités Unies France), officials from the cities of Rabat and Nicosia, as well as a Libyan delegation comprising municipal officials (Ghatt, Tajourah and Zawia), representatives of the national government and civil society.

Member of Parliament and City Councillor of Lyon, Hubert Julien Laferrière, officially opened the event at a welcome event held in conjunction with the CIEDEL conference on “internationalisation of cities and territories”. Mr. Laferrière highlighted the importance of the local level in implementing efficient measures that reach the population across the territory and the necessity for these measures to receive sufficient resources to remain effective on the ground.

During the event opening, Claude Soubeyran de Saint-Prix, Director General of the City of Lyon, recalled the migration legacy of Lyon, as well as the City’s longstanding work in close partnership with different levels of government as well as with a solid base of local civil society organisations.

The results of the 2-day event are summarised in this report and presented along 3 key axes:

1. Identifying governance mechanisms;
2. Multilevel governance in practice; and
3. Recommendations.

The event’s discussions were grounded on the conceptual framework as set out in the background document drafted by Irene Ponzo, Deputy Director of International and European Forum for research on migration (FIERI) which has been used as a basis for the definitions and examples presented in this report.
CONCEPTS

Governance is a form of policymaking through networks and negotiation among actors, both public and non-public, and beyond the formal division of responsibility established by laws (versus compliance in hierarchical and state-centred modes of government). Governance refers not only to formal decision making processes but also to semi-formal and informal ones which can include non-public actors. An example of this is Tunis’ approach to health provision for undocumented migrants which is provided through cooperation agreements between public institutions, civil society organisations and international organisations.

Vertical dimension of governance refers to the involvement of different levels of government (e.g. supranational, national, regional and local). In Lisbon the refugee relocation plan involves three levels of government: the EU, the Portuguese national government and the City of Lisbon. Following its commitment to the 2015 EU relocation programme, the Portuguese government created a national Office for Support to Refugee Integration which oversees local implementation of the programme and provides technical support to local institutions providing services.

Horizontal dimension of governance refers to the relations between actors located at the same level of government. The Migration Unit of the Metropolitan City of Turin brings together three key services (Education and Training, Labour, and Social Policies and Equal Opportunity) to develop an integrated approach towards migrant integration. Similarly, Madrid developed a Subsidy Strategic Plan, a cross-departmental mechanism for the allocation of funding for civil society social actions, including measures for migrant integration.

KEY LEARNINGS

1. Identifying governance mechanisms

While still at its infancy, the growing research field on multilevel migration governance contributes to the understanding of the role played by local actors, both public and non-public, in the policymaking concerning migrant integration.

In order to consider a specific policy-making arrangement as an instance of multilevel governance, it should fulfill some minimal conditions:

a. the emergence of non-hierarchical networks among actors (i.e. the “governance” dimension);

b. the involvement of different levels of government (i.e. the “multilevel” dimension);

c. the involvement of non-governmental actors (though this aspect assumes a different relevance in the scientific literature and from empirical cases)

IDEAL-TYPICAL CONFIGURATIONS OF MULTILEVEL SETTINGS

Four ideal-typical configurations of relations between government levels on migrant integration have been identified:

The centralist ideal type refers to a clear hierarchy and division of labour between government levels. It involves a top-down relationship between the different levels of government, such as control mechanisms ensuring policy implementation at the local level according to central policy framework. This aims at producing policy convergence between the different levels of government.

In the localist ideal type policy competencies follow the principle of subsidiarity; that is, what can be done locally should be done locally. Local governments do not simply implement policies: they formulate policies,


develop local policy agendas, and exchange knowledge and information horizontally with other local governments. The localist type may lead local governments to frame migrant integration policies in a specific local way producing policy divergence between the national and the local level, and between the various entities.

The decoupled ideal type is characterised by the absence of any meaningful policy coordination between levels. Hence, migrant integration policies at different levels are dissociated and may even be contradictory. This type can lead to policy conflicts between government levels and tend to diminish policy effectiveness.

The multilevel governance ideal type refers to interaction and coordination between the various levels of government without clear dominance of one level. This requires fora or networks in which organisations from different government levels to meet and jointly engage in meaningful policy coordination on equal footing. The multilevel governance type is likely to engender sustained convergence between policy frames at different levels.

MC2CM cities’ experiences demonstrate that, in practice, multilevel migration governance is the result of a spectrum of formalised arrangements. These manifest themselves as both top-down and bottom-up policy processes that in some instances happen concurrently.

Most participants evoked several models of governance to describe the configuration of interinstitutional coordination in their contexts. The localist and centralist configurations were the most applicable, with the latter being predominant in times of crisis.

**Challenges**

Multilevel governance is hindered by a number of factors. Among these, some participants signalled:

- **Divergent approaches to migration** that may come into conflict, thus generating incoherence in policy. By way of example, the endorsement by some national or regional governments could conflict with social inclusion and integration on the ground.

- **Political** differences also play a role in straining multi-level governance, particularly in instances where rhetoric and goals diverge from one level to the other.

- **Lack of effective mechanisms** for multi-level cooperation were also signalled as an obstacle to create links going beyond political mandates and political will to invest in these by dedicating resources (staff) and training to improve and keep such mechanisms effective.
• **Subsidiarity** On the one hand, states have attempted to shift their responsibilities on migration up (towards international and supra-national institutions), down (towards local authorities), and out (towards non-public actors). International institutions, local authorities, and civil society organisations have mobilised to gain influence over the decisions on migration. At the same time, the growing multilevel governance brings about risks for local actors since they might be called to play a key role in migrant integration on rather informal basis without being provided with adequate resources and decision power to develop proper measures.

**Opportunities**

Mindful of the challenges at hand, recommendations were made as to the type of tools that would render multi-level governance a reality.

• An open dialogue would help disentangle the subsidiarity principle which governs areas of responsibility of national, regional and local governments in respective areas of migration governance and policy to determine the right level to address these areas and set out strategies to tackle gaps in responsibility.

• Establishing inter-governmental cooperation among employment, education, health, economic and other departments/offices is an essential component for effective migrant integration. By way of example, in the case of Lyon, the MC2CM project acted as a catalyst for the setting up of an interinstitutional working group that was tasked with bridging departments within the City, the Metropole and the State to provide a sound response to the project’s interventions.

• The setting up of monitoring and reporting mechanisms can serve as a tool for cooperation. Such is the case of the municipality of Vienna where such cross-departmental cooperation exists.

• **International organisations** could act as brokers to facilitate dialogue and cooperation between government levels nationally and regionally alike. Such was the case for the MC2CM project which helped foster cooperation between Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) and the Jordan Response Plan (JRP) implemented in face of refugees’ growing presence in Jordan, leading to GAM’s inclusion to the JRP.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Challenges for effective multi-level governance</th>
<th>Opportunities</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divergent approaches/mandates to migration (security vs. integration approaches)</td>
<td>Cross-departmental cooperation; observatories to report on implementation of policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidiarity principle</td>
<td>Networks as brokers; International organisations as platforms for dialogue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>Institutionalising multi-level governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of staff training on cooperation</td>
<td>Creating capacity building opportunities</td>
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**Turin – Metropolitan cooperation with municipalities**

Due to a decentralisation process, since 2015, the Metropolitan City of Turin has replaced the former administrative unit of ‘province’, with ensuing changes in terms of resourcing and competences in the field of migrant integration. Since then, the Metropolitan City is working to foster cooperation among the various municipalities within its territory to reinforce and harmonise measures for refugee integration. Even though this area of policy falls within the remit of the national government (see p.8, Distribution of competences), this approach intends to bridge the gap between local and national government to improve the overall management of the refugee response.

The Metropolitan City of Turin demonstrates a number of good practices in the fields of education, sports and cultural sensitivity training. These practices are reinforced with the greater participation and strengthened cooperation between municipalities, NGOs and private sector organisations particularly in rural and mountainous areas.
2. Multilevel governance in practice

Over the past decades, cities have become increasingly active in developing their own integration philosophies and aware that migrant integration policies are crucial in order to preserve their viability as communities and all residents' wellbeing. In fact, it is at the local level that migrants develop social networks, start their own families, find a job, access services, integrate in their host communities, etc. It is also at this level that negative as well as positive aspects of diversity are experienced most concretely. The greater activism of cities has several implications in terms of multilevel governance of migration.

First of all, local governments have made efforts to lobby at the national level, and both institutionalised and informal relations between national and local governments have evolved in several countries over the past decade. Disagreements between cities and national governments have risen or increased on several issues such as the management of undocumented migrants or policy implementation6. Yet cooperation between local public and non-public actors has allowed cities to expand the national approach towards migrant integration. Another consequence of the above-mentioned activism is that cities have turned to new partners outside the national arena in search for knowledge and resources for their policies.

These developments altogether have evolved towards a reinforcement of multi-level governance of migrant integration, as the example presented by the Lyon Metropole demonstrates. As participants noted, they strive for better and more efficient and effective service provision, placing service users and beneficiaries at the centre of the action.

Lyon field visit – Metropolitan/City cooperation through social services

Lyon, as a Metropole and as a City, follows the prevailing French model which emphasises full and equal access to services regardless of ethnic background. At the same time, being aware that migrants’ access to mainstream services may be challenging, it explicitly relies on civil society organisations to develop targeted actions to assist migrants to access general services.

This was illustrated during the field visit to the Maison de la Métropole of Lyon (House of the Metropolis) which will house from February, under the future Maison de la Métropole et des Solidarités (House of the Metropolis and Solidarities, MMS), social services implemented by both the City (CCAS, Centre Communual d’Action Sociale) and the Metropole itself.

Driven by funding constraints, the merge of the City’s and Metropole’s social services within the MMS will place beneficiaries at the core of activities thanks to a holistic approach to solidarity. Services offered by the MMS are universal and accessible to all, but migrants, given their often precarious living conditions, make up a rather large share of service beneficiaries. The merge aims at facilitated access to rights and services; increased coherence and consistency of social services across local territory; pooling knowledge, resources, practices and skills; and optimised HR and real estate costs.

Another example of multilevel coordination was presented in the case of illegal occupations, which see the intervention of services from the City (security), the Metropole and the State (education and police), as well as from NGOs such as Médecins du Monde in the field of health and prevention and other NGOs schooling children on site. In Lyon only, 20 cases of illegal occupation have been identified, amounting to 350 people (mainly Roma people from Romania and Bulgaria, Albanians and French).

The involvement of non-state actors: civil society and private sector organisations

The role of non-state actors should be envisaged as a strategy to further explore participatory and human rights-based approaches to migration governance. Thomas Ott, local expert, presented the role played by civil society organisations (CSOs) in Lyon, where they often complement national or local actions, responding to budgetary restrictions and developing impactful initiatives. The Metropole works on a regular basis with CSOs, making up a dense network covering various fields, but has not yet explored cooperation with migrant associations. He offered to reformulate the traditional militant and political vision of CSOs to present them as organisations operating in a variety of fields and employing professionals with valuable thematic expertise and distinguishes three types of CSOs:

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- those that “do for” and provide one-off services to administrations, such as translation and interpretation;
- those that “do with” and are funded by public administrations to implement specific activities; and
- those that “do more” which develop militant, critical and innovative actions beyond the scope of public service provision.

Participants discussed the different mechanisms in place to facilitate cooperation with CSOs. In Madrid and Lisbon, where NGOs and other CSOs are represented in consultative bodies, the municipalities seek a balanced dialogue and collaborate with them given their flexibility and local community anchorage. In Estonia, the legal framework and incentives aimed at the civil society since 2012 have fostered the creation of a dense network of CSOs, which favoured their prompt involvement in the EU relocation plan for refugees in Estonia. The multiplication of CSOs can also lead to competition for organisations working with similar target groups and funding opportunities. Therefore, in the Piedmont region, a consortium of CSOs facilitates relationships between CSOs, administrations and the general public, as well as amongst CSOs in order for them to identify opportunities for cooperation and develop joint activities. Similarly, the Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) seeks to develop an online information portal for CSOs and refugees to better map local initiatives developed within the refugee response. Finally in Libya, where the political vacuum allows CSOs to play a new and increasing role with regards to migration, participants mentioned the need to map out and identify these organisations and their actions.

Another point was raised on the ambivalent role of the media, and more particularly social media which can both spread misinformation but also provide a space to foster local solidarity initiatives.

**Morocco – Local implementation of national migration strategy**

Participants from MC2CM partner city Tangier, and Rabat, presented the Moroccan context, where local migration/integration initiatives are decided at national level and municipal authorities are not routinely engaged in design or implementation. The ongoing national institutional reorganisation is providing more autonomy to regional authorities and, as a consequence, a greater voice to cities. For instance, the institutional development has led to the establishment of the Council of the Region of Tangier’s public expression of interest on migration which is expected to foster multilevel governance of migrant integration with a greater involvement of local actors including the city of Tangier. The City of Tangier has begun to cooperate with local NGOs in the field of migrant reception, in the framework of the MC2CM pilot project.

### 3. Recommendations

- Policy coherence must be sought among migration and social inclusion approaches and the enactment of other policy areas including security, finance and others that may have detrimental impact on equality and perception of migration which are root causes of prejudice and exclusion.
- Furthermore, inter-governmental cooperation among policy areas such as employment, education, health, economic growth and others where migrants can have a stake is an essential component for effective migrant integration.
- Multi-level cooperation among local, regional and national level is also essential to ensure policy coherence and enable effective integration and inclusion to materialise. Existing Dialogues and regional processes can serve as a source of inspiration for new migration actors to gather in the spirit of true partnership and cooperation.
- Meaningful partnerships among public bodies with the private sector should be explored as a way to address areas that may be out of the purview of public intervention which have a direct impact on migrant inclusion.

In light of the upcoming second phase of the MC2CM project, participants were invited to provide feedback on the project, its activities and outcomes. The second phase will remain based on a Dialogue, Knowledge and Action component, and will aim at targeting more cities in the Mediterranean region, with an emphasis on action-oriented activities and the question of multilevel coordination.

Participants evoked the need:
- To better define migration at city-level, and actors involved in migration-policy
  ➔ MC2CM will continue to gather and create knowledge on urban migration to better inform local and national policies
- To enhance support to pilot projects, and to further operationalise project activities
  ➔ MC2CM in its second phase will reinforce the Action component
- To develop city- or country-targeted activities
  ➔ Bi-lateral learning activities, city-to-city cooperation and study visits will be implemented
- To put greater emphasis on field visits, which provide unique insights into cities’ experiences and practices
- To tackle the narrative on migration
  ➔ The second phase of the project will seek to address the role of media at local level
- To further explore interinstitutional coordination and the involvement of non-state actors such as civil society and private organisations
  ➔ The present event will feed into the reflection on enhancing multilevel cooperation from the city perspective, which will be an important theme of the project’s next phase.
- To develop advocacy activities, on a regional and global scale
  ➔ The MC2CM Policy Recommendations are a tool for advocacy and will provide the basis for a monitoring tool on policy implementation in partner cities
### Appendix C: Distribution of competences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>National</th>
<th>Regional</th>
<th>Local</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amman</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Health, Education, Employment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental health, Cultural &amp; sports programmes, Education (teaching &amp; professional training), Housing, Primary healthcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beirut</td>
<td>Information not provided</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisbon</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Education (curriculum &amp; assessment), Health (national planning &amp; financing), Social security, Language learning, Migrant integration, Employment</td>
<td>(Lyon Metropolis): Solidarities, Family and youth, Knowledge and culture, Attractiveness and outreach, Mobility, Economic development (including insertion), Urban management, Habitat and housing, Energy and environment, Water and sanitation, Urban cleanliness</td>
<td>Environmental health, Cultural &amp; sports programmes, Education (teaching &amp; professional training), Housing, Primary healthcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Social security, Integration (facilitating cooperation for policy development at regional level), Health</td>
<td>(Autonomous Community of Madrid): Child protection, Education, Cultural programmes, Regional integration policy</td>
<td>(City of Madrid): Social care &amp; emergency assistance, Housing, Employment, Education (0–3 years) - incorporated into education framework of the Community of Madrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tangier</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Education, Housing, Health, Employment, Migration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Education (creation of crèches; maintaining educational premises), Cultural programmes, Social cohesion, Urban economic development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunis</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Employment, Education, Health, Migration (new competence of the Secretary of State for Immigration and Tunisians Abroad (SETI), created August 2016)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Education (kindergartens), Urban economic development, Social security (emergency assistance), Environmental health, Cultural &amp; sports programmes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Language learning, Health</td>
<td>(Piedmont Region): Migrant integration, Employment (Metropolitan City competence until end 2017), Housing (planning &amp; funding)</td>
<td>(Metropolitan City of Turin): Education (0–5 years), Education (schools) - competence of the Piedmont Region, delegated to Metropolitan City level, Housing (implementation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vienna</td>
<td>Borders &amp; residency, Integration (coordinating policy at province level), Higher/further education, Health (shared competence), Social security, Employment, Vocational training (shared competence), Language learning &amp; orientation (via Integration Contracts) - administered by the Austrian Funds for Integration foundation</td>
<td>(Vienna as province and city): Housing, Regional and local integration policy, Language learning (not via Integration Contracts), Orientation (implementation), Health (shared competence), Education (pre-school, primary and secondary education; partial competence for education policy), Social security (some elements of implementation), Vocational training (shared competence)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>