OECD Regional Development Papers

Multi-level governance for migrant integration

Policy instruments from Austria, Canada, France, Germany and Italy

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Comprehensive and co-ordinated action across levels of government responsible for different policy domains (labour, education, housing and welfare/health) as well as across local actors is crucial to migrant integration. To respond to this need for co-ordination, different policy instruments are mobilised by countries. This paper presents six of them, to illustrate three categories of practices supporting migrant integration through better multi-level co-ordination:

- Reinforcing co-ordination (financial, human, technical) between levels of governments and private actors such as businesses or non-governmental organisations to foster migrant integration and retention: **The Canadian Atlantic Immigration Pilot** (AIP) and **the French Territorial Contracts for the Reception and Integration of Refugees** (CTAIR);
- Resolving information and evaluation asymmetries: **Vienna (Austria) Integration and Diversity Monitor** and the **German Network IQ**;
- Illustrating the positive externalities of territorial development and investment programmes on migrant integration and social cohesion: The **Italian Inner Areas Strategy** and the **French Urban Policy**.

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1 Multi-level contracts for reception and integration of refugees, France

Improving refugee local integration by co-ordinating all relevant actors

I. Background

In France, the integration of refugees is predominantly meant to take place through access to universal services and social protection mechanisms. Once migrants' asylum requests are accepted, they enter the regime of common law and are treated equally to any other French citizen. Yet, there is growing recognition that the refugees' successful integration requires completing universal services by targeted actions in order to meet their specific needs. In the following years we can expect less reliance on a mainstream approach and more targeted policies to promote the integration of refugees into French society (Fine, 2019[1]).

Territorial disparities in the geographical distribution of refugees

In 2019, 308 583 people (excluding accompanying minors) were under the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons (Ofpra), amongst which 246 022 refugees and stateless people, and 62 561 beneficiaries of subsidiary protection status (Baouche Thevenon et al., 2019[2]).

Estimations of the number of people placed under Ofpra protection according to the department of residence reveals people placed under Ofpra protection are not evenly distributed on the metropolitan territory. Numbers of people placed under Ofpra protection range from 115 in the department of Maine-et-Loire to 31 753 in Seine-Saint-Denis followed by the adjanents departments of Paris (which counts 23 972 people), Val-de-Marne and Val-d'Oise. This reveals how much refugees and people under subsidiary protection are concentrated in the same locations, mostly urban areas. Furthermore, it is important to note the Seine-Saint-Denis department holds the highest overall poverty rate in metropolitan France (Insee et al., 2018[3]). It is also one of the most populated departments and host to the highest share of immigrants. During the COVID-19 crisis, it incurred the highest excess mortality among those under 65 years of age.

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

In 2018, the French government initiated a reform of its reception and integration policy for refugees based on various levers. In particular, it established, within the Ministry of Interior, an Inter-ministerial Delegate in charge of the reception and integration of refugees. The missions of the delegate and delegation (*Délégation interministérielle à l'accueil et à l'intégration des réfugiés* - Diair) are to participate in the definition of the reception and integration policy for refugees, while implementing overall co-ordination between actors at all levels, central or decentralised administration, local authorities including associations, businesses and the civil society. Amongst other tasks, Diair is entrusted, together with the General

Directorate for Foreigners in France (DGEF) and the Inter-ministerial delegation for accommodation and access to housing (Dihal), with the management of the implementation of the 2018-21 National Strategy for the integration of refugees. This Strategy is built around seven priorities, two of which are cross-cutting:

1. Strengthen the steering of the refugee integration policy;
2. Engage each refugee on an enhanced integration journey.

The other five are thematic:

1. Improve knowledge of the French language and access to training and employment for refugees;
2. Guarantee access to housing for refugees;
3. Improve access to healthcare for asylum seekers and refugees;
4. Improve access to rights;
5. Promote links between refugees and France.

The Prime Minister instructed the Diair to work in close relation with the following actors in charge of implementing policies linked to the reception and integration of refugees: the General Directorate for Foreigners in France (DGEF - Ministry of Interior); Ministerial departments (Ministries for Europe and Foreign Affairs; for the Cohesion of Territories; for Solidarity and Health and Labour and Education); the Ofpra; the French Office for Immigration and Integration (Ofii) and the Inter-ministerial Delegation for Accommodation and Access to Housing (Dihal).

In addition to horizontal co-ordination, the Delegation strengthens vertical co-ordination with lower levels of government. Notably since 2019 with the local level through the development of Territorial Contracts for Refugee Reception and Integration (*Contrats territoriaux d'accueil et d'intégration des réfugiés* - CTAIR), signed between the Diair and cities or metropolitan areas.

The aim of these territorial contracts - formulated on the basis of the National Strategy for Reception and Integration' objectives - is to improve refugee inclusion by co-ordinating all the relevant actors and by involving public actors from territories where migrants live and work. Thanks to a financial support of EUR 300 000 allocated in 2019 to each of the new signatory local authorities, these contracts enable cities and metropolitan areas to extend already existing actions on their territory, often carried out by third parties, and to develop new ones. In 2020 and 2021, the envelope per site varies from EUR 150 000 to EUR 300 000 (for 2021, the total envelope is EUR 4 million for 18 sites against EUR 3 million for the 10 first sites in 2019).

The actions can, for instance, be to help employers understand the administrative framework when hiring a refugee, educational support programs for refugee children, cultural training programs for health professionals, etc. In 2020, the Diair signed or renewed 11 CTAIR with cities or metropolitan areas of Bordeaux, Brest, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Lyon, Nancy, Nantes, Rennes, Strasbourg and Toulouse. In 2021, Besançon, Montpellier, Rouen, Le Havre, Poitiers, Tours and Marseille are engaged in the process of signing a similar contract developing projects for newcomers, including refugees.

Overall, these contracts should benefit from EUR 4 million until 2022 with a revaluation of the endowments scheduled for 2021. In order not to weigh on the level of local expenditure, which determines the operating grants (equalisation grant) that the State allocates to local authorities, the financing of the CTAIRs is directed towards the decentralised state services in the region (*prefecture*) and an expenditure budget line is opened for the city or metropolitan areas signing the contract.

Actions are chosen based on results of a common field diagnosis between the state services and the local authorities that constitutes the first step of each CTAIR. Various stakeholders participate to the formulation of these diagnoses. The nature of these actions varies from one city to another, but all relate to one or more of the seven priorities defined by the National Strategy for the Reception and Integration of Refugees (see above). They complement pre-existing universal public policies carried out by the State and local

communities, which refugees can benefit from. Cities can launch calls for projects to support operators in charge of implementing the actions of this contract. In most cities, associations implement them.

Box 1. Multi-level governance gaps

A complete separation of policy responsibilities and outcomes among levels of government is not possible as executing tasks, overcoming obstacles, and/or accomplishing objectives requires co-ordination among government actors. Multi-level governance characterises these mutually-dependent relationships between different actors. It is simultaneously **vertical** (across different levels of government), **horizontal** (among the same level of government) and **networked**, as the lines of communication, and co-ordination for a given policy objective may criss-cross, involving multiple actors and stakeholders in the public as well as the private sector and citizenry.

More autonomy in designing integration at the local level will imply defining integration objectives beforehand that are in line with national strategies, while being adapted to local realities, and designing mechanisms for assessing the performance and impact. **The challenges multi-level governance poses are characterised by the OECD as gaps** – information, capacity, fiscal, administrative, policy, objective, accountability and participatory – which impact governance relationships and the effective delivery of public services.

- **Information gaps** are characterised by information asymmetries between different stakeholders involved in a certain policy field, whether voluntary or not. They reveal that information is not always shared efficiently and sufficiently between local authorities and higher levels of government;
- **Capacity gaps** are created when there is a lack of human, knowledge (skill-based), or infrastructural resources available to carry out tasks, regardless of the level of government;
- **Fiscal gaps** refer to the difference between subnational revenues and the required expenditures for subnational authorities to meet their responsibilities. It indicates a direct dependence on higher levels of government for funding and for a fiscal capacity to meet obligations.
- **Participatory gaps** arise when public actors do not communicate and use the skills of non-governmental actors;
- **Objective gaps** define how different rationalities can create obstacles for adopting convergent targets among the different stakeholders;
- **Policy gaps** are sectoral fragmentation of integration-related tasks at central level across ministries, as well as at local level across municipal departments and agencies since integrating migrants also means integrating policies that target them;
- **Accountability gaps** refer to the difficulty to ensure the transparency and integrity of practices across different constituencies.
- **Administrative gaps** arise when administrative borders do not correspond to functional areas at the subnational level;

Minding these gaps represents one of the primary challenges in multi-level governance as it conditions the good delivery of public services. In the past, through a series of case studies the OECD has studied different mechanisms used by countries to bridge these gaps and from them developed a checklist for public action to integrate migrants and refugees at the local level (OECD, 2018[4]).

III. Methodology

Introduction

As an example of contracts negotiated across levels of government, the OECD chose to assess Territorial Contracts for Refugee' Reception and Integration (CTAIR), which are characteristic of a desire to territorialise migrant integration policies.

To evaluate them, the OECD used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps that CTAIR seeks to mitigate (see Box 1). This common framework through which all policy instruments are evaluated has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects could be improved and how other governments could implement instruments adapted to their own context.

This assessment also reflects input from public and private local stakeholders from the cities or metropolitan areas of Brest, Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble, Lyon, Nantes, Rennes, Strasbourg and Toulouse further to an OECD questionnaire designed to evaluate the policy instrument. The OECD has partnered with the Diair to conduct this exercise.

The use of contracts

Contracts amongst levels of governments are one of the key tools for vertical co-ordination. They enable policymakers to territorialise policy making while implementing co-ordinated approaches across levels of government. Contracts reorganise the rights and duties of parties, without changing the law. Parties have to agree on: an assignment of rights of decision among the parties); a distribution of contributions, including funding, human capital, assets, etc. (mutual duties) and on mechanisms that guarantee the correct implementation of each party engagement and solve disputes (Enforcement) (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). In an optimal scenario, the engagement of parties through a contract is performed through several steps (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]):

- The **consultation** initiates the dialogue between central and subnational governments, both contributing to shared policy objectives. The consultation phase aims at establishing priorities and actions, by assessing regional development needs, as well as possible impacts on different categories of stakeholders. Several actors can be involved in the consultation, including private and non-profit sectors and civil society.
- The negotiation/signature leads to the **formal agreement** between central and subnational governments. At this stage, each actor must know what is expected from them and how its responsibilities interlock with other actors' actions.
- The **implementation phase** involves a number of "operational actors", such as local, provincial or other subnational institutions, as well as firms, associations, private actors and non-profit organisations.
- **Enforcement and evaluation** are two important components of the contracts. Enforcement mechanisms aim to solve possible conflicts and ensure that each party fulfils the commitments. The evaluation aims to assess impacts to ultimately learn from success and failures.

Beyond incentivising parties to adopt compatible behaviour, contracts are tools for dialogue and for learning. In the domain of migrant integration, contracts can serve to ensure that national-level policy decisions and local priorities cohere and synergistically contribute to national development targets (OECD, 2010[6]). As such, they sometimes represent the only option for central governments to co-ordinate with regions and cities since adopting other multi-level governance instruments would require significant time-consuming institutional changes that may lead to unforeseen/undesirable results. Contracts thus are a powerful tool able to address multi-level governance gaps all at once. Several governments already use them to help manage interdependencies and solve institutional weaknesses.

IV. Co-ordination strengths

How the policy instrument helps bridge multi-level governance gaps

CTAIR helps bridge different information gaps

First, CTAIRs enable information to circulate better between local actors, including associations and the private sector. At the start of each contract, local actors are involved in the construction of a shared field diagnosis to identify needs and existing actions. Depending on the local authority, this diagnosis takes various forms. In most places, public and private integration stakeholders take part and then contribute to drafting the specifications of the resulting calls for projects (Box 2 details Clermont-Ferrand's approach). The diagnoses can build on external studies. Thus in Nantes, previous diagnoses carried out by the NGO Médecins du Monde on the health problems of populations living in precarious housing were used.

Box 2. Good practice : initial inclusive diagnosis

Clermont-Ferrand

In Clermont-Ferrand, the initial diagnosis was realised through a series of working groups that brought together institutional and non-governmental actors as well as refugees to discuss topics that will constitute the contract's axes: housing, youth under 25 years old, health, professional integration and learning French, education and citizenship. 3 sessions pursuing the following goals were held per topic:

- Identify and map existing instruments;
- Identify gaps, needs, and areas for improvement;
- Think about common and new solutions.

Ultimately, 15 working sessions brought together more than 70 participants, each bringing some expertise on a factor of integration. This triggered real networking and a deep understanding of who does what for refugees in the territory. The participation of two refugees in the elaboration of the territorial diagnosis and to the committee selecting the actions to be funded allowed for ground realities to be taken into account and nurtured the group's acknowledgements of already existing actions. Beyond local actors, the Diair and local representatives of the state also attended these meetings. In addition, the city's urban and social project management team (MOUS) conducted interviews with refugees members of the cohort targeted by the CTAIR to feed its reflection.

Second, the CTAIR also provides experience-sharing and peer learning platforms for CTAIR signatory metropolitan areas and cities. All surveyed cities agree that the contracts have made it possible to better share information between the different CTAIR signatories. The city of Lyon has, for instance, built connections with the city of Dijon to create coherence between their action plans. The Department of Social and Urban Development of Clermont-Ferrand carried out a benchmark with other signatory cities or metropolises (Lyon, Grenoble, Dijon, Nantes and Strasbourg) and networking has started between project managers of the cities of Lyon, Grenoble and Dijon.

By enabling information to circulate better, CTAIRs simultaneously address several capacity gaps

Due to better information and a stronger budget, it is easier to assess and adjust for capacity strengths and weaknesses regardless of the level of government. CTAIRs have allowed metropolitan areas and cities to fill different kinds of capacity gaps.

First, the additional financial resources allocated by the State enabled local governments to increase their human resource capacities. Many cities and metropolitan areas have hired people to work exclusively on

refugee integration and the implementation of the CTAIR. Municipalities have used this capacity to different ends. In Grenoble, the city established a team of two people to handle the implementation of contracts. In Brest, the city hired a real estate prospector to search for new housing solutions in the territory. In Lyon, the local team recruited a psychiatrist nurse to act on mental health issues.

Second, some contracts focused on training volunteers and civil servants, thus filling in technical and reactivity capacities gaps (see Box 3). In Clermont-Ferrand, those providing French courses to migrant populations have thus been able to acquire a better knowledge of teaching techniques and workshops are open to city agents and a glossary is in progress to allow different actors to better understand each other (Clermont-Ferrand, DDCS 63 and DIAIR, 2020[7]). The Lyon metropolis has created, in consultation with the Rhône prefecture and Forum Refugiés Cosi (the association in charge of implementing actions) a training course for social workers from the Metropolitan centres.

Box 3. Good Practice: train professionals to better support refugees

Nantes

This is one of the four ambitions that the city of Nantes is pursuing through its CTAIR. To this end, the city constructed, in partnership with the University of Nantes, an awareness module on the migration issue for its officers who interface with this public. The objective is to guarantee the quality of reception, whatever the situation and the path of users. The module explores the major issues of migration, the migration journey, the deconstruction of stereotypes, reception practices and the intercultural approach. It is also aimed at professionals in charge of project engineering to help them integrate migration-issues from the start. The module began in 2020 with 40 agents and should be generalised soon.

Source: https://metropole.nantes.fr/files/pdf/Egalite/VDN%20Migration%20Integration%20Diversites%202019%20BD.pdf.

Third, most of the surveyed actors believe that the CTAIRs have developed their negotiation and dialogue capacities, including with associations and the business sector. Beyond the actions they finance, contracts also serve to ramp up capacities in the long term by launching or affirming a local dynamic in favour of integrating refugees and migrants. Through the contracts, cities and metropolitan areas acquire knowledge and skills on how to integrate refugees and thus gain legitimacy in this matter. In many cities, what had started as the signature of a contract transformed into a broad engagement towards refugees. Besides actions financed through its CTAIR, Lyon thus allocated credits for migrant integration from its own budget to support the impetus provided by the contract. Furthermore, since they signed the CTAIR most cities and metropolises have stepped up their overall commitment to the theme of integration. Several have joined the national association of welcoming cities and territories (ANVITA) while in Brest, of the new real estate prospector has triggered momentum that should sustain thereafter. Local authorities also generalise some actions originally financed by the CTAIR. In Nantes, the agent awareness program will thus be included in the next community training plan.

Finally, the CTAIR implementation framework has favoured the adoption of other governance tools - committees, reunions and workshops – which ameliorate the dialogue among stakeholders and the possibility to share information in relation with other issues than the strict CTAIR projects.

CTAIR addresses a fiscal gap by allocating additional resources for a specific local purpose

First, CTAIR bridge a fiscal gap by bringing the central state and local authorities to select together actions to finance. In Strasbourg, pre-existent actions engaged to improve access to the French language and to engage citizens were reinforced and Rennes extended already existing actions to refugee populations. Furthermore, the evaluations that several cities conduct or will conduct on the contractual tool and on its results will help them bargain with the central state or other financial grantors for extra resources if results reveal both positive results and remaining needs.

Second, CTAIR allow local actors to leverage the DIAIR's donation to ask for funds from other sources to match their means. In parallel, local authorities can increase their financial autonomy by securing additional co-financing through national or European calls for proposal such as the call for projects for the integration of refugees through jobs proposed by the Banque des Territoires or those of the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) of the European Commission. Grenoble's CTAIR thus allowed the city to increase its financial resources by a lot more than the amount secured by the contract.

Because their design and implementation requires negotiation and time, CTAIR creates strong ties between the interested parties and addresses participatory gaps

First, CTAIR are designed to change the way projects are carried out by making better use of the expertise and skills of local players. They enable public authorities to build on non-governmental organisations' capacities. Non-profit ones participate to the baseline assessment and to the selection of actions that they are in charge of implementing. In parallel, to non-profit actors, already very involved and more expert on integration questions, the CTAIR also permit cities to identify new allies in the economic world, which nevertheless remains very little involved. In Clermont-Ferrand, the urban agency for public transport (SMTC) participated in working groups and some projects started to be conducted with the Michelin group, a worldwide pneumatics company with historical headquarters in the city.

An important benefit of the participation of different actors is that it reduces overlaps and increase efficiency between publicly and privately (non-profit) led actions in favour of refugees. During the initial shared diagnosis some associations thus realised they were conducted similar actions and were able to come together to achieve economies of scale. In Grenoble, the CTAIR replaced a series of policies designed by various actors in charge of different sometimes-overlapping areas of responsibility.

The implication of different actors in the CTAIR facilitates the alignment of the different parties' objectives

All surveyed local actors find that contracts have helped align local stakeholder objectives. The co-construction of actions (diagnosis, development of proposals and selection of projects) enabled actors to exchange their views and reach common agreements about what objectives to pursue. Once they start implementing projects, actors' priorities can evolve in different directions, notably depending on the constraints they face, but at least they share the general framework of the contract.

Most surveyed local actors find that contracts have helped align state and local authority goals, although sometimes at the cost of certain renunciation on the part of actors in the field. For example, field-actors may describe accommodation as the principal door to integration, while the "deconcentrated" central state services in the place do not consider this axis as a priority to be financed. Respondents who find contracts did not allow for both levels of government to reach an agreement nevertheless say CTAIR help understand the central state's priorities.

Furthermore, contracts fostered collaboration between cities and metropolitan areas, which they are part of. In Nantes, a diagnosis-action partnership was partly led by the city and the metropole to assess the professionalisation needs of employment intermediaries to support migrants and refugees.

CTAIR fills some policy gaps by creating bridges between universal and dedicated systems, as well as between dedicated actions

First, these contacts foster refugees' smooth transition to universal services by promoting mutual understanding and co-operation opportunities between actors specialised in supporting refugees and universal services providers (health, education, etc.). In Dijon and Grenoble, CTAIRs have allowed for individual needs assessments which then bring together the different actors concerned: culture, sport, mobility, health, alimentation, housing, employment, etc.

Second, CTAIR's tackle disruption in the provision of services as some of their actions fill gaps between different systems that target refugees. In Toulouse and Lyon, contracts have served to finance actions ensuring young refugees are never without a housing solutions by filling the gap between the dedicated national reception system (DNA) and long-term housing (social or private park). In Lyon, shared flats have thus been created for young people under 25, making it possible to create an airlock between the DNA and long-term housing. Given the lack of resources available for this public and the shortage of small housing on the metropolitan area, this project allows refugees to have time to gain access to employment or to the young refugee guarantee scheme by making flats available for a maximum of 12 months.

CTAIR provides a formal mean to enhance accountability and transparency

Contracts dictate "who will do what" and thus clarify the allocation of tasks across levels of government, and local stakeholder. Efforts made by cities and metropolitan areas such as Grenoble to make them accessible to the public permits citizens to identify the responsibilities of each party, thereby increasing accountability. Such citizen oversight could result in a strong incentive for each party to undertake the means necessary for achieving objectives, including co-ordination with other levels of government.

Many surveyed cities agree that contracts have made it possible to bring about greater transparency in most local practices linked to the reception and integration of refugees although some difficulties remain. Prefectures' foreigners' services may for instance be responsible for several administrative blockages. Furthermore, most surveyed cities agree that contracts have made it possible to bring about greater transparency in budgets relating to the reception and integration of refugees.

CTAIR diminishes administrative gaps as they allow addressing refugee inclusion needs at the appropriate scale

Contracts avoid building new institutions or modifying existing ones, both of which are time-consuming and unpredictable in terms of results. Contrary to contracts between private actors and differently from a competitive market mechanism, contracts across levels of government support a necessary co-operation, as they must deal with one another to achieve policy goals (OECD, 2007[8]).

The CTAIR bridges an administrative gap by giving cities the opportunity to meet the needs of refugees living on their territory through actions in policy sectors that otherwise do not fall under their responsibility. In France, metropolitan areas exercise enhanced powers, in place of the member municipalities, in areas such as economic, social and cultural development and planning; local housing policy; urban policy; management of services of collective interest; etc. (Vie publique, 2021[9]). The resolution of this gap is not necessarily the same everywhere depending of which level of local government is the signatory.

Outcomes of the policy instrument

It is too soon to include observations on the impact of the CTAIR on refugee integration and overall wellbeing. To this day, neither the Diair nor the great majority of cities and metropolitan areas have planned evaluations. Yet, some indicators can already testify to the benefits of these contracts.

CTAIR enables to target sub-groups of refugees, otherwise hardly reached

The CTAIRs have made it possible to provide specific support to priority audiences: Women, Youth under 25, Refugees whose journey into exile has caused terrible psychological damage.

Indeed most of the CTAIR encompass actions targeting the most vulnerable sub-groups of refugees whose needs often stay unaddressed. The metropole of Rennes is, for instance, thinking of establishing vocational training programmes for women, such personal assistance ones (following the example of existing systems in the construction industry for example which have an exclusively male audience).

CTAIR enable local authorities to innovate and test the effectiveness of new actions

Contracts aim to avoid a one-size-fits-all approach and leave scope for adapting policies to territorial characteristics, while overcoming institutional fragmentation (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). In this sense, they give both central and subnational governments leeway to experiment innovative context-specific approaches in some areas, thereby building knowledge that will improve policy making.

CTAIR allow for more flexibility than many other sources of funding available to local authorities. The Diair could use innovation's results to extend good practices to other cities and metropolitan areas.

Box 4. Three CTAIR innovative actions dedicated to access to housing for refugees

The Teroloko project, Grenoble

Launched in the Grenoble region in 2019, this project aims to create a place of reception and integration for refugees and inhabitants of the territory. By supporting people living in a rural area, the project jointly addresses issue of housing, employment and integration. The program tries to improve participants' mastery of French and access to training and employment while facilitating access to housing by working on a construction site. Tero Loko's activites did not cease during the confinement period, and made possible the recruitment of several bakers and market gardeners from May 2020.

The "one roof, one support" project, Lyon

Deployed within Greater Lyon, this project offers a solidarity colocation scheme for young people under 25 in employment or at the end of their training. Forum Réfugiés-Cosi, the association in charge of implementing the CTAIR in Lyon, identifies the beneficiaries and directs them to the Ailoj association, which is in charge of collecting housing.

The reinforces housing guarantee system, Rennes

In order to support young refugees under 25 in financial difficulty, local authorities of Rennes metropole have worked to set up an additional housing guarantee for young beneficiaries of international protection, in conjunction with the managers of the Housing Youth Residences in the area. An additional guarantee of EUR 1 500 is offered to cover for payment defaults and possible damage, carried by the municipal social action centre (CCAS). This experimental financial boost makes it possible to remove the budget condition, which is too often blocking for young refugees who are seeking long-term housing.

Source: https://accueil-integration-refugies.fr/2021/01/21/les-actions-de-la-diair-pour-favoriser-lacces-au-logement-des-refugies/

CTAIR reinforces resilience during the COVID-19 crisis

Despite the crisis, the 2020 CTAIR were prepared and credits sent to the prefectures. It is too soon to say to what extent the actions undertaken through CTAIRs were able to support refugees. Yet, in almost all surveyed cities and metropolitan areas, some actors estimate CTAIR have favoured refugees' access to health and housing and helped maintain a social link with beneficiaries. In Clermont-Ferrand, the CTAIR finances an access-to-health action of a disease-screening association that continued its activity during the crisis. In Brest, associations checked upon refugees benefiting from the city's flats through phone calls and in Nantes, phone calls were also used to stay in touch with refugees placed in housing.

This is all the more important as the COVID-19 crisis, by disproportionately harming refugee and migrant populations and the places where they tend to concentrate (urban areas), calls more than ever for policies tailored to local realities (Charbit and Tharaux, 2020[10]). Studies in a number of OECD countries found for migrants an infection risk that is at least twice as high as that of the native-born, explained notably by work,

housing conditions and poverty. Furthermore, available evidence already shows a disproportionately negative toll on immigrant labour market outcomes.

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The methodology based on multi-level governance gaps has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects of the policy instruments could be improved towards greater efficiency.

The inclusion of CTAIR in all policies and actions targeting refugee integration

Migrants suffer from various vulnerabilities and thus benefit from a multitude of universal and targeted services. Yet, the multiplicity of actions and actors, not always known and co-ordinated, can have detrimental repercussions on overall efficiency and on the quality of integration pathways.

Among the 250 CTAIR actions launched across France in 2019 and 2020, 15, representing 21% of the envelope allocated to these contracts, were dedicated to access to housing. In 2021 this thematic will necessarily feature in all CTAIRs (Diair, 2021[11]). These actions complement pre-existent state mechanisms. Of the 11 cities and metropolitan areas who have signed a CTAIR, 8 are also part of the “Housing First” plan, implemented in parallel by the Inter-ministerial Delegation for Housing and Access to Housing (DIHAL), responsible for leading public action in favour of housing for refugees, and which has permitted in 2019 the relocation of more than 20 000 refugees. This risks creating overlap situations.

Many of the survey respondents found the co-ordination of CTAIR actions with national programs targeting refugees should be improved, notably with the “Housing first” one but also with the National Strategy of Prevention and Fight against Poverty and the Skills Investment Plan. The preliminary evaluation of the CTAIR conducted in certain local authorities also mentioned the need for better articulation. Local actors notably pointed at the difficulties integration actors can face when trying to navigate the different programs.

Integration cannot be achieved through a multitude of specific projects dissociated from one another. On the contrary, it requires the mobilisation of a "holistic" approach, integrating into a single system the different universal and targeted integration strategies.

This issue could be addressed at the initial diagnosis stage:

- At that step, actors should ensure that responses provided through the CTAIR do not only take into account actions already conducted by local actors but also consider targeted public policies (e.g. PLIE of the Metropolis, Housing First) and universal ones (Pôle emploi, Mission locale, PAEJ).
- A compulsory selection criterion to select CTAIR actions could be a good fit with actions already engaged through existing public and private programmes.
- National authorities in charge of these sectoral programmes (for Housing or to improve skills) should be part of the participatory mechanism that serves to select CTAIR priorities and objectives.
- Another option would be to manage at the national level an “inter-ministerial” delegation in charge of supporting vulnerable population groups with similar needs that could co-ordinate all public actions and dialogue with sub national governments.

Disruption in the provision of basic services for refugees caused by insufficient bridges between common law and dedicated systems

Recourse to ad hoc actions is insufficient to ensure the successful integration of refugees which requires time and multi-facet programmes. Refugee populations face additional barriers that impede their integration and require special interventions. Access to employment can for instance be hindered by insufficient knowledge of French, absence of available housing in the area of potential jobs, health issues or presence of un-scolarised children. Moreover, COVID-19 has exacerbated mental health problems for many, which can affect their employment prospects (OECD, 2020[12]). Already, pre-COVID-19, people with

mild-to-moderate mental illness were twice as likely to be unemployed, while people with severe disorders were, in many countries, four or five times as likely to be jobless (OECD, 2015[13]). Taking advantage of the inter-ministerial nature of the Diair to integrate mental health support into re-employment support may become crucial. Overall, the Diair could build more on its inter-ministerial nature to deliver less fragmented actions and fill-in gaps between different systems and avoid disruption in refugee access to basic services.

Opening CTAIRs to lower density municipalities

The limitation of CTAIRs to urban areas fences the dynamic into some territories although others, more rural, would be ready to engage in supporting refugees and could offer complementary opportunities for integration. Indeed, while the concentration of refugees in one territory risks putting pressure on local services and can negatively impact host communities' perception of migration, in smaller cities it might be easier for refugees to access public services such as housing or health ones. Small towns and rural areas prove to be places of hospitality where refugees are not seen as anonymous newcomers (Tardis, 2019[14]) and can quickly become members of the local community. Typical drawbacks of these places exist such as lack of public transportation or lack of health services but strong mobilisations of local residents seem to help mitigate these handicaps. The fact more rural places often can suffer from demographic decline also makes the integration of refugees a "win-win" solution for the local labour market and social structures. In this context, almost all actors surveyed mentioned opening of the contracts to non-metropolitan areas as a potential improvement. CTAIR actions in Clermont-Ferrand must already benefit locals and people residing in neighbouring municipalities (Clermont-Ferrand, DDCS 63 and DIAIR, 2020[7]).

Large cities and metropolitan areas already engaged with the Diair can learn from small cities and rural areas, especially in terms of civil society engagement. In less urban areas, citizens often participate more actively to integration efforts by providing these "little things" that help refugees acquire French cultural and social codes (Tardis, 2019[14]). CTAIR could help formalise and replicate this model in larger cities at the level of neighbourhoods where interpersonal relationships are possible.

Finally, France and other European countries increasingly sought to distribute refugees and migrants out of large cities which are currently facing shortages of affordable housing. Testing new actions in less urban areas could accelerate the implementation of good practices.

The Diair announced for 2021 a reinforced articulation with the network of mayors and elected representatives Solid'R led by the Diair, which will make it possible to open up the CTAIR system to rural areas. This goes in the right direction and should inspire other national and local governments engaged in similar contracts or who are thinking of ways to better integrate refugees.

Allow CTAIR actions to target people according to their needs rather than their status

Focusing on migrants' legal status does not appear as the most efficient choice in terms of improving integration, especially in times of crisis. Adopting instead a need-oriented approach to pick actions to fund (in terms of learning, social support, etc.) will ensure contracts have the best cost-benefit ratio.

Being able to target to newcomers - whether asylum seekers, students, etc. - without considering their status is in territories' interest. Past research results stress the importance of early integration, emphasising that newcomers need to avoid, after arrival, long periods of unemployment (OECD, 2018[15]). The first two to three years from arrival have a disproportionally positive impact on the probability of finding a job, which drops by 23% after this time (Bansak, Hainmueller and Hangartner, 2016[16]). Therefore, the cost of non-action during the "integration window" is disproportionally high. Yet, today in many countries the recognition procedure is very long. In France, under the normal procedure, the Ofpra responsible for recognising refugee status is supposed to rule on asylum application within six months of their submission to the Office. In some cases, this period extends to a total of 21 months (Ofpra, 2021[17]). Thus, many newly arrived asylum seekers who are in a very dynamic process of inclusion do not have access to many services, which breaks them in their tracks.

The Diair recently announced that in 2021 the CTAIR will allow interested communities to open, in conjunction with the Directorate of Integration and Access to Nationality (DIAN - DGEF), actions to "primo-arrivants" - nationals of countries outside the European Union, staying regularly in France for family, professional or humanitarian reasons, and having a vocation to stay there permanently. Are not concerned international students, asylum seekers, unaccompanied minors nor illegal aliens. This goes in the right direction. This opening is the result of the recent rapprochement between the Diair's programmes and those of the General Directorate for Foreigners in France (DGEF) in terms of partnership with local authorities. The new "Integration Territories" set in motion a renewed state approach broken down into territorial reception and integration contracts and projects (CTAI / PTAI). Concretely, this new instrument allows willing communities to extend their contract to newcomers (Diair, 2021[18]).

Sustainability of funding

The three-year financing period of the CTAIR may be too short to enable local authorities to properly address refugee vulnerability, gain association and business trust and engage in innovative programmes. All surveyed local actors believe the Diair should extend this multi-year funding.

First, this length does not allow CTAIR to design integration policies that live throughout refugees' lives and evolution of residency status. As underlined in a previous OECD report (OECD, 2018[15]), integration policies need to stretch well beyond the first introductory months and respond to situations and needs that change over time. On average, it takes refugees up to 20 years to reach native borns' employment rate. Helping refugees participate fully in the local economy is thus a continuous effort that does not end after the first introduction period. Actions funded over many years can take into account the fact that over time migrants develop better knowledge of their new community, improve their language skills and build social networks to tap into better opportunities, but may at some turning points still need specific local responses (OECD, 2018[15]). It is thus important to open up a new discussion on how to strike a balance between the continuous funding needs of Diair's partners and national financial transfers, which often decline over time.

Second, local authorities underlined that it takes them time to earn local public and private actor trust, not always used to seeing cities and metropolitan areas intervene in the integration field. Building a relationship without knowing if funding of commonly-led local action is sustainable is complicated.

Third, anticipation of stable support with time represents a major incentive for innovation. For different actors, it is not worth launching experimental actions if their continued financial support is not guaranteed.

Fourth, the COVID-19 crisis has illustrated the need for flexibility in engagements and funding. By taking discussion between parties outside the legal, often rigid, framework, contracts allow for the frequency and amount of funding to vary over time according to needs. It is important actors take advantage of this particularity. For this, good communication must be in place for actors to react quickly when needs suddenly change. Intermediate steps of evaluation and adaptation strategies could help remove unnecessary constraints in contract implementation.

Finally, the multi-year nature of financing will remain important even in case the contractual structure evaporates. It will allow to preserve a tool for dialogue and the habit of co-operating to meet the needs of the most vulnerable. In Canada for instance, the "Vancouver Agreement" involving all three levels of government (the Government of Canada, the Government of British Columbia and the City of Vancouver) was renewed twice before stakeholders agreed a formal contract was no longer needed to co-ordinate across levels of government. Indeed, the evaluation of the agreement (2000-10) notably acknowledged that the two generations of five-year contracts had strengthened social capital and trust, thus building foundations for future collaborations amongst levels of government (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]).

Enforcement and evaluation to improve the credibility and verifiability of contracts

Regardless of the purpose of the contract, enforcement and evaluation are two fundamental steps for its success: the first helps influence the behaviour of the parties, the second helps assess the results of the

contract itself (which in turn can be used to influence partners' behaviour (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). Yet, both mechanisms are, for the moment, relatively unused for CTAIR.

Evaluation is an important step for learning from past successes and failures and adopting good practices. Nowadays, evaluations of contracts are very rare and indicators are still far from being perfect. However, they are always useful when publicly available. Evaluation should be carried out in a consistent time-frame, taking into account that regional development policies generate impacts over a long period of time. In the great majority of cities and metropolitan areas, no evaluation mechanism is yet in place, nor of the contractual tool itself nor of CTAIR outcomes in terms of how they favour the achievement of the national integration policy or of how they improve refugee integration (see Box 5). Many surveyed subnational authorities indicated that they would like to engage in some evaluation but do not have the budget for it.

First, assessing the functioning of CTAIR and the achievement of expected results could help determine the validity of this co-ordination tool and suggest ways forward. Evaluations would help guide the implementation of the contracts, adapt their objectives to changing realities, support the necessary readjustments and ensure more efficient allocation of shared tasks across stakeholders (OECD, 2009[19]). The establishment of clear indicators as it was done in Nantes and Brest will be helpful to identify: whether or not results have been achieved; whether additional funds are needed; whether a contract should be renewed; and, if agreed ex-ante, whether performance rewards or sanctions should be distributed.

Second, CTAIR do not seem to have fully favoured transparency in the practices and budgets devoted to the reception and integration of refugees. Most local players surveyed notice transparency amelioration at the city or metropolitan level but not at the State one. In an incomplete information environment, developing performance indicators would help enhance transparency and accountability, even though integration results are often hard to describe quantitatively. Evaluations led by independent evaluators could be a solution (Kaufmann and Kraay, 2008[20])

Box 5. Good practice: conduct evaluation

Clermont-Ferrand

Throughout the deployment of its CTAIR's actions, Clermont-Ferrand carries out an evaluation both of the contractual tool itself and of its results on refugee's integration. The evaluation builds on the actions' impact on a cohort of refugees who are followed during the project duration time. The Clermont Metropole Urban Planning Agency is in charge of the evaluation, which breaks down into three themes:

- The refugees in the cohort;
- The actions deployed;
- The actor-system.

Several assessment tools have been deployed by the agency:

- Interviews with the members of the cohort;
- Evaluation forms for actions deployed under the contract including monitoring of participants;
- A follow-up form to characterise the Department of Social and Urban Development (DDSU) contacts with refugees;
- Ad hoc evaluation questionnaires, for example, on focus groups;

Series of qualitative interviews with the Social Project Management, with refugees who participated in actions or decision-making bodies, with elected officials in charge of deploying the contract, with the Departmental Direction of Social Cohesion (DDCS), with associative partners.

Third, the Diair could make evaluation results publicly available to incentivise its partners to score highly. The strength of this incentive will depend on how information is used and by whom (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). Many local actors regret the lack of common communication campaigns led by the state or the

Diair. Besides presentation brochure already publicly available, the Diair could launch a communication campaign to increase the visibility of cities and metropolitan areas' good practices and achievements.
Finally, enforcement mechanisms aim to solve possible conflicts and ensure that each party fulfils the commitments (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). In doing so, enforcement mechanisms push the parties to comply with their agreements, through internal and external mechanisms. Stakeholder expectations are a driver to make policy-makers more accountable and their behaviour more transparent. But in order to do so, it is important to set the conditions for the stakeholders to operate their "control", through availability of information, consultation and other forms of engagement. Informal enforcement mechanisms may be requested and applied in those national cultures more oriented towards trust and mutual responsibility. The choice of the appropriate enforcement and evaluation processes, depending on the various objectives for which countries use contracts across levels of government, is crucial and merits further exploration.

Better co-operation/division of competences with higher levels of government

Overall, the contracts have helped clarify most level of government's responsibilities but communication with central authorities remains weak.

First, most cities and metropolitan areas agree the CTAIR made it possible to clarify the distribution of responsibilities between cities and metropolises. In places where the CTAIR was signed only with the City, the Metropolis was often involved in the reflections and discussions took place on the distribution of skills and the roles of each. In Nantes, the CTAIR is supported by the City but enable to mobilise the Metropolis' action fields. If a certain fuzziness remains, the opportunities for discussions emanating from the contract offer the prospect of medium-term clarification of everyone's actions.

Second, some cities find that contracts lead to a better allocation of competences at the "departmental" level (intermediary level between municipalities and regions, mainly in charge of social policies in France). Yet, in most places, discussions took place with the "department", notably during the shared diagnoses' focus groups, but without really formalising who is in charge of what.

Third, in all contracts the involvement of regional authorities is very weak or non-existent. Most actors have no exchange with the regional level although many of them underline it could be interesting notably regarding training programmes. Regional levels could also facilitate urban-rural co-operation for refugees.

Fourth, the CTAIR have not always made it possible to better share information between the Central State or its local services and local authorities "deconcentrated services". Understanding how competencies are shared with these actors is thus more challenging. The involvement of the Diair is a way for subnational governments to better grasp the central government expectations and should be used in that way.

Engage more with the private sector

Interaction with non-governmental actors, including private citizens, charities and foundations can critically strengthen local authority capacity to integrate refugees. Yet, although there is great potential, in the OECD the business sector just contributes in a limited way to local integration activities and the integration of refugees remain mainly in the hands of associative and institutional actors.

Cities and metropolitan areas are in an ideal position to create partnerships with different local donors (e.g. private sector, foundations, etc.) based on a shared understanding of integration as an opportunity for all in the community (Castras and Kirchberger, 2009[21]). In this sense, crowdfunding for local public goods can be effective (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017[22])and could happen in the CTAIR framework.

To this date, businesses players participate more on an occasional basis. By becoming core partners of CTAIR, businesses could invest in some actions and thus advance the impact, effectiveness and scale of integration activities at local level, directly pilot innovative programs notably in the labour and housing sector that the central government does not want to finance and bring their own expertise notably with regards to evaluation technics. They could also directly contribute to the identification of needed skills in the local job market, helping to support training for refugees in the industrial specialisations that offer better chances to obtain a job.

2 The Network "Integration through Qualification (IQ)", Germany

Improving migrant employment opportunities through credential recognition of qualifications acquired abroad

I. Background

In Germany, immigration has risen significantly in recent years. In 2020, 26.7% of the German population - around 21.9 million people - had a migrant background, compared to 26% in 2019 (Federal Statistical Office, 2021[23]), and 17.8% in 2005 (Network IQ, 2021[24]). The share of the foreign-born population increased by 30% between 2010 and 2020 (OECD, 2021[25]). This overall influx of migrants comes particularly from other European countries although since 2015, a considerable number of people from third countries have sought asylum in Germany. Germany's refugee population more than doubled in the course of 2016 to reach 669 500, mostly due to the recognition of asylum claims lodged in 2015 (UNHCR, 2017[26]). In 2020, 1.77 million recognised refugees were living in the country.

Recent data for Germany show that while only some 40 % of the working-age refugee population were employed by the third quarter of 2019, the integration of refugees in the labour market is progressing faster than expected compared to previous arrivals of refugees (UNHCR, 2020[27]). Yet, in 2019 unemployment in Germany remained about twice as high among people who have a migration background compared to those who do not (Network IQ, 2021[24]). Many migrants hold professional degrees or other valuable credentials that are frequently not recognised in Germany and are thus unable to find employment matching their qualifications. At the same time, the German labour market is affected by skills shortage.

The Recognition Act

The Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Professional Qualifications Act, also known as the Recognition Act entered into force in 2012 to improve the assessment and recognition of professional and vocational education and training qualifications acquired abroad. It was designed to mitigate the difficulties in finding unemployment faced by people with vocational qualifications acquired outside of Germany and to foster attractiveness for high-skilled foreign workers.

It introduces a standardised national procedure and criteria for the assessment and recognition of foreign professional and vocational qualifications, enshrining in the law the right to a recognition procedure and regulating it. More than 600 occupations falling under federal jurisdiction are concerned by this Act.

Migrant labour market integration in the face of COVID-19

As mentioned above, in Germany, people with a migration background face higher barrier to labour market entry - including discrimination - than people who do not. The COVID-19 crisis put considerable pressure on the German labour market, leading to a rise in unemployment and underemployment from March 2020

onwards, starting with the most vulnerable population groups. Migrants were particularly hard hit as they often lack professional qualification, training or academic qualifications. Besides, temporary employments, which migrants and refugees tend to concentrate in, were amongst the first ones to disappear. Thus among third-country nationals the unemployment rate was in July 2020 46.7% higher for EU nationals (Network IQ, 2020[28]). Employment figures, however, have started to increase again.

Finally, underemployment, which occurs when an individual does not work full time or has a job that does not match their training and financial needs, is higher than unemployment for persons from non-European countries of origin, also including refugees who are part of integration and labour market programmes. Between 2019 and 2020 it rose by 4.3%, touching 406,100 persons (Kahle and Weber, 2021[29]).

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

The funding programme Network "Integration through Qualification (IQ)" (Förderprogramm "*Integration durch Qualifizierung (IQ)" – IQ Netzwerk*) was first established in Germany in 2005 to improve employment opportunities for people with a migration background. It is the first federal comprehensive network structure which exclusively focuses on migrants alongside labour market stakeholders as a target group. Since 2015, Network IQ focuses on compensatory measures in the context of the Recognition Act. One objective of central importance is that occupational qualifications acquired outside Germany lead to employment appropriate to one's level of education.

Priority areas

Network IQ builds on four priority areas:

1. **Counselling for credential recognition and job training**: The network provides counselling services for people holding foreign credentials through its 170 advisory structures nationwide, 70 permanent and 100 mobile. They give migrants information about available services, such as bridge training schemes or compensatory measures. In 2017, the Network IQ developed a new programme line "Fair Integration" that targets refugees and, since 2019, third-country nationals. Advice centres specifically for these groups thus now exist in all sixteen Länder.
2. **Bridge training schemes within the context of the Recognition Act**: subprojects of the network offer compensatory measures for the full recognition of foreign professional qualifications. Training can compensate for qualifications required in regulated professions. Bridge training schemes are also available for academics in non-regulated professions.
3. **Development of intercultural competence of key labour market stakeholders:** the Network IQ provides to public actors, such as employment agencies, job centres or private employers trainings and consultancies to raise awareness about migrant-specific issues to mitigate discrimination within organisations and at labour market entry.
4. **Regional skilled worker networks – immigration:** In co-operation with the Employer-Service of the Federal Employment Agency, the network advises employers on the procedures of the Skilled Immigration Act (effective since March 2020) and refers question on integration management to the responsible bodies. It connects relevant stakeholders working to secure the supply of skilled labour and works with the Service Centre for Professional Recognition (ZSBA) at the federal level.

Funding of Network IQ

Network IQ first ran from 2015 to 2018 and in January 2019, a new funding round started that will extend until December 2022. Funds come from the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales* - BMAS*)* and the European Social Fund (ESF). The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesministerium für Migration und Flüchtlinge* - BAMF), which is a

subordinated agency to the Federal Ministry of Interior, Building and Community (*Bundesministerium des Innern, Bau und Heimat* - BMI), oversees administrating the funds. Co-operation partners are the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* - BMBF) and the Federal Employment Agency (*Bundesagentur für Arbeit* - BA),

At the regional level, the ESF funds counselling on credential recognition and job training and the Fair Integration programme (priority area 1), as well as bridge training schemes within the context of the Recognition Act (priority area 2). The BMAS funds subprojects linked to the development of intercultural competence and diversity management (priority area 3), as well as regional networks for skilled labour immigration (priority area 4).

Structure of Network IQ

Network IQ is made up of 16 regional networks, one in each region. Regional networks are headed by a co-ordination office, which manages the implementation and operation of subprojects on the ground. Network IQ leads around 400 subprojects nationwide.

Besides regional networks, five competence centres are dedicated at the federal-level to migrant-specific issues. Spread throughout Germany, they provide expert advice and support to the regional networks by developing training schemes, instruments and policy recommendations for the integration of migrants into the labour market. In addition, they are responsible for giving advice to decision-makers in politics, business and public administration on matters ranging from the development of quality standards and learning materials to the dissemination of research results. Administration and co-ordination of competence centres is devolved to specialised non-governmental actors.

At the federal level, the IQ Dissemination Project (IQ DP) ("Multiplier Project Transfer (MUT IQ)") co-ordinates the implementation of the program, supports this with nationwide public relations work (IQ Network, 2021[30]) and conducts monitoring about subprojects activities in the priority areas 3 and 4 as well as the Fair Integration programme line (priority area 1). Together with the Competence Centres, the IQ DP reports the network's results to relevant government ministries, the BA and the expert community.

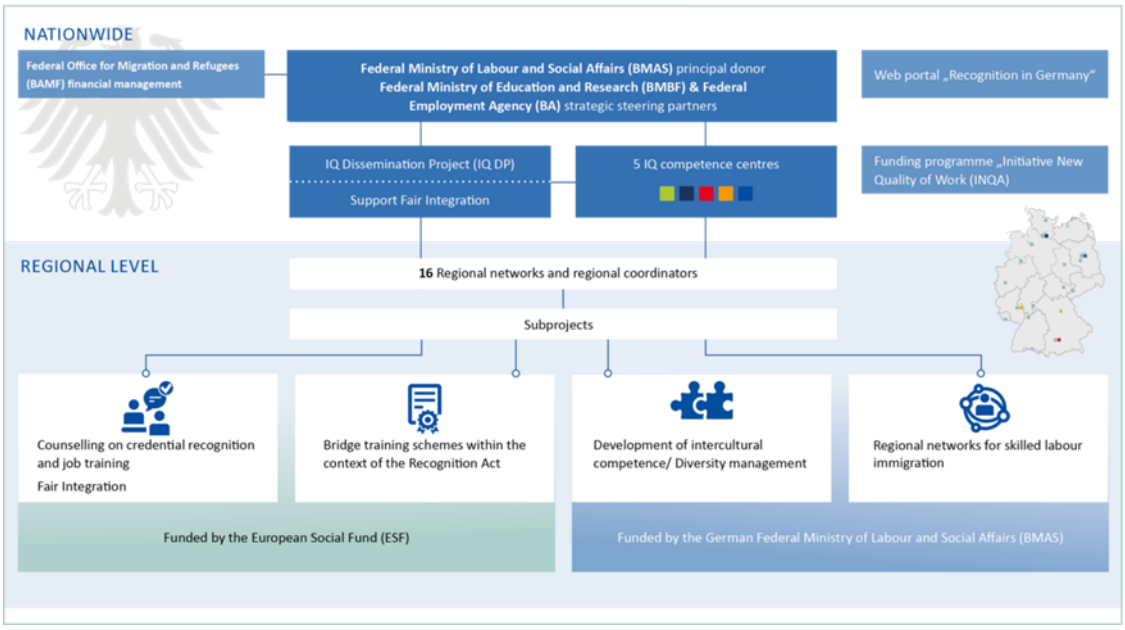
In MUT IQ, two partners - ebb, the Development Agency for Vocational Education (*Entwicklungsgesellschaft für berufliche Bildung mbH)* and ZWH, the Central Agency for Continuing Vocational Education and Training in Skilled Crafts (*Zentralstelle für die Weiterbildung im Handwerk e.V)* (IQ Network, 2021[31]) - make up the IQ IQ DP and are responsible for the following areas:

- Nationwide public relations (ebb and ZWH),
- program-internal knowledge management (ebb),
- Advice and support in technical management and strategic planning (ebb),
- Transfer of good practice inside and outside the programme and in the international area (ebb),
- Monitoring in priority 3: intercultural competence development and anti-discrimination (ebb),
- Monitoring in priority 4: regional skilled worker networks – immigration (ebb),
- Monitoring in priority 1: fair integration (ebb)
- Provision of a virtual classroom (ZWH),
- Content planning and implementation (ebb) as well as organisation (ZWH) of cross-programme conferences,
- Content planning and implementation (ebb) as well as graphic design as well as printing and dispatch (ZWH) of cross-programme publications.

The two agencies report results to the relevant government ministries: the BMAS, as well as the strategic steering partners, the BMBF and the BA. Results are also communicated to the expert community. The IQ DP aims to disseminate information between stakeholders, supporting the transfer of best practices, and is in charge of public relations for Network IQ.

The IQ DP works co-operatively with the specialist offices and state networks and accompanies and supports their professional work. The Diversity Charter is an operational partner of the funding program. The organisation of the German Diversity Day is implemented in co-operation with the program.

Figure 1. Organisational chart of the Network IQ



Source: (Network IQ, 2021)

III. Methodology

Introduction

As an example of an instrument exclusively targeting migrant employment outcomes through an enhanced co-ordination between different actors and levels of government, the OECD chose to assess the German Network IQ. It is characteristic of a desire to foster vertical and horizontal information and expertise sharing to support migrants best.

To evaluate them, the OECD used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps that Network IQ partly mitigates (see Box 1). This common framework through which all policy instruments are studied has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects may benefit from changes and how other governments could implement instruments adapted to their own context.

The assessment of Network IQ notably draws on the last evaluation conducted in 2007 by Anakonde and which might present out-dated elements, however sill interesting to mention.

The use of targeted recognition of qualifications systems

In most countries, foreign qualification recognition continues to be a key labour market integration challenge for immigrants in both regulated and non-regulated occupations. Especially, getting relevant parties in a region around a table is essential – and a challenge – for most countries. Yet, foreign qualification recognition can constitute an opportunity to match local firms' human capital needs with migrants' skills. International Labour Office's evidence notably reveals the positive impact of the recognition of skills and qualifications on various labour market challenges (Braňka, 2016[32]). Overall, the early

assessment of migrant skills brings substantial benefits for individuals, employers and national economies. There is a need for more data on the positive impact of early recognition especially in European countries.

IV. Co-ordination strengths

How the policy instrument helps bridge multi-level governance gaps

Network IQ helps bridge information gaps

First, through the IQ Dissemination Project (IQ DP) and its 5 competence centres, the Network IQ enables information to circulate vertically, at the local, regional and federal level, and horizontally, between organisations implementing subprojects. Indeed, the IQ DP is dedicated to disseminating information between stakeholders, and supporting the transfer of best practices. To this end, it notably plans and organises cross-programme conferences and publications (IQ Network, 2021[31]). Namely, it publishes, a tri-annual business journal that aims at actively promoting migrant integration through professional qualifications (Clavis, 2021[33]), as well as a bi-annual magazine for experts and specialist staff working in the field of labour market integration and migration (IQ Network, 2021[34]).

Notably, IQ DP allows the diffusion of best practices developed amongst the network's 400 subprojects. The Development Agency for Vocational Education (ebb GmbH), one of the two partners making up the IQ DP in charge of internal knowledge management, identifies and shares the IQ "Good Practices" in four thematic areas: counselling and job training of migrants, intercultural opening and anti-discrimination, work-related German language training and migrant entrepreneurship (see Box 6). Those practices are shared with stakeholders within and beyond the network, including regional co-ordination offices, employment services, educational service providers, competence centres, as well as outside stakeholders, like the private sector. Since 2015, 53 information sheets of Good Practice examples have been created, 15 in the current funding round (2019 to 2022) and 38 in the previous one (2015 to 2018) (IQ Network, 2021[35]).

A good practice, as defined by the Network IQ (2021[31]), is:

- Transferable, in that it can "serve as a model for new projects and is as flexible as possible in respect to other framework conditions. It is thus not dependent on regional or other peculiarities and can be easily transferred to statutory institutions without any additional effort";
- Innovative, in that it "responds to a current challenge with a new and creative idea";
- Sustainable, "in terms of its structure (long-term, continuous) and its effects";
- Efficient, with regards to:
  - The establishment of the Good Practice. For example, expenses being proportionate to the successes.
  - Efforts required to transfer the Good Practice. For example, the practical application of the tool saving time and money.

Box 6. An example of IQ Good Practices

"Doctors for the future" : an agreement between the Network IQ and a local recognition authority

In Germany, the timely recognition of foreign qualifications of health specialists is a key concern for the skilled workers themselves as well as for the local labour market. Yet, recognition procedures are complex processes involving a large number of stakeholders.

In the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate, the key stakeholders are the State Office for Social Affairs, Young People and Care (LSJV) and the Network IQ. Since 2016, a binding co-operation agreement has been signed by the two structures to consolidate and institutionalise their collaboration and to

generate synergy effects in order to develop the recognition process further and to increase transparency and efficiency for applicants. Under the terms of the agreement, the steering partners guarantee to provide each other assistance during counselling, in the application process and when planning and supporting the training required. Co-operation between partners is implemented, for example, by regulation exchange and information events.

The agreements eases the workload for both partners who are able to connect without any bureaucracy straight with the relevant person from the other structure. This leads to a faster recognition procedure, which benefit those seeking recognition but also the federal state by helping to resolve the skills shortages in the health and care occupations. Thus, between 2016 and 2018 the federal state of Rhineland-Palatinate has experienced a seven-fold increase both in recognition counselling for academic medical occupations as well as for non-academic specialist health occupations.

Thanks to the IQ IQ DP, such good practices can be transferred to recognition authorities in other federal states, as well as ministries and institutions involved in processes of recognition of foreign qualifications.

Source: IQ Good Practice: IQ agreement with recognition authority (2021), https://www.netzwerk-iq.de/fileadmin/Redaktion/Downloads/EN_website/GoodPractice/IQ_GP_2018_30_IQ_Agreement.pdf

Third, competences centres have the mission to allow for a vertical circulation of information, from the federal to the sixteen federal state levels, by providing advices and support to co-ordination offices within regional networks. To this end, they produce and share information on five thematic areas, amongst which migrant entrepreneurship and intercultural opening. They also ensure a horizontal sharing of instruments, scientific findings and recommendations on vocational integration to decision-makers in governments, businesses and administrations.

While transfer is a very important element on the national scale on various levels, IQ DP also identifies good practices from abroad, such as promising and inspiring projects, practice-oriented approaches or tools for labour market integration of migrants and invites international speakers to present their work during online-seminars. These are addressed to the Network IQ's subprojects and are also open for other German labour market stakeholders outside of the network and further interested international contacts. Themes are closely linked to the priority areas of the Network IQ, e.g. ethical standards and code of conducts in skilled immigration of health personnel; mentoring; integration of refugee women in the tech sector, fast track integration, migrant entrepreneurship etc.

The publications series "IQ Good Practice International" seeks to highlights outstanding international labour market integration approaches that are suitable for transfer to Germany and other European countries (Braukmann, 2021[36]). International Good Practice examples are intended for all IQ stakeholders, such as the regional networks and competence centres, as well as for (inter)national stakeholders outside the Network IQ, such as employment and training administrations, educational institutions, companies, and enterprises, as well as for labour market and integration policy makers. Four criteria turn projects into good practice: transferability, innovation, sustainability, and efficiency.

Ultimately, the co-operative structure of the Network IQ and its emphasis of information dissemination effectively bridges information gaps that might otherwise have stemmed from the network's top-down approach.

Network IQ addresses capacity gaps

Overall, the network's emphasis on co-operation, information dissemination and accessibility - be it through the competence's centres or through the IQ DP - serves to prevent knowledge capacity gaps. The more information there is, the easier it is to assess and adjust for capacity weaknesses and strengths, at all levels of government. The work of the competence centres provide knowledge and expertise to network

stakeholders. Administration and management of the centres are delegated to non-state actors specialised in certain thematic areas. They include:

- The IQ Competence Centre for Counselling and Job Training of Migrants, located in Nürnberg, Bavaria. It advises network members on counselling, credential recognition and job training, as well as bridge training schemes (priority areas 1 and 2).
- The IQ Competence Centre for Vocational German Language located in Hamburg. It advises network members about German language training.
- The IQ Competence Centre for Intercultural Opening and Anti-discrimination located in Munich, Bavaria. It supports the Network IQ with the main topic being intercultural competence development, anti-discrimination and diversity management.
- The IQ Competence Centre on Migrant Entrepreneurship located in Mainz, Rhineland-Palatinate. It provides data and information on migrant entrepreneurship, focusing on migrants already living in Germany ("people with a migration background"), as well as on those who come to Germany as professionals or refugees who seek to found their own company, which is considered as an additional way labour market integration.
- The IQ Competence Centre for Immigration located in Berlin. At the intersection between migration research and practical integration work, its goal is to foster dialogue and provide stakeholders within the Network IQ with recommendations, instruments, methods and concepts to improve migrant and refugee integration into the labour market and education.

The availability of such human, skill-based resources strengthens stakeholder's capacity to carry out tasks. Co-ordination offices also chose operators for implementation of subprojects through public tender. Operators are, for the most part, non-profit organisations and associations, selected on their capability and resources, and who work in practice with the migrant target groups.

In addition, the "IQ Good Practices" format also contributes to bridging knowledge capacity gaps by enabling the transfer of practical knowledge and gained expertise.

Finally, the 3rd aim of the network is to develop the intercultural competencies of labour market actors including employees of Jobcenter, the Federal Employment agencies, municipal administrations and small and medium enterprises (SMEs). To this end, the network with its IQ subprojects effectively provided private sector and labour market stakeholders, with counselling and training on intercultural opening and anti-discrimination, which participate to bridge technical and reactivity capacity gaps. Thus, from January 2019 to December 2020, more than 1 200 labour market stakeholders - job centres and employment agencies - amounting to almost 15 000 participants, received training on intercultural competence and anti-discrimination from the network. It led another 543 events addressing the topic, reaching 11 180 individuals, as well as almost 1 600 advisory sessions touching on intercultural competence, organisational development and legal rights. For business stakeholders - companies and associations - 464 events and trainings, involving 7 459 individuals, were held from January 2019 to December 2020 and nearly 2 600 consultations providing advice on skilled worker recruitment and intercultural competence also took place for this target group.

Network IQ encourages co-operation, fostering ties between parties and addressing participatory gaps

First, the network fosters the participation of public actors. Its co-operative structure, with instances such as the IQ DP and the competence centres dedicated to fostering ties and exchanges, enables to connect with different levels of governments. The regional Network IQ co-ordination offices are in - or attached to regional public bodies: In Berlin and Brandenburg to the federal state ministries (e.g. commissioner for migration and integration), in Hamburg and North-Rhine-Westphalia to the chamber of commerce and in all other federal states to NGOs or associations. This structure brings in new actors.

Second, the Network IQ involves a wide range of actors that make up the German society, to varying degrees. In addition to non-governmental organisations and welfare organisations highly involved, the Network IQ also reaches the private sector. Indeed, building and maintaining a network of employers to support the recruitment and integration of international skilled workers notably by informing them of the procedure of skilled labour immigration is the 4th priority area of the program.

Small-scale innovative projects, tailored to on-the-ground realities facilitate the alignment of stakeholder objectives

While the higher level of government closely monitors and drafts guidelines to ensure quality of offers in small-scale projects, regional networks implement small-scale subprojects at the local and Länder-level, enabling operators to develop tailor-made approaches best fitted to local and regional circumstances. This entails adjusting objectives in alignment with those of participating stakeholders. Indeed, while projects are being managed by the regional Network IQ co-ordination offices, they have some room for manoeuvre.

A one-fit-all strategy with objectives imposed from the top-down would fall short in tackling the challenges faced by the target group given the varying context across Länder and municipalities. In some places, the integration of migrants has already been a topic for many years, but not everywhere, and certain local stakeholders thus cannot build on previous experience with migrants. By encouraging tailor-made innovative approaches and giving stakeholders room to manoeuvre, the Network IQ allows for a coherent approach, while preserving the customisation of implementation and adaptation to diverse contexts.

Network IQ fills up considerable policy gaps

As the first comprehensive programme targeting specifically migrant labour market integration, the Network IQ addresses a blind spot in policy. Considering the additional barriers to labour market entry faced by migrants, the impact of the network on policy gaps is substantial. The four priority areas identified are complementary, with priority area 1 and 2 focusing on migrants as potential workers and priority area 3 and 4 focusing on labour market stakeholders, namely employers and employment agencies and authorities. Priority area 4 supports and brings together stakeholders in the field of securing skilled labour. The Network IQ fills up existing policy gaps by fostering co-operation between actors that previously had no platform to interact with one another specifically on the topic of migrant labour market integration.

The “Fair Integration” programmes, which have been taking place since 2017, are another example of how the network mitigates policy gaps. These advice centres specifically target refugees and third-country nationals; two specific populations groups that had not been exclusively targeted by such programs. Thus, from January 2019 to December 2020, almost 9 600 people were supported throughout approx. 14 700 initial and follow-up advisory sessions, as well as almost 1 350 qualitative referral sessions. Additionally, around 593 group events were carried out, effectively providing advice on employment legislation and social law to another than 8 313 people.

Network IQ enhances transparency and integrity of practices

First, accountability gaps are addressed by the close supervision of small-scale projects by co-ordination offices within regional networks, as well as by the reports of network results to co-operation partners and the public. The competence centres, the 16 regional networks co-ordinators, and the IQ DP assemble on a regular basis together BMAS, the BA and the BMBF on a federal level to reflect the network’s activities.

The “IQ Fact Sheets” format, which aims at informing the media and all interested parties on the activities of the IQ Network also foster accountability and transparency.

Finally, the German company Anakonde, specialised in conducting research on migration, integration, community development, as well as evaluation, conducted an independent evaluation of the Network IQ.

Final reports were published and are available to all (Anakonde, 2007[37]). However, the evaluation is becoming quite old and should be updated.

Outcomes of the instrument

Measuring the impact of skills recognition programme is a complex and challenging task. The success of a skills recognition system may be observed years after its implementation. It is much harder to differentiate the impact of the system itself from the impact of other measures and policies - and from the impact of economic developments in general, which may either increase or offset its influence (Braňka, 2016[32]).

Yet, besides a lack of data on outcomes, the Network IQ's activity reports provide information about the outputs of the project. In 2019, the Network IQ started a new funding round within the ESF's funding phase up to 2022. Data and figures collected by the IQ Competence Centre for Counselling and Job Training as well as the IQ Dissemination Project (MUT IQ) give a clear picture of the amount and content of services provided in the four priority areas for the year 2019-20 alone (Network IQ, 2020[28]).

Priority area 1: Advice on recognition and job training

From January 2019 to December 2020, almost 185 400 advisory sessions were held across more than 170 Network IQ contact points nationwide. Out of the people seeking advice for the first time, 62 % took advice on recognition of foreign qualifications, 6 % took advice on job training and 30 % took advantage of advice on both recognition and job training.

Furthermore, from January 2019 to December 2020, almost 14 700 initial and follow-up advisory Fair Integration sessions took place.

Priority area 2: Job training schemes in the context of the Recognition Act

Network IQ has implemented tailored measures for professional integration appropriate to an individual's training level, such as compensatory measures or bridge training schemes. Compensatory measures concern occupations regulated at the federal level, such as doctors. Bridge training schemes are offered to individuals in non-regulated professions.

From January 2019 to December 2020, around 3 700 job training schemes, for groups and individuals, were started. 11% of those were course-based, while 89% took the form of tailored training. Since 2019, close to 9 300 people have started a job training scheme through the Network IQ and 38.8% of them have successfully completed it. Completion of a job training scheme enables individuals to enter the job market at a level that is appropriate for their qualifications, as they have achieved full equivalence or have met the requirements to do so. Individuals most concerned by the Network IQ's job training schemes are doctors (11.6%), healthcare assistants (10.5%), engineers (9.2%), teachers (7.5%) and social workers (5.2%).

Priority area 3: Intercultural opening and anti-discrimination

Network IQ effectively provided private sector and labour market stakeholders, from companies to job centres, with counselling and training on intercultural opening and anti-discrimination

Priority area 4: Regional skilled worker networks - immigration

From January 2019 to December 2020, Network IQ's latest priority area has still been developed. Like elsewhere, skilled workers immigration has been affected due to the Covid-19 pandemic and related travel restrictions. Nevertheless, regional networks were able to reach around 7 700 people via training courses, advisory sessions, and events. From 2021, a complete implementation of subprojects with a coverage in all sixteen regional networks will be achieved to continuously to support skilled immigration and build up networks between stakeholders.

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The Network IQ should strengthen its co-operation with the private sector

While the network facilitates co-operation between various stakeholders, efforts should be made on better engaging private sector stakeholders on the long-term. Indeed, which it has provided companies with counselling and training, especially on intercultural opening and anti-discrimination, the independent evaluation from Anakonde found that winning them over turned out to be extremely difficult (Anakonde, 2007[37]). Specifically, it remains challenging to engage the private sector actors on migrant labour market integration and to get concrete results through sensibilisation of various management levels on the topic if no top-down approach is taken by company leadership. With the Skilled Immigration Act, effective since 2020, the engagement with the private sector is expected to change, and subprojects will consequently have a bigger reach out to SMEs and other businesses.

Closer attention should be given to disparities in territories' experiences with migration

Network IQ could invest more in characterising the disparities that exist across municipalities and Länder regarding actors' experience in working with migrants as a target group and the existence of established infrastructure and networks for migration-specific work. Indeed, the independent evaluation from Anakonde underlined that in some Länder co-operation had to be established almost from scratch which did not always the network to reach its goals (Anakonde, 2007[37]). The Network IQ could provide targeted and localised support and further push for co-operation between stakeholders to guarantee the establishment of constructive and effective co-operation although since the evaluation progresses may have been made.

Towards a systemic transfer of good practices

While Network IQ encourages the transfer of good practices - through the IQ DP, competences centres, and the IQ Good Practice format – there is a lack of data on the frequency of such transfers. The territorialisation of the project in small-scale local projects is altered by the fact good practices are not systematically transferred. This means there may be considerable disparities in the offer from subprojects within regional networks and across regional networks. As mentioned previously, experience in working with migrants, strength of networks and capacity for diversity management varies greatly on the regional and local level. To mitigate local and regional disparities, the network could develop mechanisms to ensure the systemic transfer of good practices, while still giving leeway to the local and regional context and room to manoeuvre. This strategy requires federal support and steering.

Ensuring the sustainability and plurality of funding sources to mitigate fiscal gaps

Sustainability of funding is key to guarantee a medium to long-term perspective to operators implementing subprojects, as well as other Network IQ stakeholders, and to ensure there will be no disruptions in migrant integration process. The evaluation from Anakonde found that in some cases, conditions made it necessary for operators implementing projects to advance funds from their own resources. Smaller NGOs, however, may not have the needed resources to provide funds in advance without exceeding the limits of their own capacity and thus this funding structure may prevent local actors to meet their responsibilities.

Furthermore, the network's principal donor is the BMAS, with the BAMF being in charge of its financial management. This may indicate a direct dependence to the federal level of government for funding, which can lead to a fiscal gap in cases of change of priorities. At the regional level, however, subprojects can be funded by the European Social Fund (ESF), provided that they are linked to counselling on credential recognition and job training, as well as the Fair Integration programme line (priority area 1) or on bridge training schemes within the context of the Recognition Act (priority area 2). Funding from the ESF grants local actors more autonomy from the federal government, thus alleviating fiscal gaps. Funding from the ESF is conditional to following three horizontal objectives - gender equality, anti-discrimination and environmental sustainability.

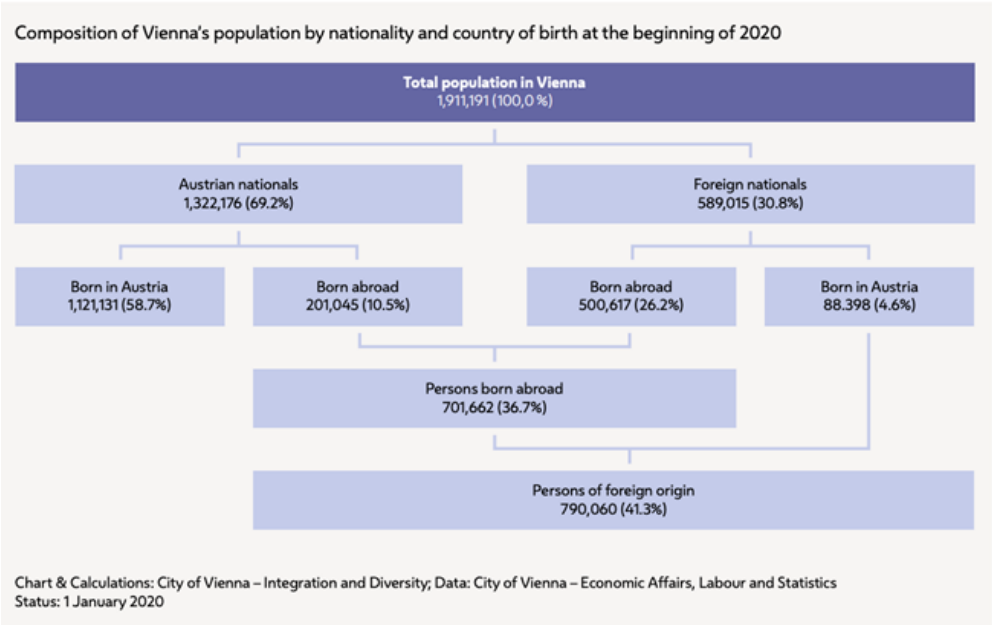
3 Vienna's Integration and Diversity monitors, Austria

Improving migrants' situation by grounding integration policies in on-the-ground realities

I. Background

Vienna is one of the nine Austrian federal province (*Bundesländer*) and the capital city of the country. It is shaped by immigration, with a widely and increasingly diverse population, be it in terms of country of origin, language spoken, religion or socio-cultural background. In 2020, Vienna's population was made up of 1.9 million people, 63.3% of which were born in Austria and 36.7% born abroad. At the beginning of 2020, 30.8 % of Vienna's residents were foreign citizens and 41.3 % were of foreign origin. Additionally, in 2019, around 45.9 % of the people living in Vienna had a migrant background, encompassing immigrants up to the second generation. As a federal province, Vienna has additional competences compared to other cities and from 2004 onwards, it has adapted its administration and local policies to foster newcomer integration and reap the benefits of immigration.

Figure 2. Composition of Vienna's population by nationality and country of birth at the beginning of 2020



Source: (Boztepe et al., 2020[1])

The main countries of origin for people with a foreign origin living in Vienna are: Serbia, Turkey, Germany and Poland. Taking 2015 aside, Vienna has welcomed more immigrants coming from an EU or EFTA country than from third countries. Net migration from EU countries peaked in 2014, and that from third countries in 2015, but over the last five years, immigration to Vienna has strongly declined.

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

As an answer to the challenges posed by recent migration movements, an integration monitor was established by the City of Vienna in 2007, and a diversity one two years later, in order to assesses the inclusiveness and changes within Vienna's society. Results from the monitors feed evidence-based local decision-making, and contributes to nurture the public debate on migration and integration.

The integration monitor

The City of Vienna defines integration as "the establishment of equal opportunities and equal treatment as well as equal possibilities of social participation for all population groups" (Boztepe et al., 2020[38]). The integration monitors thus measures levels of equal opportunities, equal rights and social participation within Vienna's population, between people with a migrant background and people without one by analysing the potential impact of ones' migrant background - their or their parent's migration history, having obtained educational qualifications in a foreign country - on their position in society. A migrant background encompasses up to second-generation migrants.

The integration monitor relies (see Table 1) on seven closely related policy domains (*Handlungsfeld*): equality and participation, education, employment and labour market access, income and social security, health, housing, public space and coexistence.

Table 1. Integration monitor's indicators by field of action

Fields of Action	*Selected indicators*
Equality & participation	• Naturalisation rate • Proportion of third-country nationals who have been staying for at least 10 years who live in a household that does not reach the income threshold prescribed for naturalisation • Democratic deficit (proportion of Viennese aged 16 and over who do not have active municipal voting rights)
Education	• Educational level • Acquisition of education - Share of Viennese no longer compulsory school age between 15 and 19 years with ongoing or completed training • NEETs, youth between 15 and 24 years old who are not in employment, education or training
Employment & labour market	• Employment rates taking into account gender, start of stay, age, level of education and the age of the youngest child • Utilisation of the potential working time • Employment stability • Proportion of employed persons in specialist as well as auxiliary and semi-skilled jobs • Share of auxiliary and semi-skilled jobs in employment of people with intermediate and higher educational qualifications • Unemployment rates • Proportion of self-employed and leading employees in the total population
Income & social security	• Salary in paid employment • Equivalent household income • Utilisation of the Vienna minimum income scheme (WMS)
Health	• Subjective health perception of the population between 45 and 64 years of age • Illness as an obstacle in working life
Housing	• Distribution of the population in segments of the housing market • Pathways in the rental housing market: living space and housing costs per capita • Distribution of the population over the urban area
Public space & coexistence	• Potential pressure to use public space. • Assessment of living together/coexistence by the Viennese population

Source: (Boztepe et al., 2020[38])

Indicators are extracted from the following existing data sources to create long time series:

- Official registers, including the Population Register (POPREG) carried out by the Federal Statistics Office (*Statistik Austria*) the Central Population Register (ZMR) and The City of Vienna - Urban Development and Urban Planning "small-scale population record";
- The Microcensus - Labour Force Survey (MZ-AKE), carried out by *Statistik Austria*;
- The EU statistics on income and living conditions (EU-SILC) annual survey, the only available data source on household income in Austria;
- Surveys by the City of Vienna, including series from "Living together in Vienna" and the "Vienna Quality of Life Study 2018".

The diversity monitor

The diversity monitor analyses diversity management in the City of Vienna. Since 2009, it has run on a three-yearly basis, making the 2019 edition its fifth. City departments and institutions operate in eight fields of actions, made up of the seven fields of action surveyed by the integration monitor, with the addition of infrastructure and urban planning.

The diversity monitor is based on an online survey administered to all participating departments and organisations. Results depict the level of implementation achieved by the City of Vienna in the area of diversity management, that is, the implementation of diversity-oriented policies, such as having its own diversity official or establishing a special organisational unit in charge of diversity management. The implementation level of diversity management is assessed based on three analytical dimensions, covering all organisational aspects: services and customers, personnel development (human resources and skills), and the general significance of diversity issues in organisational development (organisation and strategy).

The diversity monitor also identifies good practices implemented by the participating organisations for diversity management in each field of action.

Staff diversity survey

Since 2013, the level of diversity amongst Vienna City Administration Staff is surveyed. In 2019, the third survey covered the Vienna City Administration, the Vienna Hospital Association, Housing in Vienna, Vienna Waste Water Management, enterprises such as the City of Vienna's museums and galleries, and also special bodies not subject to directions such as the Equal Opportunities Advisors or the Independent Officer for Occupational Safety and Health. The survey provides an overview of the composition and evolution of the City staff by age, gender and of foreign origins and country of origins.

III. Methodology

Introduction

As an example of a mechanism monitoring migrants' position in society and of diversity-oriented strategies in public administrations, the OECD chose to assess Vienna's Integration and Diversity monitor, which is characteristic of a desire to anchor policies in on-the-ground realities.

To evaluate it, the OECD used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps (see Box 1) that Vienna partly helps mitigating. The common framework through which all selected policy instruments are studied has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects may benefit from changes and how other governments could implement instruments adapted to their own context.

The use of monitoring tools

Results from the monitors allow for comparisons to previous years and thus provide a good evidence-based proxy for assessing the impact of integration policies and identifying obstacles. Thanks to results

from the integration monitor, Vienna authorities thus realised 27% of the city's residents were excluded from voting in local, regional and national elections due to a national legal restrictions on voting rights of third country nationals aggravated by Austria's restrictive naturalisation law. In reaction to this democratic deficit, the city introduced in 2013 petition rights independent of nationality to allow non-citizens to participate to the local political life.

Being able to assess the effectiveness of integration policies and the remaining challenges is all the more important now that the COVID-19 pandemic has hard hit cities and the health and economic outcomes of migrant populations in those cities. Because of pre-existent vulnerabilities, work and housing conditions migrant populations are at higher risks of being infecting by the virus. Furthermore, evidence from the first lockdown reveals pandemic-induced job losses were disproportionally concentrated among ethnic minorities (Fasani and Mazza, 2021[39]). Implementing tools to monitor migrant integration and quality of access to local public services can prove crucial for migrants' and cities' recovery.

A common barrier migrants face why trying to access public services is the administration's staff lack of language skills, which prevents them to provide adequate information and advices to foreign customers. This is particularly true for healthcare services. Without interpreters or translation services, migrants will have even poorer health outcomes and experiences. In Vienna, the diversity monitor's results gives central authorities precise data on the language abilities of their staff. Thus, at the start of the outbreak in 2019 they knew 92% of the participating departments and institutions were able to communicate with their customers in English, and that more than a third of the City's departments were able to offer information and advice in Czech, Slovakian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Arabic and Farsi. This type of data mirroring administrations' diversity can turn out to be crucial when local authorities need to react fast.

IV. Co-ordination strengths

How the instrument helps bridge multi-level governance gaps

The integration and diversity monitors are not, per se, co-ordination instruments between multiple levels of governance. They are developed and administered solely by the City of Vienna, at the local level. Yet, by providing data on the state and development of migration, integration and diversity management, they assess and address several multi-level governance gaps.

The integration and diversity monitors mitigate information gaps

The monitors enable public actors to make evidence-based decisions on migrant integration and diversity management in eight policy fields key to migrant integration: political participation, education, employment and labour market integration, income and social security, health, housing, public space and coexistence, infrastructure and urban planning. Results are shared to the public and to actors at all levels of governance - local, state and federal. Thus, the integration and diversity monitor bridges information gaps by providing information on migrants at the local level that can be extracted and used by higher levels of governance.

The diversity and integration monitors address capacity gaps

First, the diversity monitor notably contributes to alleviating human resources capacity gaps. The publication of data measuring the implementation of diversity strategies has participated to enable city administrations to increase their human resource capacities. More than 30% institutions have their own diversity official and 15% have established a special organisational unit in charge of diversity management.

Second, the creation of the diversity monitor surely has participated to push for the implementation of diversity-oriented policies that have alleviated some expertise gaps. In 2019, about 24 200 employees had attended courses and further training programmes in the field of diversity in the past three years thus contributing to enhance diversity skills within the institutions of the City of Vienna. Besides, 70% of City units have defined diversity skills as an important selection criterion in the recruitment of new staff.

Third, identifying good practices implemented by surveyed institutions has allowed for the transfer of practical knowledge and expertise in the area of diversity management, thus enabling capacity building

Finally, the monitoring of diversity practices has favoured the adoption of other communication and co-operation tools. Indeed, eight out of ten surveyed institutions have participated in internal platforms, networks or events on diversity issues in the past three years and have thereby actively contributed to further developing the discourse and expertise on diversity within the City.

Providing migrant integration and diversity management data helps align parties' objectives

Thanks to the integration and diversity monitors, public actors share the same set of data on the state and changes of migrant integration and diversity management in Vienna. Provided that the relevant parties take the monitors into account into their decision-making process, they will share a common basis.

For instance, the last diversity and integration monitor revealed affordable housing increasingly poses a challenge to foreign-born Viennese and their children. Viennese residents without migrant background have an average living space of 43 square metres per capita and pay EUR 7.6 per square metre in rent. In comparison, Viennese with educational qualifications or migrant backgrounds from third countries live with 28 square metres per capita and those who completed their education abroad and immigrated to Vienna after 2011 had to pay an average of EUR 10.9 per square metre. This type of precise data lay the ground for city officials or civil society associations to advocate for programs supporting migrant housing.

The monitors provide a formal mean to enhance accountability and transparency

First, efforts made by Vienna to make results of the monitors accessible to the public permits citizens to identify more easily efforts that have been made and their results, thereby increasing accountability. Such citizen oversight can be a strong incentive for departments and institutions to take all necessary steps for achieving the best diversity score. Indeed, the score system classifies departments and administrations in four categories according to the level of diversity development they achieved. Available data shows that 9 out of 53 participating organisations of the City of Vienna have reached the "professionalisation stage" - the highest level of diversity management - in all three analytical dimensions.

The quality of diversity management is assessed through three analytical dimensions: services and customers, personnel development (human resources and skills), and the general significance of diversity issues in organisational development (organisation and strategy). "Diversity scorecards" appraises the degree of administrations' adaptation to a socio-culturally diverse City through a score system, from 0 to 4, in the following four development stages:

1. the sensitisation stages
2. the planning and establishment stage
3. the test and implementation stage
4. the further development and professionalisation stage

Results from the diversity monitor, analysing diversity management in the three analytical dimensions are divided into 8 thematic sections, corresponding to the 8 fields of action to which belong participating institutions and departments. This level of precision on the formation of each score participates to enhance transparency and accountability.

Outcomes of the instrument

The Integration Monitor

Integration monitoring captures an up-to-date picture of the life conditions of migrants living in Vienna, highlighting improvements as well as lasting equalities in the treatment and opportunities available to migrants. The main findings are as follow:

Unequal levels of political participation

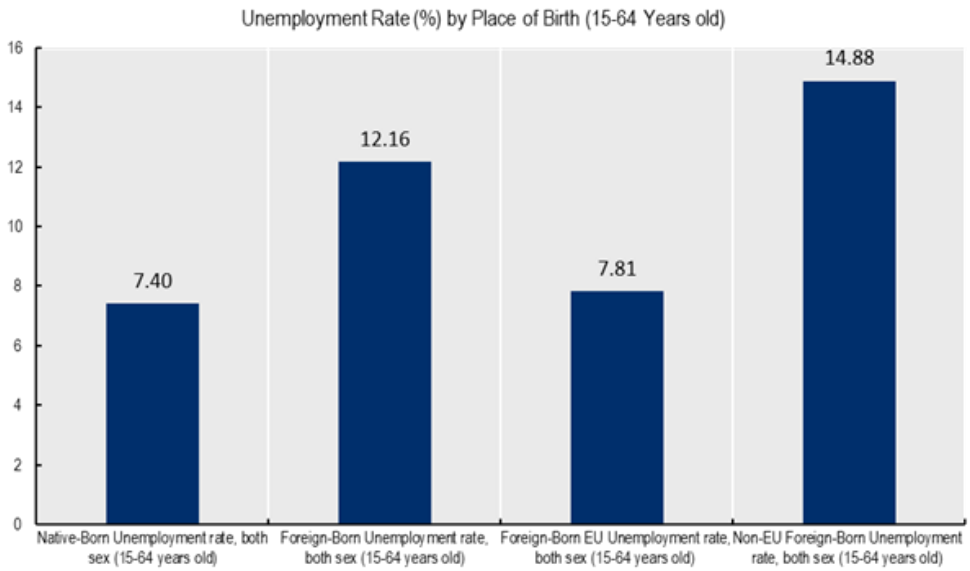
While Vienna is an immigration city, it's naturalisation rate is 0.8%, stemming from Austria's restrictive naturalisation law. Since voting rights are tied to citizenship, Vienna is affected by a significant democratic deficit: in 2020, around 30.1% of people living in Vienna old enough to vote - at the local, state and federal level - were not allowed to. This proportion is almost twice as high as it was in 2002.

Improvements in the field of education

The share of young people between the ages of 15 to 19 with a migrant background from a third country, educated in Austria, attending undergoing or having completed education leading to university entrance qualifications has risen by around 20 percentage points from the reporting period 2007-10 up to the reporting period 2016-19. Overall, disparities in acquisition of educational qualifications among young people educated in Austria have declined.

Meanwhile, the absolute number of NEETs in Vienna has declined substantially since 2014-17, offsetting an until-then increasing trend that was also driven by population growth. The share of NEETs has reached an all-time low, since the launching of integration monitoring, standing at around 10.5%.

Figure 3. Unemployment Rate (%) by Place of Birth (15-64 year olds)



Source: OECD database (2019)

Remaining challenges in labour market access and employment

Disparities in employment between migrants and non-migrants have increased from the period 2010-13 to the period 2016-19. Non-EU migrants in particular have considerably more trouble accessing the labour market (Figure 1). The employment rate of those with educational qualifications has notably decreased since 2009-12. Because their educational qualifications are less recognised, it might be harder for them to find employment that matches their qualifications. Around 42% of residents from third countries with intermediate or higher qualifications and 32% from EU/EFTA countries are affected by occupational downgrading.

Migrants earn less and make up a higher share of low-income households.

As of 2020, people with a migrant background or education qualifications acquired abroad earn lower wages. Notably, women who have been educated abroad or have a migrant background, who learn lower wages than men, face a double burden. Additionally, they make up a higher share of low-income households.

In Vienna, migrants rate their state of health lower than non-migrants

As of 2020, perception of health is lower for foreign-born individuals aged 45-64 years than for native Austrian citizens, with 24% of the former population group rating their health as poor or very poor compared to 7% of the latter.

Inequalities in housing between migrants and non-migrants persists

Affordable housing is a considerable issue for foreign-born individuals living in Vienna. They only have access to the private housing market at first, though they can move into city-owned housing after a certain time in Vienna. People with a migrant background live in smaller and more expensive spaces.

The Viennese, regardless of their background, have a positive view on living together

Population growth in Vienna has put increased pressure and importance on public spaces. Vienna's residents have a positive view on living together "among natives and migrants" since 55% of the population considers the quality of living together in Vienna as "very good" or "rather good." Residents view it even more positively in their neighbourhood, at 68%.

Diversity monitor

Diversity management has become a central issue for Vienna's City Administration, with an overall positive development across institutions and departments in the city. In 2019, the diversity monitor reached an increased number of organisations, 53 in 2019 compared to 46 in the previous edition. Out of 53 departments and institutions, more than half (52.8%) have reached the professionalisation stage, that is the highest level of diversity management, in at least one out of the three analytical dimensions - services and customers, personnel development, organisation and strategy: 11 have reached the professionalisation stage in one of the dimensions, 8 have reached it in two, and 9 reached it in all three.

Progress in organisation and strategy for diversity management

Nearly all surveyed institutions have developed a strategy for implementing diversity management, namely in the fields of personnel development (87%) and public relations (85%). Competences and responsibilities for diversity management have been clearly attributed by departments and institutions. More than one third has a dedicated diversity official and 15% have implemented a special organisational unit.

Personnel development is increasingly more oriented towards diversity

Diversity skills have been set as a recruitment criterion by 70% of participating institutions. Value is put on conflict management skills, as well as language and intercultural skills. The share of employees of foreign origins has risen in nearly half of the institutions since 2016, while the share of executive staff of foreign origins has risen in almost one in three. Overall, 25.6% of City staff members are of foreign origins, in that they have a foreign citizenship or Austrian citizenship but were born abroad. This is a 0.5 percent point increase since 2016, solely driven by an increase in the share of staff from an EU or EFTA country. City Administration's staff - excluding the Vienna Hospital Association - were born in 102 different countries.

Similarly, communication with customers is more diversity oriented.

Nearly all participating institutions, around 92%, can provide information or advice to customers in English. In more than half of the institutions, employees speak a major native language of migrants in Vienna - Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish. More than a third of the participating institutions seek to further optimise customer orientation by offering information materials in several languages.

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The methodology based on multi-level governance gaps has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects of the policy instruments could be improved towards greater efficiency.

Vienna could select new indicators to assess unexplored aspects of migrant integration

Until now, the integration monitor has analysed levels of equal opportunities, equal rights as well as levels of social participation among migrant groups. To obtain a more comprehensive assessment of Viennese migrant living conditions, the monitor could include new indicators and thematic areas that have yet not been explored. For instance, while the integration monitors touches on public space and coexistence, with resident ratings of the quality of "living together", it has no indicator on racism, violent acts or discrimination faced by people with a migrant background. Considering the share of households with an overdrawn bank account or the share of the population declaring that they have not seen a doctor could also be ways to give more granularity to the conclusions and to capture different groups of migrants and people with a migrant background.

Finally, being an integral part of society and being actively involved in the host country are important vectors for the integration of immigrants. As integration is a two-way street, a good level of acceptance and mutual trust are prerequisites for social cohesion. Adding indicators on the share of the population believing that their place of life is a good place to live for migrants and on the perceived impact of immigration on the economy could reveal valuable for cities (OCDE/Union européenne, 2015[40]).

The integration monitor should consider potential administrative gaps

The integration monitor aims to provide an up-to-date picture on the living conditions of migrants living in Vienna. It analyses migrant integration at the local level in eight fields of actions, addressing the question of "whether their own immigration, their parents' migration history or the country where they obtained their highest educational qualifications make a difference to their social position, income, educational participation, occupational mobility, risk of unemployment, health, housing choices or social and political participation."

Yet, the local government is not competent or responsible for implementing policies in the fields of action assessed by the integration monitor. For instance, primary and secondary education falls under the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Education, Science and Research (*Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung*, BMBWF), which designs the primary and secondary education framework. Länder only have jurisdiction in passing legislation to implement it. In 2017, education directorates (*Bidungsdirektionen)* were created to co-ordinate action between the federal and Länder level. While schools can launch initiatives targeted at migrants and have more autonomy since the 2017 autonomy-pact (*Autonomiepakt*), municipalities do not have a major impact on education policies. Thus, disparities at the local level between migrants or people with a migrant background and non-migrants in access to education or qualifications can better be addressed by higher levels of government. The integration monitor thus highlights inequalities faced by people with a migrant background living in Vienna that the local government is not fully able to act on, creating an administrative gap.

Monitoring asylum seekers and refugee integration could nurture the public debate and inform the decision-making process at all levels of government

Asylum seekers and refugees have specific vulnerabilities and face specific challenges that affect their integration, opportunities and levels of political participation. Policies targeted at people seeking asylum and recognised refugees are developed at all levels of government. Provided that data is available, a focus on the integration of asylum seekers and refugees living in Vienna would provide relevant and much needed information. Until now, only refugees are counted in the category of people « with a migration background» but there is no specific data specific on their integration.

Being able to target to newcomers - whether asylum seekers or refugees is in territories' interest. Past research results stress the importance of early integration, emphasising that newcomers need to avoid, after arrival, long periods of unemployment (OECD, 2018[15]). The first two to three years from arrival have been found to have a disproportionally positive impact on the probability of finding a job, which drops by 23% after this time (Hangartner, 2016). Therefore, the cost for non-action during the "integration window" is disproportionally high. Yet, today in many countries the recognition procedure is very long.

Participation to the diversity monitor survey should be increased

Participation to the diversity monitor is voluntary and the number of participating departments and institutions has steadily increased from 30 in 2009 to 53 in 2019. The Vienna City Administration, however, is made up of seven administrative groups, which comprise 57 municipal departments and 3 enterprises: the Vienna Healthcare Group (*Wiener Gesundheitsverbund*), Housing in Vienna (*Wiener Wohnen*) and Vienna Wastewater Management (*Wien Kanal*). Adding to that are 16 Municipal District Offices (*Magistratische Bezirksämter)*, the City of Vienna Court of Audit, and the Chief Executive Office, which is itself made up of at least 7 units (The Executive Office of the Mayor, the Executive Office for the Co-ordination of Climate and Protection Measures, the Personnel Office of the Vienna Public Utilities, the Executive Group for Legal Affairs, the Executive Group for Personnel and Internal Auditing, the Executive Group for Organisation, Safety and Security, the Executive Group for Construction and Technology).

The fact many still do not participate and the variation from field to field - for example, only one department was surveyed in the field of income and social security while 9 departments and institutions related to health policies took part – is creating participatory gaps. Additionally, the private sectors and NGOs do not participate in the survey.

Finally, so far, diversity monitoring only extends to organisations dependent of the Vienna City Administration. The diversity monitor could include higher levels of government in its analysis. This would foster co-ordination with institutions at the state and federal levels that are also involved in migrant integration and diversity management in Vienna. The Public Employment Service (Arbeitsmarktservice, AMS), for example, is under federal jurisdiction and is in charge of delivering unemployment benefits, which impacts the field of income and social security.

More information on funding of the integration and diversity monitor could be made available to increase transparency

As of 2020, the report published by the City of Vienna does not include a section on funding. Information on funding mechanisms of the integration and diversity monitor should be made widely available for increased transparency, bridging accountability gaps.

4 The National Strategy for Inner Areas, Italy

A territorial development programme that could represent a powerful potential lever to create positive externalities in terms of migrant integration and social cohesion

I. Background

In recent decades, many OECD peripheral areas have faced new challenges linked to their role in a more globalised and interconnected world. Different development strategies try to reverse depopulation and marginalisation of these areas through actions aimed at improving essential services and triggering local development processes (Basile and Cavallo, 2020[41]). The Italian National Strategy for Inner Areas (NSIA) represents the only intervention model on marginal territories in the EU and thus represents a laboratory for integrated rural development and institutional innovation.

Italy's Inner Areas are characterised by their distance in terms of travel-time from main service centres, defined as municipalities which offer secondary schools, at least one hospital with a 1st level emergency and acceptance department[1] and one railway station belonging to the "silver" category[2]. Areas located at more than 20 minutes from these service centres fall into the Inner Areas category. Intermediate areas are those whose distance is between 20 and 40 minutes; peripheral areas are between 40 and 75 minutes; and ultra-peripheral areas are more than 75 minutes.

As of 1 January 2019, 4,076 municipalities were classified as Inner Areas, accounting for 51.4% of all municipalities, representing 21.9% of the population and about 60% of the national surface area. The relative incidence of these areas is comparatively higher in the Southern regions and in the Islands, where they represent 79.4% of municipalities (Barca, Casavola and Lucatelli, 2014[42]). In the Northwest the represent 35.9% of municiaplities and 10.5% of the surface area (Istituto nazionale di statistica, 2020[43]).

The demographic profile of the Inner Areas is particular in that these places suffer from pronounced demographic decline and population ageing. Between 2014 and 2019, the number of people living permanently in Inner Areas decreased by about 250 000 (just over 13.2 million in 2019), or -1.8%, compared with -0.7% for Italy as a whole (-0.4% for all municipalities outside the Inner Areas). This phenomenon is acute in the Islands (-2.4%) and in the Northwest (-2.1%) and more limited in the Centre (-1.3%). In addition, in 2019, the old-age index[3] was higher than the national average in all the regions, with a peak in the Northwest. This is due both to an increase of the elderly population (65 and over) and to a decrease in the youth population (0-14) (Istituto nazionale di statistica, 2020[43]).

[1] The 1st level DEA department provides additional services than an emergency one, such as observation, short-stay care, intensive care, as well as diagnostic and therapeutic interventions in general medicine, general surgery, orthopaedics, traumatology and cardiology

[2] Silver category stations are medium/small systems with an average degree of uptake for metropolitan/regional services and short-distance journeys

[3] Old age index = (Population > 65 years / Population 0-14 years) * 100

Moreover, the economic structure of the Inner Areas is, or at least was, characterized by a strong specialisation in the primary sector since in 2012, 73% of the municipalities were specialized in it. Nonetheless, farm abandonment and unused land are also big issues because of lower land productivity. Economic productivity and the quality of services in these areas are affected by the digital divide. Another criticality is the high risk of earthquakes, which characterises part of the Inner Areas, the so-called aree del cratere (Ministro per la Coesione Territoriale, 2018[44]).

Besides these fragilities, Inner Areas contain various valuable environmental resources (water, high-quality agricultural products, forests and landscapes) and cultural assets (archaeological assets, historic settlements, abbeys, small museums, skills centres). They share with many European rural territories the common trait of having a significant part of their territorial capital underutilised or unused (Basile and Cavallo, 2020[41]). They are extremely diversified, because of their varied natural systems, and century-old settlement processes (European Network for Rural Development, 2018[45]).

Migration in the Inner Areas

Between 2003 and 2013, Inner Areas municipalities mitigated the loss of population thanks to the presence of foreigners. In this period, in all areas the foreign population grew more than the Italian population decreased, with a real substitution effect (Luisi, 2018[46]). Yet, immigrants concentrated in the richest and most economically dynamic regions like cities of the Centre-North, more attractive because they offer better employment opportunities and greater presence of services (Istituto nazionale di statistica, 2020[43]).

Compared to the national value of 8.4%, the Inner Areas with the highest incidence of foreign population in 2016 were Alta Valle Arroscia in Liguria (13.1%), Nuovo Maceratese in Marche (11.2%), Valli Maira e Grana in Piedmont (10.5%) and Casentino-Valtiberina in Tuscany (10.4%). Certain communities have settled in specific areas with an “ethnicisation of residential and work opportunities in the sense that some jobs are almost exclusively occupied by a community of foreigners (Luisi and Nori, 2016[47]). For instance, in Casentino (Tuscany), immigrants, who mostly come from Romania and Macedonia, play a fundamental role in the conservation and evolution of the forestry sector. It is also estimated that 90% of the shepherds in the Abruzzi region are of foreign origin, and 70% in Northern Italy (Fossati and Nori, 2016[48]). Immigration can be a precious resource for areas facing population decline and job shortages. It is all the more important to integrate, attract and retain migrants there.

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

The National Italian Strategy for Inner Areas (*Strategia Nazionale per le Aree Interne* - SNAI) has three main long-term objectives for these areas:

- Reverse the demographic decline;
- Improve the quality of life and wellbeing of locals;
- Reduce the social cost of depopulation (cultural heritage losses and landscape degradation).

And three mid-term ones:

- Increase local employment and work opportunities
- Recover un-valorised natural resources and territorial capital
- Strengthen local development factors

In 2012, the Minister for Cohesion Policy pleaded for a special action in favour of these areas. The State, regions, and municipalities started to negotiate the SNAI and introduced it through a Partnership Agreement with the European Commission. The first financial allocation came with the 2014 National Financial law (*Legge di Stabilità*) when the policy became part of the national 2014-20 programming period.

The SNAI is implemented in every region and macro-area in Italy and aims to contribute to the country's economic and social recovery, creating jobs, fostering social inclusion, and reversing the demographic decline of Inner Areas, both in terms of population size and age profile. The implementation process builds on previous experiences of local development in Italy and is supported by all the main EU funds, as well as dedicated funding provided for under the Stability Law (national funds).

The Strategy pursues its objectives through two related ad-hoc type of actions, mutually reinforcing:

- Programmes supporting Inner Areas inhabitants' access to basic services through innovative delivery mechanisms. Access to education, health and mobility is defined as a pre-condition for any further economic development.
- Programmes fostering local development through projects aiming to increase local job opportunities and profit from available local capital.

Financial resources for programmes addressing citizens' rights come from the national budget and are targeted to experimental actions, made permanent if proved successful. Financial resources for programmes targeting growth come from Regional EU structural funds for and benefit from larger budgets.

In the SNAI framework, each community defines a local strategy comprising different projects for its own territory. This allows for the SNAI to reflect the variety and complexity of Inner areas. Communities (comprising multiple municipalities) are chosen according to the following criteria:

1. Desk analysis (with respect to a series of demographic and socio-economic parameters such as population losses and demographic structure, Utilised Agricultural Area trends, deforestation, hydrological risk, entrepreneurship, tourism and cultural heritage, quality of education, mobility and health services or digital divide);
2. Field analysis of the National Committee, through focus groups with citizens.

Following this selection process, 72 project-areas were retained in 2019 covering 17% of the Italian territory, 3.3% of the population and 1,060 municipalities of the 4,076 ones classified as Inner Areas (Agenzia per la Coesione territoriale, 2020[49]). Interestingly, 66% of retained municipalities are located in mountainous places and 55% of their residents live in remote and ultra-remote areas. The selected areas overall faced a 4.4% population drop between 2001 and 2011, and 3.2% between 2011 and 2017.

III. Methodology

Introduction

To illustrate the positive externalities territorial development and investment programmes can have on migrant integration and social cohesion, the OECD chose to present the Italian SNAI, which enables to concentrate on functional areas instead of administrative ones and to reflect territories' particularities.

To evaluate this strategy, the OECD used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps (see Box 1) that the SNAI helps more or less to bridge. This common framework through which all policy instruments are studied has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects would merit changes and how other governments could implement instruments to their own context.

The assessment of the SNAI was notably nurtured by interviews conducted with three SNAI stakeholders:

- Sabrina LUCATELLI, former co-ordinator of the SNAI;
- Daniela LUISI, planner of SNAI local development strategies and territorial activities;
- Giovanni XILO, expert in territorial reorganisation policies in the "The National Strategy for Internal Areas and the new institutional structures" project, implemented within the SNAI framework.

The use of territorial development strategies

Over the last three decades, the OECD has argued that the combination of factors leading to poor socioeconomic and environmental performance is usually context-specific and must be addressed through place-based policies (OECD, 2019[50]). Territorial development policies thus have a critical role to play in addressing the root causes of persistent territorial disparities.

Because of its geographically differentiated socio-economic impact, the COVID-19 pandemic highlights the importance of effective multi-level governance and regional policy instruments and lends new urgency to using a place-based approach for regional development (Allain-Dupré et al., 2020[51]). The SNAI provide an intriguing perspective for a broader reflection on European peripheral areas and their development trajectories and have notably recently received the interest of the market place and agricultural economics, as well as the attention of the regional and cohesion policies of national governments and the European Union (Basile and Cavallo, 2020[41]).

The SNAI's focus is considered in the 2021–2027 European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for the first time. Thus 5% of the ERDF resources available at national level under the "Investment for jobs and growth goal" shall be allocated to integrated territorial development in non-urban areas with natural, geographic or demographic disadvantages, or which have difficulty accessing basic services. Out of this amount, at least 17.5% shall be allocated to rural areas and communities taking into account provisions of a Smart Villages Pact to develop projects such as rural and remote areas (Basile and Cavallo, 2020[41]).

IV. Co-ordination strengths

How the "Inner regions strategy" helps bridge multi-level governance gaps

Inner regions strategy addresses information gaps

The SNAI encourages regions and municipalities to share information and good practices with each other. First, a 2014-20 Partnership Agreement established the Federation of projects for Inner Areas with the aim of fostering relations and exchange of experiences between mayors of municipalities involved in the SNAI. This Federation was designed to be a learning community offering multiple services: monitoring and ongoing evaluation of the respect of deadlines and outcomes; assistance on critical issues; access to a database of practices; sharing of progress; comparison with ordinary policy actions (Lucatelli and Monaco, 2018[52]). In practice, it organised thematic meetings occasionally (Lucatelli, 2021[53]).

Second, the Inner Areas Citizen Forum, which takes place every year, has been fundamental to the implementation of the strategy, by gathering all actors involved to share information and best practices (Xilo, 2021[54]). During the 2017 Forum (see Box 7), the Technical Committee launched among other things a strategic communication action on SNAI processes and results. Thanks to the involvement of communication experts, a web platform "Citizens in the Inner Areas", a YouTube channel and social networks dedicated accounts were created to give voice to local actors met during the Committee's on-the-ground missions. The SNAI since then exists through reports, photographs, and video interviews.

The strategy addresses several capacity gaps

First, the SNAI has allowed for additional financial and technical assistance to reach many Inner areas that were overlooked by national institutions so far. At the same time, it allowed national policies for education, health, and mobility to adapt to the specificities of these territories through an experimentation process of investments in local service innovation expected to become a structural policy (Agenzia per la Coesione territoriale, 2020[49]). Actions supported so far include:

- A community carpooling initiative in Val Maira (Piemont), which uses a web platform and is managed by a local community co-operative;

- Remote classrooms in secondary schools in Beigua Sol (Liguria) and Piacenza-Parma Apennine (Emilia Romagna);
- Equipping local pharmacies in Matese (Molise) with smart technologies to allow remote diagnostics by hospital personnel.

Second, the strategy also tackled the lack of high skilled human resources in municipality administrations. Indeed, in Inner Areas, local authorities experience a loss of professional profiles and co-ordination figures, such as accounting and public finance experts, technicians for the design of public works, and experts in public decision-making processes (from preliminary investigation to decision-making). As a solution, the Technical Committee of the National Strategy, required the construction of an inter-municipal association system capable of ensuring the organisational capacity necessary to implement their local strategies and to achieve permanent institutional structures.

Furthermore, thanks to the strategy, municipalities involved in the project-areas have the opportunity to learn how to define indicators and expected results, as demanded by the project-approach. As highlighted in the 2016 annual report on the SNAI presented to the Minister for Territorial Cohesion and the South, most municipalities proposed a too high number of indicators, made frequent confusion between output and result indicators, and massively used ad hoc indicators (Ministro per la Coesione Territoriale, 2016[55]). This issue has been partially overcome thanks to the work of the Technical Committee, which provided direct support of the territories (Ministro per la Coesione Territoriale, 2018[44]).

Box 7. Good practice: The Inner Areas Citizen Forum

In May 2017, the fourth edition of the Inner Areas Citizen Forum took place in the municipality of Aliano, within the area of Montagna Materana in Basilicata. Two days of work dedicated to the presentation of results achieved, but also to reflect on how to fully achieve the SNAI's objectives. The Forum took stock of the progress of the SNAI and, through the contribution of mayors and representatives of local communities (over 200 participants) encouraged discussions on lines of action common to the various territories. Around the themes identified as relevant by the field work with the areas' representatives, working sessions were held to:

- Compare innovative experiences;
- Present organisational and management models for goods and services tested in some areas, highlighting risks and opportunities;
- Outline new working paths to be concretely tested in the areas included in the SNAI;
- Represent some interventions planned in internal areas that exemplify trajectories of change that are affecting services and development.

Specifically, eight working sessions were held on the following themes:

- Ecosystem services and green communities;
- How to encourage innovative demand for access to land in inner areas;
- Management and valorisation of diffuse heritage: the cultural and tourist demand from opportunity to reality;
- How to find out what results we get? Evaluation "for" and "of" policies for inland areas;
- Training, innovation, and sustainable animal husbandry in inner areas;
- Migrants and migration in inner areas: micro reception and integration for new residents and citizens;
- Developing skills for innovation: creativity and innovation for smart growth of youth;
- Seismic prevention, protection, and active land management.

The strategy addresses a fiscal gap by a multiple fund mechanism

As outlined above, projects addressing citizens' "rights" (about EUR 4 million for each area) are financed by national budget while local development interventions are financed by all the available European Structural and Investment funds (ERDF, ESF, EAFRD, EMFF), through the regional programmes, and by the National Stability Fund.

The total value of the approved 2019 strategies is equal to EUR 1.142 billion, of which EUR 261 million are state resources, EUR 693 million come from programs financed by European funds, while EUR 189 million are made up of other public and private resources (Agenzia per la Coesione territoriale, 2020[49]).

By adapting to specificities of each region the SNAI addresses participatory gaps

First, SNAI addresses a participatory gap by involving all levels of governments in efficient vertical co-ordination mechanisms:

- The national ministries were involved in the launch of the strategy and participated in numerous meetings (Luisi, 2021[56]);
- The National SNAI Team are made of public servants from all sectoral administrations and external project experts from different fields. It is highly pro-active, taking part on the field in all stages of strategy-building, putting on the ground information, promoting working methods, and often acting as a "destabilising force" vis-à-vis the local conservative elite;
- The project-area's leader, the Region, and the National team are the signatories of the Framework Program Agreement, which contains the approved actions and obligations to implement them;
- Majors of concerned municipalities gather in coalitions to co-operate in designing and managing their local strategy. Each coalition chooses a leader. Municipalities are required to;
- Local communities serve to summarize the characteristics of the local population and territorial capital and turn them into projects, stimulating innovators that already exist in some Inner Areas. In this way, the process does not start from projects but from the ground;

Second, the civil society through non-governmental organisation also participate to SNAI's participatory development approach. Thus, for instance in the area *Appennino basso pesarese anconetano* the leading municipality signed an agreement with the NGO Slow food, in the Fortore area referents of reception centres were involved in projects of social agriculture with migrants and in the Casentino area, forestry companies working with migrants and Oxfam were involved too (Luisi, 2021[56]). Having local groups directly participate in the design and implementation of the SNAI prevents overalps between actions. Overall, thanks to its bottom-up and place-based approach, the SNAI has allowed for the voice of Inner areas habitants to be heard (Xilo, 2021[54]). The Strategy has played an important role in recognising the experience and the value of local actors, such as associations, farmers, and businesses (Luisi, 2021[56]).

Besides, once projects are selected the National Committee for Inner Areas, in collaboration with local authorities, organises focus groups and scouting activities. Local authorities, mayors, public officers in charge of services delivery, school directors, teachers, students, hospital managers or doctors attend these focus groups. On average, they last for three hours and follow a standard methodology including four different sessions on local development, healthcare services, education, and transport services.

Finally, the SNAI has participated to bridge participatory gaps outside of its field of competences. Indeed, participating to SNAI programmes inspired some public officials to involve local actors in the conception of their local development projects (Luisi, 2021[56]). Margherita Asquasciati, mayor of Fontanigorda (in Liguria Region), following the SNAI co-design method thus asked the local Prefect to work together to create a migrant reception centre, in parallel to the local SNAI strategy implemented in her area. The strategy has thus enriched local administrations with new skills and knowledge, in particular the capacity of creating new links and co-operation initiatives between different actors at local level.

The Strategy provides a formal mean to enhance accountability and transparency

The Strategy does not provide for an active monitoring, but some areas have implemented forms of civic monitoring, such as in Sicily and Lombardy. Thus, the Val Simeto area in Sicily has created in 2020 a Civic Observatory (Formez Pa, 2020[57]). This citizen committee aims at monitoring public policies on the territory, in particular the SNAI. This kind of initiatives, often initiated spontaneously by citizens without being financed by the SNAI, could be reproduced by other Inner areas to increase in order to improve transparency and accountability (Luisi, 2021[56]).

During 2017, starting from the meeting of the annual Inner Areas Forum, the Technical Committee launched a strategic communication action on SNAI processes and results. This initiative improved accountability and transparency, as communicating on results modifies actors' behaviours by giving citizens tools to judge their actions (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]).

The main enforcement mechanism of the strategy has been the Framework Programme Agreement (*Accordo di Programma Quadro*) established by a 1996 law. This represents the implementation tool of inter-institutional co-operation through which Regions, Local Authorities and Central Administrations, take on binding commitments for the achievement of the objectives defined by each local Strategy. For each Framework Program Agreement, a Single Responsible for Implementation is identified as the subject appointed by the regional administration to co-ordinate implementation. By defining responsibilities and duties of each actor clearly, this system contributes to improving co-ordination, as well as accountability.

Finally, to support territories that collect information and compile updated result indicators over time, the Department for Cohesion Policies has promoted the implementation of two projects:

1. Territorial and sectoral statistical information for the 2014-20 cohesion policies, to be implemented in agreement with ISTAT;
2. Environmental statistics for cohesion policies 2014-20, to be implemented in agreement with ISPRA.

The strategy diminishes administrative gaps, by allowing municipalities to associate to manage common local strategies

The Technical Committee for Inner Areas decided to complement the process of defining local strategies with the construction of a permanent inter-municipal association system.Yet, many municipalities lack institutional capacity and relevant qualifications and thus struggle to manage independently programmes and to implement structural reorganisation of local public services.

To increase connection between municipalities, the Technical Committee promotes since 2016 a collaboration between Formez PA (the Centre for services, assistance, studies and training for the modernisation of Public Administrations), and the Department of Public Administration. They jointly work for the implementation of a project "The SNAI and the new institutional arrangements", which aims at supporting municipalities of the same areas to associate and manage functions and services together. Overall, the Formez PA project supports the creation of a permanent inter-municipal system that:

- Allows entities with already consolidated and successful association experiences to develop further inter-municipal integration processes;
- Favours critical analyses and check-ups of Conventions and/or Unions already in place;
- Develops centres of competence and technical supervision of the SNAI actions;
- Activates the first real associative processes in territories and regions with little or no experience of inter-municipal aggregation, favouring an analysis and a comparison between municipal authorities on common problems and on possible forms of co-operation to overcome them.

Outcomes of the instrument

On migrants and refugees

Migrant integration is not an official priority of the Strategy, even though immigration could be a lever to mitigate the negative demographic balance and worker shortages. Yet, the theme of migration was discussed during the Forum of Inner Areas of 2017 and some inner areas have included migrants in their territorial development strategy:

- A workshop was organised about this theme in 2018, the Chiusano d'Asti seminar on "Migration and Generative Reception in Inner Areas".
- In Valle di Comino (Lazio) the Strategy of the Area finances the redevelopment of a former slaughterhouse to start a workshop promoting employment and micro-entrepreneurship for young people from the area, including migrants, asylum seekers and refugees.
- In the Fortore area (Molise), an innovative social agriculture programme promotes social and work integration of migrants and the Area intends to include English-speaking migrants living in the various housing centres in an English summer school.
- The Grecanica Area's strategy (Calabria) (see **Box 8**) intends to recover unoccupied houses to host migrants, to increase the involvement of immigrant workers in agriculture and to experiment of a new model of multi-ethnic territorial citizenship.
- In Casentino-Valtiberina, 19,9% of primary and lower secondary schools students do not have the Italian citizenship. The focus of the area's strategy will be on strengthening the network of mountain educational services and co-operative learning. In upper secondary schools, where non-Italian citizenship students suffer from early school leaving, the focus will be on orientation. Forestry operators will be provided with training tools to improve a sector in which foreigners are present in significant numbers, but often operate with little training and few technical skills. In view of the share of women engaged in care activities who are of foreign origin, the area's strategy envisages the establishment of professional associations of family workers. The action aims to train family carers and to create registers of accreditation and registers of providers of care services for elderly and/or dependent persons. Yet, it is not possible to evaluate the impacts of these too rare initiatives.

Box 8. Good practice: Local strategy targeting migrants

Grenica's strategy

According to the local strategy of Grecanica "*the time has come to go beyond the reception of immigrants and to experiment in the Project Area new and innovative forms of multi-ethnic territorial citizenship*".

In 2015, 2,812 immigrants of 59 different nationalities were present in the centres and villages of the Grecanica Area. The area's local strategy summarises the opportunities migration represents:

- The strategy plans to recover 4,685 unoccupied houses in the centres and internal villages of the area and to allocate them in an innovative way to immigrant families and repopulate these villages. This will foster social and economic regeneration, maintenance of essential services and protection of the cultural heritage. The strategy envisages hosting 100 migrants by 2023.
- The Project Area presents potentialities and opportunities for growth in the agricultural and zoo sectors that are not exploited, primarily because of the ageing population and of the flight of the new generations from agricultural activities. The increasing involvement of qualified immigrant workers in agriculture is thus indispensable, also through innovative forms of self-entrepreneurship and co-operative work. A significant contribution to the strengthening of agricultural activities can come from putting to production publicly owned land currently unused.

- The experimentation of a new model of multi-ethnic territorial citizenship would enrich the cultural heritage of the area through the comparison and integration of thousand-year-old identity heritages, first and foremost that of the Greeks of Calabria. This would increase the attractiveness of the area for tourists interested by history and culture.

Source: Microsoft Word - Strategia Area Grecanica Finale (26.08.2020).doc (agenziacoesione.gov.it)

Inner areas and resilience to the COVID-19 crisis

Rural areas were heavily affected by COVID-19, because of the high numbers of elderly and the fact that they are often equipped with fewer hospital beds. Yet as a result of the pandemic, throughout the world people are moving from urban places to less densely populated communities (Ranscombe, 2020[58]). Attractiveness of rural areas where working remotely is possible has for the moment increased. The long-term impact on the urban/rural spatial equilibrium may be difficult to predict (Allain-Dupré et al., 2020[51]).

Nonetheless, COVID-19 has accelerated the digitalisation of public administration and public services delivery. In order for Italian Inner areas to become attractive for people working remotely, the digital divide in these territories must be overcome. In FormezPA's report on the digitisation processes in Inner Areas (Picucci, Rigoni and Xilo, 2020[59]), 25 Inner Areas are analysed, which amounts to 360 municipalities with a total population of over 700 000 inhabitants. Findings highlight the presence of many interventions in all domains that in order to be realised need digitisation (Martinelli, 2021[60]). Yet, high-speed coverage is only complete in 16% of the municipalities from the sample. Only with access to broadband will inner areas fully exercise those fundamental rights the SNAI aims to strengthen: healthcare with telemedicine and remote assistance, education with distance learning and integrated teaching between multiple classes of the same plexus and intelligent mobility need broadband to function.

The implementation of the national plan to support the development of ultra-wideband, approved in 2015, faces delays. Overcoming the digital divide is perhaps one of the most important issues posed by the current crisis (Di Salvatore, 2020[61]). Social distancing, which is destined to continue with medium to long-term effects, and new natural aspirations amongst tourists could revive the old, abandoned villages of Alpine and Apennine Italy. The low population and production density, the wide availability of space and the environmental quality of these areas could prove to be extraordinary pull factors. It is thus necessary to develop, through targeted actions and interventions, naturalistic and slow tourism. Nature and uncrowded places can contribute to enhancing the value of inland villages and destinations, as well as providing a way of relaunching the sector in times of social distancing.

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The methodology based on multi-level governance gaps and the three interviews conducted with Sabrina Lucatelli, Daniela Luisi, and Giuseppe Xilo have allowed the OECD to identify which aspects of the policy instruments could be modified towards greater efficiency.

Explicitly include migration policies in local development strategies

Migrants represent a solution to the demographic decline that many Inner areas face. The Non-EU migrant population in particular present high shares of "youth" (understood as individuals aged from 15 to 24 years old) compared to EU-migrant one. In Sardinia for instance where many territories are considered as Inner Areas, 13,1% of the Non-EU foreign-born are young compared to 7,1% of the EU foreign-born ones (EU REPORT). Furthermore, when integrated migrants and can boost the economic development of these rural areas through their participation in the labour force. In 2019, there was a 3-percentage point difference between the native-born unemployment rate (13, 1%) and the foreign-born one (9, 6%) (EU REPORT). Reducing this gap could be a win-win for migrants and Inner Areas.

It is surprisingly that most local strategies do not include migrant integration within their objectives. Several explications exist. First, the theme of migration often emerged in places where the presence of migrants is significant and showed by indicators or in areas where are located SPRAR/SIPROIMI (now SAI) temporary reception centres (Luisi, 2021[56]). This may be illustrating that when migrants do not live in the areas, communities do not think of them as an opportunity nor local priority. Besides, it could also be that the theme of migration emerged but was not integrated in the strategy due to a lack of financial resources. Some municipalities have thus promoted actions for migrants without including them in their strategy. The mayor of Fontanigorda, Margherita Asquasciati, thus opened a reception centre in Liguria in parallel to the SNAI. Finally, it could be that in Italy, migration is traditionally managed through emergency policies and not local development ones (Lucatelli, 2021[53]). This national attitude might influence municipalities in considering their local development strategy is not the right space for dealing with migrant integration.

Some inner areas have included migrants in their strategies and could serve as models of how to bring forward the theme of migrant integration into local strategies. Notably, developing workshops focused on immigration as the one that took place in Chiusano d'Asti on "Migration and Generative Reception in Inner Areas" could prove useful to support migrants. This event was organised by the Italian Alliance for Sustainable Development (ASVIS), the Inequalities and Diversity Forum, and the Inner Areas Technical Committee, with the collaboration of the SPRAR Central Office and National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI), with the aim of activating an inter-institutional round table to qualify the methods of reception of migrants and refugees. The idea at the core of this seminar was that both central and local authorities should actively participate in enhancing the reception in their territory, for example by promoting networks between small municipalities. Participants reflected about how to interweave reception and local development and to transform the many experiences of widespread reception in the Inner Areas into stable actions. The seminar lead to a report on indications and guidelines for good reception (Lezzi, 2018[62]). Such seminars could stimulate actions of research and communication around the theme of migration.

At the national level, with the support of the OECD, the 2017 Forum of Inner Areas put forward the topic of migration (Piccinni and Terribile, 2017[63]). The session highlighted possible initiatives:

- Creating a platform for exchange with municipalities in Inner Areas that must deal with reception;
- Launch experiments in the areas selected in SNAI so that the funds for the "Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees" (SPRAR) are not limited to forms of assistance, but activate economic resources, including services and welfare, for migrants and foreign residents.

More seminars like the following ones should be organised to share good practices in the field of migration integration and inform mayors of the opportunity migrants represents for local development: the seminar "Migrations and Development Policies in Inner Areas" (2019), organised by the Italian Alliance for Sustainable Development (ASVIS), the Inequalities and Diversity Forum and the Inner Areas Technical Committee, with the collaboration of Palazzo delle Esposizioni (Rome).

Ensuring the durability of the National strategy

The pressure for a quick fix, even at national level, puts the long-term SNAI at risk of being discontinued. Projects should be intended as long-term ones, also to create tangible implications of actors. For instance, the inter-municipal association system should become permanent in these areas. According to Giovanni Xilo (2021[54]), inter-municipal associations that have stimulated collaboration beyond the field of services will more likely last in the end.

In addition, municipalities of Inner Areas should focus on attracting qualified profiles in their administration to ensure the sound management of the strategy. The recruitment of new young managers in municipal offices should notably be encouraged through renewed public calls (Lucatelli, 2021[53]). The lack of human resources should be tackled at a national level. A solution could be the creation of task forces providing support to municipalities (Xilo, 2021[54]). Moreover, municipality staff should be further trained to the project approach, to enable them to reproduce it in further projects and policies and to train future staff members.

Improving collaboration between multiple projects and EU funds

In each project area, individual EU Funds apply their own rules, which does not facilitate collaboration among different management authorities. The lack of flexibility of these funds and the requirement of long administrative procedures was also an obstacle to finance small projects, such as co-operatives. It was difficult to adapt funds to the specific needs of the regions.

In most areas, Local Action Groups (GALs) exist. They are made up of public and private actors whose aim is to foster the local development of a rural area (Caldini, 2016[64]). The main task of GALs is to draw up and implement a participatory local development strategy, supported by one or more European funds, in particular the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD). While the territorial overlap may favour the co-ordination between the SNAI and other instruments, the crucial issue remains that of collaboration between subjects responsible for interventions at local level: on the one hand, the GALs or other forms of sectoral partnership and, on the other hand, associations of municipalities for SNAI (Mantino and De Fano, 2016[65]). Co-ordination mechanisms between multiple actors and funds are needed to avoid pouring financial resources into a mix of implementation competences where different levels of territorial government overlap.

The collaboration between GALs and the Technical Committee of Inner Areas has been positive overall, according to people involved in the strategy and, in some cases, GALs have actually implemented the strategy. However, there has been some resistance at the beginning by some GALs leaders, as they felt the strategy was just doing what they have been done for years (Luisi, 2021[56]). However, the strategy has a different approach, and promotes projects on services, such as transports, medicine and education, something that was not done by the GALs.

Expand the role of focus groups

Focus groups are interesting tools to promote participation of local actors, both public and private. A positive point of the National Strategy is that it has employed focus groups during field missions of the Technical Committee, with the aim of selecting project-areas. However, these focus-groups could become an integrant part of the whole strategy and be used not only during the definition of the specific needs of the areas, but also during its implementation and evaluation. Indeed, focus groups could also be used to implement an active monitoring of areas strategies (Lucatelli, 2021[53]). Involving local actors throughout the implementation of the strategy could ensure on-the ground changing realities are taken into account.

Providing more technical resources to Inner Areas

No special national office has been opened in any ministry for Inner areas (Lucatelli, 2021[53]) and the Agency for Territorial Cohesion lacked human resources to monitor the strategy sufficiently. There is a real need for a “presidium“, a dedicated department, that would continue to bring Inner Areas to the attention of the government (Luisi, 2021[56]).

A critical issue has been Inner Areas’ inability of planning and designing their strategy independently. If they successfully participated in the definition of their strategy, they were not able to turn their ideas into concrete projects with clear indicators and shared responsibilities. Most of them encountered difficulties to draft the Framework Programme Agreements (*Accordi di Programma Quadro)* assigning to each party binding commitments for the achievement of the objectives defined by local strategies. Most Inner Areas’ mayos have never dealt with the development of projects and were used to manage only daily life local issues. One of the weakness of the National Strategy has been to not have provided a specific support for filling this lack of autonomy of Inner Areas (Lucatelli, 2021[53]). Each strategy has a technical assistance sheet, but it does not provide for planning. Areas with more resources were able to self-organise by finding technical assistance autonomously. The Department of Cohesion has thus collaborated with private or public entities selected to be responsible for technical assistance and in some cases had to check if they were not trying to use the SNAI for in their own interests.

5 The Atlantic Immigration Pilot, Canada

An employer-driven immigration mechanism, matching labour market needs with newcomers' skills

I. Background

Atlantic Canada' four Provinces (New Brunswick (N.B.), Nova Scotia (N.S.), Prince Edward Island (P.E.I) and Newfoundland and Labrador (N.L.)) face a harsh demographic decline which is expected to continue over the next decades. The region's population represented 6.5 % of Canada's population in 2020, compared to 7 % in 2011. Population in Atlantic Canada is aging more rapidly than nationally. Between 2007 and 2017, the percentage of seniors (those who are aged 65 and above) in total population rose from 13.4 % to about 17 % nationally while in Atlantic Canada it rose from about 15 % to 20 % (Akbari, 2017[66]).

Atlantic Canada's slower population growth is explained by lower natural increases, lower immigration levels and higher interprovincial migration (Statistics Canada, 2017[67]). Three factors also appear to contribute to this decline: outmigration of young workers from Atlantic Provinces, high unemployment rates compared to the rest of Canada, and average weekly wages below the national level (Statistics Canada, 2019[68]). Nevertheless, not all regions in Atlantic Canada are facing the same challenges uniformly. There are substantial disparities between rural and urban areas with rural communities generally marked by populations with fewer economic resources, leading to higher out-migration movements (Ted McDonald, 2017[69]). Highest unemployment rates are mostly centred in a few specific areas whereas cities have unemployment rates that compare to other cities in the country.

This all affects the size of the labour force which has declined by 2.4 % between 2012 and 2018 (31 000 people) (ACOA, 2019[70]).The region is short of skilled workers, while the aging rural workforce struggles to find jobs. Research projections from 2018 indicated that a total of 84 725 workers will be needed in Atlantic Canada, with the most required in the technical jobs and skilled trades, as well as the intermediate occupations (ACOA, 2019[70]).

Therefore, in spite of relatively important levels of unemployment, the four Atlantic Provinces have recognised immigration as a solution and developed regional immigration programs to tackle demographic decline and address local job market needs. The Provincial Nominee Program allows Provinces to nominate immigrants who express an interest in living and working in the Province. However, Atlantic Canada has faced particular challenges retaining immigrants and ranked last in immigrant retention with only 50% of immigrants living in the region in 2011 still there in 2015. Furthermore, amongst provinces using provincial nominee programs between 2002 and 2014, Atlantic Canada had amongst the lowest retention rates. Prince Edward Island had a retention rate of 27%, followed by Newfoundland and Labrador at 57%. These are in comparison to Ontario and British Columbia, who had retention rates of 93% and 91%, respectively (IRCC, 2018[71]). In this context, one of the five strategic priorities of the Atlantic Growth Strategy launched in 2016 is a skilled workforce and immigration (ACOA, 2018[72]).

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

Launched in 2017, the Atlantic Immigration Pilot (AIP) supports Atlantic Provinces in meeting specific labour market demands and needs of the communities by giving businesses the ability to fill job vacancies quickly using permanent immigration programs. It is part of the Atlantic Growth Strategy's goal of fostering regional capacity to develop, deploy and retain skilled workforce by addressing labour market needs.

While designed as a three year pilot, the AIP was extended to a five-year one finally to be turned into a permanent program end of 2021 by the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (Prime Minister's Office, 2019[73]). Following these successes, it serves as a model for other immigration programs. The Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot launched in 2019 notably builds on it.

To support each Province's unique labour market and skill level need, three permanent residence streams were designed with flexible criteria and slight variations in requirements. Two programs for skilled workers: the Atlantic High-Skilled Program (AHSP) and the Atlantic Intermediate-Skilled Program (AISP); and one program for international student graduates: the Atlantic International Graduate Program (AIGP). The required work experience, education, and job offer required vary depending on the program. If the employer and the candidate meet all the requirements, the candidate gets permanent resident status in Canada. To ensure the long-term retention and integration of newcomers, which has been challenging in Atlantic Canada, the Pilot was developed around the three following unique features (IRCC, 2019[74]).

An employer-driven model

While most immigration programs begin with an individual applying to immigrate to Canada, under the AIP, designated employers endorse a potential immigrant prior to the permanent residence application. They do not need to obtain a Labour Market Impact Assessment, which shortens the hiring process, and must:

- Have a business operating in good standing;
- Provide information on labour needs;
- Commit to working with a service provider organisation on settlement and retention.
- To become endorsed, an employer must:
- Demonstrate efforts to hire locally have not been successful;
- Recruit a foreign worker;
- Provide a valid, full-time, non-seasonal job offer co-signed with the foreign worker;
- Provide an individualised settlement plan co-signed with the foreign worker.

As of September 2019, 2,383 employers had been designated through the AIP, with 31% in New Brunswick, 45% in Nova Scotia, 12% in PEI and 12% in Newfoundland and Labrador (IRCC, 2020[75]).

Settlement requirements for applicants

A key part of the Atlantic Immigration Pilot program is getting employers to go beyond their traditional role and help newcomers thrive outside of work. All principal applicants arriving in Canada under the pilot program must have not only a job offer from a designated employer but also an individualised settlement plan for themselves and their family. The theory is that to convince recruits from abroad to settle and put down roots they need to integrate.

Once the candidate has accepted the job, the employer connects the candidate with federally and provincially funded settlement service provider organisations that will conduct a needs assessment and develop an individual settlement plan for newcomers and their families. Various types of needs are included in this initial diagnostic (see Box 9.). AIP applicants can receive IRCC-funded settlement plans abroad or once arrived in Canada. As of December 2019, 8,298 IRCC-funded AIP settlement plans were provided to prospective AIP newcomers by pre-arrival and domestic service provider organisations.

Box 9. Examples of needs assessed and recorded in the platform designed to support the delivery of settlement services iCARE

- **Life in Canada**: The client wants information on life in Canada, including information on the people, geography, climate, history, laws, rights and responsibilities, etc.
- **Working in Canada:** The client wants information on how to find paid work including information about job markets, wages, job search techniques, workplace culture, foreign credentials, etc.
- **Education in Canada:** The client wants information on the educational system in Canada
- **Professional networks:** The client wants to develop more connections or ties with others for the purposes of work or business.
- **Level of community involvement:** The client wants to become an active participant in their community through activities such as volunteering for community programs.
- **Language skills:** The client wants to increase language proficiency in one of the official languages.
- **Housing / accommodations:** The client wants to obtain temporary or permanent shelter and includes (e.g., renting an apartment/house or buying a home, accessing government-assisted, etc.).
- **Financial:** The client would like information or general support related to money management and economic wellbeing such as banking, budgeting, credit, debt, loans, taxation, income support, etc.
- **Health / mental health / well-being:** The client wants access to provincial health care or private health insurance or wishes to address general health issues such as nutrition, stress, trauma.

Source:https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/E2-2019_AIP_Accessible_Eng.pdf

Multi-party governance with a variety of stakeholders.

The pilot has been designed with a collaborative approach. Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and the Atlantic provinces are the core governance and delivery partners; other organisations, such as settlement service provider organisations (SPOs) and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), play valued program delivery roles, but do not participate in governance.

III. Methodology

The use of employer driven job-matching mechanisms

All OECD countries are confronted with the effects of demographic decline and there are fears that there will not be enough workers, or at least enough workers with the right set of skills, to replace those who will retire. One important way in which enterprises will be able to maintain and develop their human capital and therefore their level of activity in the future is through the recruitment of skills from abroad (OECD/European Union, 2014[76]). There are two principal ways in which this is done. In the supply-driven way, the government administration selects among applicants on the basis of various characteristics. In the demand-driven method, employers are in charge of identifying and selecting applicants from abroad for available jobs and request permission to hire these persons from national authorities. Demand driven systems are useful to help avoid labour shortages and skills mismatches as employers are best positioned to identify their labour needs.

Both regional and local authorities can connect the central level and employers through the implementation of local immigration schemes. Regional authorities often hold the (exclusively or not) competence for economic development, including interaction with enterprises and might want to implement job-matching mechanisms to respond to employers' demand and attract migrants qualified for jobs to be filled. Several Canadian regions have for instance put in place regional migrant sponsor and selection schemes, playing therefore a very active role in attracting and recruiting migrants (OECD, 2018[15]).

As an example of a regional mechanism matching local labour needs with newcomers, the OECD chose to present the Atlantic Immigration Pilot (AIP). To this end, the OECD has used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps (see Box 1) that the AIP helps more or less shortening. This common framework through which all policy instruments of this report are studied has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects would merit changes and how other governments could implement similar instruments to their own context. Furthermore, this case study relies on an evaluation of the pilot which covered the period from its implementation in March 2017 to the end of fiscal year (FY) 2019–2020. The evaluation was conducted in fulfilment of requirements outlined in the 2016 Treasury Board Policy on Results. The Atlantic Provinces were engaged and informed throughout the evaluation process (IRCC, 2020[75]).

IV. Co-operation strengths

How the AIP bridges multi-level governance gaps

Through dedicated teams and services the AIP addresses capacity gaps

First, the AIP has allowed to match the needed increase in arrivals with an increase in the number of people responsible for providing settlement plans to prospective newcomers and providing traditional settlement services. As of 2020, twenty six federally-funded AIP-designated service provider organisations were created. Four of which offer services pre-arrival, twenty one which offer domestic services, and one which offers both pre-arrival and domestic services.

Second, ongoing consultations that allowed information to circulate well have permitted IRCC to adjust for certain human capacity gaps. After consulting Atlantic employers and provincial partners that have been using the Pilot, IRCC has launched a dedicated service channel to assist designated employers whose candidates have received, or are in the process of receiving a provincial endorsement and are ready to apply for permanent residence. The provision of service included two distinct elements; outreach, to proactively promote the program and provide initial on-boarding to employers to provide the foundational knowledge to move forward; and service to reactively work hand-in-hand with employers to establish an talent acquisition strategy through immigration and implementing it. Thus, the AIP brings in human capital particularly helpful to employers that are not familiar with the steps involved in immigration processes.

Finally, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency works with partners throughout Atlantic Canada to promote the Program to Atlantic employers.

By capitalising on local employer involvement, the AIP fills a participatory gap

Although there is great potential, in the OECD the business sector rarely contributes to local integration activities and associations are the only private actors participating to migrant integration. In contrast, the AIP allows Provinces to build on the means and skills of the business sector to foster integration. A central strength of the program is how it gets employers to go beyond their traditional role and help newcomers thrive outside of work.

First, all principal applicants arriving in Canada under the pilot program must have not only a job offer from a designated employer but also an individualised settlement plan for themselves and their family. Employers work with federally and provincially-funded settlement service provider organisations to support the settlement and retention of newcomers and their families. Employers ensure settlement plans are administered to newcomers and their families.

Second, the AIP provides an impetus for employers to go further in supporting the long-term integration of new immigrants. J.D. Irving Ltd., a New Brunswick family owned firm, and one of the largest employers, has for instance worked on getting small towns of the province to adapt to the influx of newcomers. The company has held cultural training sessions with local leaders and Irving staff in town of Sussex and the Village of Chipman. Participants took turns role-playing through different scenarios and had a chance to ask questions about what to expect when the newcomers arrive (Public Policy Forum, 2018[77]). Finally,

the AIP is bringing new employer partners to the immigration landscape. Over half of surveyed employers reported that using AIP was the first time they had used an immigration program.

By bringing together many stakeholders around a shared concern, the AIP facilitates the alignment of objectives

First, the AIP is distinct from other IRCC programs due to the collaboration of various stakeholders playing active roles across the governance continuum in delivering different aspects of the pilot. This includes the IRCC, provincial governments, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, federally funded and provincially funded settlement service provider organisations and employers. By involving all these actors, the AIP constitutes a platform for their rationalities and priorities to be voiced and thus fosters the adoption of convergent targets.

Second, the program is based on a shared acknowledgment that the demographic situation of Atlantic Canada needs to be addressed. Thus, the AIP is viewed as a response to this local urgency rather than as an ex-nihilo policy. This favours the alignment of the different actors' objectives.

The way the AIP is continuously evaluated helps ensuring the transparency and integrity of practices

Because the AIP integrates feedback and updated policies throughout its lifespan, the general public can follow why certain changes in practices are made. The 2019 renewal came with several changes to adapt the Pilot to on-ground needs and realities and ensure more efficient allocation of shared tasks. Since then, international graduates have more time to apply (24 months post-graduation instead of 12), more flexibility for hiring health-care professionals has been granted, the Atlantic Provinces have greater flexibility in prioritising the jobs they want to fill through the AIP and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) now assess foreign nationals' language, education, and work experience before issuing them a work permit (IRCC, 2020[75]).

Furthermore, as mentioned the IRCC recently conducted a detailed evaluation of the program. Focused on early outcomes of the AIP, as well as on its design and implementation (see Box 10), the evaluation proposes different indicators to measure success. It relies on different sources of qualitative and quantitative evidence: Document review, interviews, site visits to Atlantic Provinces; Survey AIP participants, Longitudinal Immigration Database 2018 T4 Data, etc. (IRCC, 2020[75]). Results of the evaluation have been publicly published and analysed, which allows citizens to understand the validity of this immigration tool and why there is an interest in putting it on a permanent footing.

Box 10. Questions used for the evaluation of the AIP

Relevance

1. To what extent is the Pilot filling labour market needs in Atlantic Canada?
2. Design and Implementation
3. To what extent do the unique features of the AIP affect retention and integration outcomes?
4. To what extent is there effective and responsive management of the AIP (i.e., multi-party relationship model)?
5. Are effective measures in place to ensure accountability and protect program integrity?
6. Are there alternatives or lessons learned from the current design and delivery that would improve a future iteration of a similar Pilot?
7. Achievement of Expected Outcomes
8. To what extent are AIP participants employed and becoming economically established in Atlantic Canada?

9. Are employers and settlement service providers ensuring Pilot participants (and their families) have the resources they need to settle in Atlantic Canada?
10. Are Pilot participants remaining in Atlantic Canada and what are the factors that contribute to retention?

Source: https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/documents/pdf/english/corporate/reports-statistics/evaluations/E2-2019_AIP_Accessible_Eng.pdf

Outcomes of the instrument

The AIP has allowed the region to attract newcomers

As of December 2019, 5,590 AIP newcomers arrived to the Atlantic Provinces amongst which 2656 principal applicants. 45% of AIP newcomers destined to New Brunswick, 34% to Nova Scotia, 10% to Prince Edward Island, and 10% to Newfoundland and Labrador. It is worth noting this success has not been linear. The pilot is picking up speed quickly as over the three year period, almost three-quarters (73%) arrived in Canada in 2019, 25% in 2018 and a handful in 2017 (1%) (IRCC, 2020[78]).

The initial goal for 2017 was to process 2 000 applications through the AIP. In response to increased participation in the second year of the pilot, the Minister of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship allocated an additional 500 spaces to Atlantic Provinces in 2018. Canada's 2019-21 Immigration Levels Plan set a target of doubling the AIP intake from 2 000 in 2019 to 4 000 in 2020 (IRCC, 2018[79]).

The AIP has helped replenish the labour pool and fill labour market needs

Taken alone, the Pilot has helped employers respond to employment needs that could not be filled appropriately with workers in Atlantic Canada. A majority of surveyed employers who endorsed foreign workers found AIP was useful to their organisation in responding to labour needs and shortages (IRCC, 2020[80]). This is particularly true in technical occupations and skilled trades where 46% of principal applicants arrived (IRCC, 2020[75]). The three AIP streams seem complementary. Employers operating in accommodations and elder care notably see the international graduate stream as a useful way to recruit and fill their needs. The AIP achieves goals not reached by other programs. Over three-quarters of surveyed employers (77%) indicated that it was best suited to respond to their organisation's needs compared to other economic immigration programs they have used (IRCC, 2020[75]).

Atlantic Immigration Pilot proves worth in retaining immigrants

In the past, Atlantic Canada has faced particular challenges retaining immigrants but for now, the AIP has succeeded in retaining migrants in Atlantic Canada. A majority of AIP newcomers are still living in the region after their first year in Canada. In 2020, 90 % of surveyed AIP principal applicants reported living in Atlantic Canada (IRCC, 2020[81]). After the second year in Canada, however, there was a decrease in retention rates in Atlantic Canada for survey respondents, but despite this drop the AIP still retains its top spot for keeping immigrants in the Atlantic region compared to other immigration programs.

Furthermore, immigrants who come to Atlantic Canada through the AIP seem to stay in the Province they first settled in. Of those who reported living in Atlantic Canada at the time of the survey, the majority (80%) indicated that they plan on staying in their province of residence.

Finally, results from the survey of AIP principal applicants indicates that the great majority of respondents were working for their designated employer at the time of the survey, although this was more prevalent for the 2019 cohort than for the 2018 one.

At this stage, results could notably be affected by declarative bias caused by respondents under-reporting the fact they consider moving to other locations. This risks being amplified by the non-neutral status of interviewers affiliated to the IRCC. Ongoing monitoring of the AIP retention rate is thus necessary to identify its long-term impact on retention.

The AIP participates to changing locals' perception of migration

The AIP might participate to changing locals' view on migrants who appear as solutions to labour shortages and depopulation. While principal applicants sustain the local economy their families contribute to maintaining local public services. In this way, over three-quarters of surveyed employers (77%) agreed that their community has benefited from the AIP and 83% of them reported an increased knowledge of immigration as a tool for responding to labour market needs (IRCC, 2020[75]).

Furthermore, past OECD research has showed perceived contribution to the local economy is positively correlated with the share of foreign-born people in a region (OECD, 2018[15]). Therefore, by bringing foreigners in depopulated areas the AIP participates to build a sort of "diversity culture" that will expand beyond its own participants and facilitate in the future the intake of migrants and refugees by Atlantic Provinces and cities to tackle demographic decline.

Finally, amongst the most common reasons why AIP survey respondents want to stay in Atlantic Canada are the fact they like the community/city (61%) and the fact they have family/friends in the community/province (34%). These numbers seem to reflect a good social integration of newcomers, which may be caused by some of the AIP's features and effects.

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The methodology based on multi-level governance gaps and the evaluation conducted by IRCC have allowed the OECD to identify aspects of this policy instrument that can be improved.

Increase full awareness of AIP services

First, while settlement plans were found to be useful for integration, 21% surveyed AIP principal applicants were not aware that they could access settlement services and almost half (48%) of those not aware indicated that they would have accessed these services had they known. Many AIP newcomers are thus not benefiting from the full suite of supports available to help them integrate successfully in their communities. This could be directly reducing retention rates. The evaluation has recommended that the IRCC develop and implement a strategy to increase awareness of settlement services for AIP clients and their families. One way IRCC plans to do this is by involving AIP partners more. It will encourage employer partners to help make AIP clients aware of local settlement services and enhance departmental and provincial communication with AIP applicants for further opportunities to communicate the availability and value of settlement services.

Second, the evaluation has underlined a need for a clear and timely communication about changes to the AIP. This is all the more important as in light of the transition to a permanent program, the AIP will undergo modifications that should be adequately communicated and shared with stakeholders and pilot participants. Implementing a new interactive communication platform dedicated to the AIP could enable participants to keep up to date.

Similarly, while the dedicated service channel was identified as a useful support for AIP employers, more than half surveyed AIP employers were unaware of its existence. The IRCC has recognised more could be done to leverage support for employers (IRCC, 2020[75]).

Lack of evaluation mechanisms that would foster enforcement

Employers are normally required to assist AIP newcomers with settlement services, which include transitioning to the new community, supporting client access to settlement plans, assistance finding housing, and transportation, etc. Yet, although a large proportion of surveyed employers (81%) reported providing some sort of support to AIP newcomers, less than half (44%) of surveyed AIP principal applicants reported receiving settlement supports from their designated employer (IRCC, 2019[82]) (IRCC, 2020[83]).

Similarly, the AIP agreement formally takes into account the fact cultural differences can represent an important barrier for newcomers entering, or trying to enter, the Atlantic Canadian workforce. Provinces

have thus agreed that they will, at minimum, assess employer's application to determine that the employer has provided or agrees to provide workplace cultural sensitivity and awareness training to the organisation, including managers and staff, where a federally or provincially funded immigrant settlement service provider organisation has deemed it appropriate or necessary. Yet, just under half (49%) of surveyed employers indicated that their organisation had provided workplace cultural sensitivity and diversity training to help their employees (IRCC, 2019[84]). Most employer are thus not fulfilling their duty to foster retention by facilitating access to settlement supports for successful Pilot applicants and their families.

The evaluation conducted by IRCC has highlighted serious shortcomings of the AIP but needs to go further to ensure the efficiency of the programme. Measuring performance in local public action requires considering multitude indicators. These include both outcome indicators, as well as indicators of the policy process and 'good' governance of integration issues (OECD, 2018[15]). To this end, a data collection strategy on the co-ordination of the different actors and a clear allocation of data collection responsibilities must be implemented. Notably, characterising employer behaviour through performance indicators could be a first step to influence positively their behaviour towards the respect of their commitments (Charbit and Romano, 2017[85]). At the same time, they might mostly need more support to understand their roles and how to access the different dedicated services.

The IRCC has hypothesised that the burdensomeness of the reporting requirements might be undermining Atlantic Provinces and employers' ability to develop reports on certain data elements crucial to program governance (IRCC, 2020[75]). The solution found is to focus on key outcome indicators and longer-term data. Another solution could be to outsource evaluations to a third party and thus completely alleviate stakeholder reporting burden while increasing integrity of practices.

Besides, evaluation will allow the identification of good practices that can be extended and save time and effort. In the AIP framework for instance, site visits conducted for evaluation purposes found that some service provider organisations had created 'satellites' in smaller, rural areas to ensure that newcomers in communities could access services regardless of their distance from the main city centre.

Clarify responsibilities and implement enforcement mechanism

Because of the variety of stakeholders and multiple points of contact, pilot accountability is diffused throughout IRCC and stakeholders, without a clearly identified lead. This has contributed to a lack of clarity regarding roles and responsibilities for AIP integrity. Partners and stakeholders may not have a clear understanding of how to address potential fraud, misrepresentation, or other program integrity issues. This could partly explain why most employers do not comply with their responsibilities.

In addition to a clarification of responsibilities, the AIP would benefit from the implementation of an enforcement mechanism. Enforcement mechanisms aim to solve possible conflicts and ensure that each party fulfils its commitments (OECD, 2007[8]). It could be taken care of internally by the Provinces who are notably responsible for "*endorsing a prospective applicant for application to the program, based on (…) a commitment from the employer to assist, and where necessary provide settlement services to meet identified needs*" (2019[84]) or by independent third parties to ensure perfect integrity. The choice of the appropriate enforcement and evaluation processes is crucial and merits further exploration.

Better use migrant skills

Answers of AIP principal applicants to the evaluation survey show that approximately one-third of respondents (34%) felt that their AIP job only "somewhat" matched their education, skills and experience (IRCC, 2020[75]). Further, 10% indicated that their AIP job did not at all match their education, skills and experience. While this might undermine retention in Atlantic Canada, it mainly reveals there is a shortfall in the utilisation of migrant skills.

Ensure long-term retention through integration

Even if the matching mechanisms reach their admission targets, the question of retention reminds. Integrating migrants to ensure they settle long-term is one of the most important and pressing challenges policy makers in OECD countries face and a key component of territories' resilience. In rural areas such as Atlantic Canada, it is a *sine qua non* condition to put in place strategies to integrate migrants who otherwise might be tempted to move to more populated or dynamic places. Some employers consulted as part of the AIP evaluation expressed concerns regarding retention of employees hired under the program, particularly after they obtain permanent residence (IRCC, 2020[80]).

The main reason why respondents planned to stay in their Atlantic Province of residence was that they liked the community/city (61%). Therefore, to meet migrants, local communities, and employers' needs matching tools must go beyond the first steps of integration and ensure people feel part of the local community. To this end, they must take into account two key dimensions: time and space.

1. The spatial dimension refers to the fact migrant concentration in certain neighbourhoods raises risks of social and economic exclusion. Active participation of migrants is sought not only through labour inclusion but also by expanding the spaces for their contribution to local public life. For matching mechanisms to play a more efficient role in meeting current and future skills needs they should serve as starting points for the creation of spaces where the interaction brings migrant and native-born communities closer.
2. The time dimension refers to the fact that integration takes time and that over time, migrant needs and status evolve. Even if migrants develop better knowledge about their new community, improve their language skills and build social networks, at some turning points in their lives, they may still need specific local responses. Matching tools should include the notion of time in their needs assessment and settlement programs by extending their scope to address long term situations.

Strengthen co-operation with all non-governmental actors

Local actors can be useful partners of job-matching mechanisms in which the non-governmental sector is usually only represented by partner businesses. First, place-based settlement and integration strategies can greatly profit from some actors long-standing experience in this field, including migrant organisations and communities, charities, foundations and NGOs operating in this area (OECD, 2018). Taking the time to interact with these actors, local authorities can learn what has worked or not in the past and design adequate solutions with them. Existing migrant communities notably have experienced the transition in the host society and are in an ideal position to guide newcomers through it. Those who have arrived through job-matching mechanisms and have been living in the host community for a long time could be formally involved in newcomers' settlement schemes.

Local civil society organisations bottom-up initiatives contribute to fostering social mix and involve long-standing migrant. Common spaces managed by NGOs and migrant associations with municipal support – often through seed funding or open bids for grants – offer important opportunities for sustained interaction over time

In Canada, Local Immigration Partnerships already exist. They are platforms that bring together local governments and non-traditional partners such as employers, research/academic organisations, school boards, health centres, immigrant service providers, professional associations, ethno-cultural and faith-based organisations and the social service sector as well as the broader community (OECD, 2018[15]). Informal discussions take place through this platform to discuss what is working and what is not in terms of accessibility to both settlement and mainstream services and job opportunities for immigrants. In the case of the AIP, they could help improving settlement services such as housing, language training, education and employment support.

6 Urban Policy, France

A long-lasting multi-level and multi-actor territorial policy to fill the gaps of universal policies

I. Background

Immigration and inequalities in French urban areas

The French Urban Policy (*Politique de la ville* - PDV) emerged in response to the widening of socio-economic disparities between certain urban areas. Its introduction is in part a consequence of the massive arrival between 1940's and 1960's of a foreign labour force that mostly settled in unsanitary apartments within city centres or in suburbs slums with their families. To solve the resultant housing crisis, France built between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s big collective housing complexes, usually large blocks or towers, containing thousands of dwellings. In the 80's, immigrant families were increasingly concentrated in these housing complexes. The neighbourhoods, in which such buildings are located, quickly became characterised by their particularly critical social and economic conditions and by the resultant occurrence of urban riots. In response, the French government launched the "*Politique de la ville*", an urban policy targeting these neighbourhoods in particular, designated as Priority Urban Policy Neighbourhoods (*Quartiers prioritaires de la politique de la ville* - QPV) (Cour des comptes, 2020[86]).

The following figures reflect the QPVs' particular socio-economic conditions:

- In 2018, the unemployment rate in the QPVs (23.4%) was almost three times higher than in the surrounding neighbourhoods (8.9%) (ANCT/ONPV, 2019[87]);
- In 2018, 44.7% of QPV habitants lived below the poverty line against around 14.8% in the rest of metropolitan France (INSEE, 2018[88])[4]. This number reached 78% in a QPV from the city of Nice.
- In 2017, half of QPV inhabitants were overweighed, especially women, and more often reported a pathology, namely diabetes, asthma, depression, or high blood pressure.
- In 2014, more than half (54%) of inhabitants of QPV reported 'very good to good' health against 69% of residents of other surrounding urban units, with a marked gap for women (Oswalt, 2019[89]).

The OECD chose to analyse this particular policy as an example of how programmes targeting specific territories can result in positive externalities in terms of integrating migrants. Indeed, in the QPVs, the share of foreigners is on average around 21.5% versus 7.1% in mainland France (INSEE, 2016[90]). In some areas, this share is much higher, such as in Ile de France, which is the metropolitan region with the highest share of foreigners, where 27.4% of the QPV residents are foreigners. As a result, in 2014, the immigrant population represented a high share of the QPVs labour force (30.8%) compared to surrounding urban units (11.1%) and mainland France (9.6%) (ONPV/CGET, 2015[91]).

Inside QPVs, migrants face particular economic and social hardship. While the employment rate is on average around 42% in QPV, it is only of 34% for foreigners living in those QPV (INSEE, 2016[90]). Furthermore, while the share of precarious jobs is around 24% in the QPV, it is of 32% for foreigners living

[4] The poverty rate at the 60% threshold corresponds to the share of the population whose standard of living is less than 60% of the median standard of living in mainland France.

in those QPV. Finally, while the share of the QPV population with a high school degree is on average of 14% it is only of 11% among foreigners and while the share of the population which has no diploma is on average of 50% in QPV it is on average of 68% for foreigners (INSEE, 2016[90]).

In 2016, Guyana, La Reunion, Guadeloupe and Ile de France regions were the ones in which the largest share of the population living in priority districts of the city policy (QPV) were found (INSEE, 2016[92]).

II. Presentation of the policy instrument

In 1981, France introduced a new National Urban Policy with the two-folded aim of reducing the development gap between disadvantaged neighbourhoods and their urban units, while improving the living conditions of their inhabitants. 5.4 million people (or 9% of the French population) living in the 1 514 neighbourhoods designated through the PdV as QPV benefit from the policy (Cour des comptes, 2020[86]). Those priority neighbourhoods are spread out in about 850 municipalities**.**

A 2014 law redefined the priority geography of the PdV to concentrate resources on the most disadvantaged areas. Since then, the proportion of the population with an income of less than EUR 11,250 per year is the only criterion used to characterise QPV. In 2014, a reform introduced a new tool of governance for the PdV: The City Contracts, which now determine most actions undertaken in the QPV.

The Programme 147 'Urban policy' includes credits relating to urban policy. In 2021, it includes EUR 515.3 million in commitment authorisations, an increase of EUR 45.9 million (+9.8%) compared to the initial finance law for 2020, and 515.3 million euros in payment appropriations, an increase of EUR 20.9 million (+4.2%). The State financed EUR 1 billion of the New National Plan for Urban Renewal (NPNRU) over its entire duration (2014-30), i.e.10% of the total amount of EUR 10 billion planned for its financing (Dallier, 2020[93]). The rest will be financed by *Action Logement* (EUR 7 billion) and the *Union sociale pour l'habitat* (EUR 2 billion) (ANRU, 2020[94]). The PNRU was financed with the same amount for the period 2004-20[5].

The National Agency for Territorial Cohesion (ANCT) supports the government in the design and implementation of the PdV and ensures inter-ministerial co-ordination. The ANCT replaced in 2020 the previous General Commissariat for Territorial Equality (CGET). Following a regionalisation strategy, since 2018, the regional prefect is entrusted with the mission of operational budget manager (BOP). However, the departmental level remained the reference level.

The PdV implies different actions in different domains:

- Employment and economic development;
- Housing;
- Security and delinquency;
- Education;
- Health.

Considering the share of immigrants living in the areas the PdV targets, the priority neighbourhoods, this territorial policy can be indirectly analysed as an integration policy. Defining territories as 'disadvantaged suburbs' makes it possible to act in the direction of ethnic minorities while maintaining public neutrality and secularism (Kirszbaum, 2015[95]). The share of immigrants has in recent years increased more rapidly in most QPV than in other districts thus reinforcing these districts' role in welcoming and integrating new comers (Bouvier, Moreau and N'guyen, 2013[96]).

[5] 10 billion in grant equivalent (or '12 billion in financial assistance)

III. Methodology

Introduction

As an example of territorial development policy that fosters migrant integration, the OECD chose to assess the French urban policy (PdV), which illustrates the idea that placing certain neighbourhoods under the Universalist regime perpetuates inequalities and that specific actions are needed to bring these neighbourhoods back under common law.

To present the French policy of urban development, the OECD used a methodology based on a series of co-ordination gaps (see Box 1) that this policy helps more or less shortening. This common framework through which all policy instruments are studied has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects would merit changes and how other governments could implement instruments to their own context.

IV. Co-ordination strengths

How the « Politique de la ville » helps to bridge multi-level governance gaps

The PdV addresses different information gaps

First, the introduction of the City Contracts in 2014 should have improved the information sharing amongst all the actors that are involved in the PdV implementation. City Contracts start by a shared diagnosis that allows for a common identification by a high number of partners of issues and priorities specific to each district. For the period 2015-20[6], 435 contracts, most of them inter-municipal, were signed by the State's departments and operators, local authorities (regions and departements), social landlords, the main economic players, as well as various public players such as the regional health agencies (*Agences régionales de santé*), family allowance funds or the public employment service (*Pôle emploi*).

Second, the PdV framework has served to implement actions that aim to improve the sharing of information and good practices between City Councils. The collaborative platform "Conseilscitoyens.fr", managed and run by the Federation of Social Centres thus connects nearly 2 000 members from 700 Citizen Councils. Events and annual meetings are organised for Council members gather, share experiences and work on common initiatives. An annual workshop - My Civil Council has talent (*Mon conseil citoyen a du talent)* - takes place in the form of an open forum and allows participants to share best practices. In 2019, the French Minister for Towns and Housing, announced the transformation of the "Conseilscitoyens.fr" plateforme into a new one – the Great Team for Republican Success (*La Grande équipe de la réussite républicaine*) - providing Citizen Councils with the same services (monthly newsletter, possibility to submit documents and participate in videoconferences) but in a modernised environment, both more fluid and more collaborative, opening up possibilities for dialogue with other urban policy actors (2019[97]).

Third, in 2015, the National Observatory of Urban Policy was created. It submits annually to the Government and Parliament a report on the evolution of the economic and social development gap between priority neighbourhoods and the rest of their agglomerations.

Ultimately, the creation of Citizen Councils has allowed for the implementation of other co-ordination and capacity building mechanisms. Some councils' members, which are often local residents, have realised the importance of having data describing their territory, its local actors and its population to cast evidence-based decisions. To improve their knowledge around some themes, a number of citizen councillors have

[6] City contracts were extended until 2022 when the 2019 Finance Act was passed[6].

come together to form cross-council working groups. In the city of Nantes for instance, a meeting around the theme of child protection in has taken place (RésO Villes, 2020[98]).

The policy addresses several capacity gaps

First, the PdV addresses the structural difficulties of some municipalities encompassing priority neighbourhoods to increase the wealth of their communities and deal with social issues. In municipalities targeted by the PdV, the share of population under the poverty line and unemployed is higher than the national average. Therefore, there are also more insecurity and social issues to solve which requires additional human and financial resources. The PdV compensates, at least partly, these municipalities' specific needs, by reinforcing the mobilisation of common law and specific services.

Second, the PdV also includes urban renovation investments, through the NPNRU. This programme, co-ordinated by the National Agency for Urban Renewal (ANRU), is endowed with EUR 10 billion in grant equivalent (or 12 billion euros in financial assistance) awarded by the ANRU and its projects are expected to generate around EUR 40 billion in investment from all funders (local authorities and social landlords in particular) (ANRU, 2020[94]). One of its aim is to renovate and create new public equipment and services such as schools, nurseries, gymnasiums or media libraries, which participates to bridge capacity gaps created by a lack of infrastructural resources available to carry out tasks linked to integration.

Finally, the ANCT provides regularly training courses to State agents in charge of PdV and to local actors involved. Some courses specifically target prefects' delegates, as well as State agents in charge of processing grant applications. In addition, State agents, local actors and sometimes citizens can access thematic courses about the PdV's foundations, urban renewal, Republican values, and the use of the web platform "The great team" (Agence Nationale de la Cohésion des Territoires, 2021[99]).

The policy addresses a fiscal gap by allocating additional resources to municipalities

The PdV financilly supports targeted municipalities through (Guillemot and Létard, 2017[100]):

- Mobilisation of common law credits;
- Specific budgetary credits (Programme 147 for urban policy);
- Sums allocated to the National Urban Renewal Programme (2004-20) and the New National Urban Renewal Programme(2014-30);
- Allocations to local authorities concerned by the priority geography of urban policy.

The multiplicity of funding sources ensures at least some continuity in funding.

Concerning allocations to local authorities, there are two types:

- The urban solidarity allocation and social cohesion allocation (DSU) provided to municipalities facing an insufficient resource and facing relatively high costs to meet the needs of their inhabitants. It is one of the main financial equalisation instruments for cities: two-thirds of municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants and 10% of municipalities with 5,000 to 9,999 inhabitants benefit from it. In 2020, the DSU will amount to EUR 2.4 billion. A further increase of EUR 90 million was enacted in 2020 on finance for 2021 (Weka, 2021[101]).
- The urban policy allocation (DPV) which is a grant paid by the State to municipalities with a significant proportion of their population residing in priority neighbourhoods. This credit makes it possible to finance actions planned within the framework of the City Contracts. The amount of this allocation has been stable since 2017 and amounts to EUR 150 million. It is distributed by prefects following a call for projects responding to the issues identified in the priority neighbourhood.

City Contracts define the attribution of the intervention credits, structured around three pillars: "social cohesion" (68% of intervention credits), "living environment and urban renewal" (4%) of intervention credits and "development of economic activity and employment" (23% of funding).

In addition, several measures such as tax exemptions specifically target QPV inhabitants and the economic and social actors working in them.

The policy bridges participatory gaps by involving local actors and creating citizen councils

First, the PdV relies on the involvement of the local level of government. While the policy is developed at the national level by the ANCT, its operational implementation is the responsibility of public and private local actors. Mayors are responsible for implementing the City Contract within their territory and within the limits of their powers. In practice, about 70% of City Contracts are managed at the inter-municipal level.

Second, the role of non-governmental actors is fundamental. Associations - selected through call for expressions of interest - carry out the majority of actions implemented and represent more than 60% of the 12,000 operators supported under the specific credits (2019[102]). 7,500 local associations receive EUR 240 million in subsidies every year. The private sector also plays an important role. The Business and Neighbourhood Charters (*Chartes Entreprises & Quartiers*) launched by the French Ministry for Territorial Cohesion, allows companies to make a concrete contribution to the economic, social, and cultural development of their neighbourhood since 2013.

Finally, since 2014 each City Contract must include the implementation of a Citizen Council, which are tools of co-construction meant to bring together neighbourhood actors to foster the creation and implementation of projects relevant to local needs. Each citizen council is composed of residents and representatives of local actors. Foreign residents with a regular stay can be part of these councils (ANCT/ONPV, 2019[87]). In 2019, 86% of priority neighbourhoods were covered by at least one Citizen Council compared to 63% in 2016. At the moment, 1,200 Citizen Councils exist and are on average composed of 12 residents. Men are generally less represented than women: among the approximately 12,500 inhabitants who sit in a Citizen Council, 57% are women and 43% are men. In 2019, 36% of Citizen Councils recruited their inhabitants via a call for volunteers without drawing lots (29% in 2016). Mechanically, the share of Citizen Councils whose residents are recruited by lot has dropped from 63% to 56%. In addition, 59% of Citizen Councils meet at least once per month. The organisation and holding of these meetings more often involve residents than local actors. These councils are an interesting example of tool to bridge participation gaps in a context of rising inequalities within countries in which “left behind” groups have historically been under-represented in decision making processes.

The PdV aims to fill some policy gaps

The PdV fills in a policy gap by using in parallel universal and targeted policies and both national and local structures. It relies on all aspects of universal services by deploying local projects in the areas of employment, education, improvement of the living environment, access to culture and health, and economic development, and specific means of intervention to respond to the cumulative difficulties encountered by residents. The signatories of City Contracts must therefore implement common law actions and indicate in the city contract the human and financial resources they are mobilizing, making a distinction between what comes under common law and what comes under their specific policy (Guillemot, 2018[103]).Therefore, the implementation of the PdV involves both national and local structures.

The PdV addresses administrative gaps

The PdV permits the government to tackle certain issues at the right scale. The work carried out jointly by the Ministry in charge of the City and the Ministry in charge of national education for instance led to an unprecedented convergence between two overlaping programes: 99% of secondary schools from the Reinforced Priority Education Network (REP +) and 81% of the ones from the Priority Education Network (REP) are located in or near a priority neighbourhood. Schools and colleges in priority city policy districts (QPV) that are not classified as REP or REP + are also the subject of special attention.

Outcomes of the instrument

The effectiveness of the PdV as a whole is subject to debate. Strong socio-economic inequalities and spatial segregation remain between priority districts and the rest of the urban units.

It is even more difficult to assess the concrete impacts of this policy in terms of the integration of the first, second or third generations of migrants, because the policy officially aims at the reduction of poverty and social exclusion, not at migrant integration.

The PdV reinforces resilience during the COVID crisis

The health crisis has particularly disrupted the functioning of the Citizen Councils and increased the demobilisation of their members. They were expected to be put on standby in March 2020, due to the municipal elections and the requirement for neutrality and independence of the Councils with respect to public authorities. The March 2020 lockdown, however, extended this situation until the end of June 2020. Despite a gradual resumption in September 2020, the second lockdown postponed the holding of the bodies, the meeting with the new municipal teams and the renewal of the Citizen Councils in 2021. In March 2021, two out of five Citizen Councils have been dormant for a year. At present, nearly three out of five Councils do not have the means to meet, due to a lack of access to a meeting place that allows for compliance with sanitary measures or a lack of knowledge of digital tools (videoconferencing, online collaborative workspace). The health crisis has highlighted the over-representation of people over 50 years old in the Citizen Councils. Indeed, many Councils are dormant because the active members are not familiar with digital tools (Y aller par 4 chemins, 2021[104]).

V. Suggested areas for improvement

The methodology based on multi-level governance gaps has allowed the OECD to identify which aspects of the policy instruments could be improved towards greater efficiency.

Disclosing the theme of immigration

This policy embodies the French “nationalist-Republican model”, sustaining the idea that there are no specificities to immigrant integration in comparison to overall nation-state building and citizenship. Thus in the 2019 report of the Observatory of the PdV, there are only two direct references to ‘immigration’ (out of more than 300 pages) (El Haik-Wagner and Geels, 2021[105]).The PdV is supposed to address the social question generally, but in reality, its actions benefit many migrants.

Directly addressing migrant integration, implementing projects in which they are considered as potential actors involved in the socio-economic development of their neighbourhoods would bring positive outcomes. The “72 proposals for an ambitious integration policy for foreigners arriving in France”, commissioned by the Prime Minister in 2018 echoes this idea (2018[106]) by underlining the fact not recognising integration as a stand-alone public policy sector hinders migrants and the places they live in. Until now, integration is mostly considered as a downstream part of immigration policy, as a subset of the PdV, as an element of anti-discrimination policy, or as a particularity of social policies.

Another interesting proposition made in the report is the reinforcement of prefectural teams by a sub-prefect in charge of integration and equal opportunities in the 30 most urban departments with a population of more than 500,000 inhabitants, which do not benefit from this resource. This sub-prefect would work together with the one responsible for urban policy.

Clarify the funding and mobilise more effectively common law credits

First, the credits of common law allocated to urban policy and benefiting residents in priority neighbourhoods are not or almost not detailed in the City Contracts, contrary to what the law provides. The Court of Auditors (*Cour des Comptes*) has highlighted this issue in its 2002 and 2017 information reports. The authors invite the State to mobilise the Ministries in identifying their common law credits and to put in place tools to identify and monitor the deployment of common law credits during the term of city contracts.

Besides, a criticism frequently directed at the specific intervention credits for urban policy is that they replace, in practice, the common law credits for State policies (Dallier, 2007[107]). A previous information report adopted by the Commission of Economic Affairs in 2007 observed that the actors of urban policy mobilise considerable energy trying to palliate the difficulties of mobilising ordinary law credits, even though these should represent the main and structuring vector of intervention in the direction of neighbourhoods in difficulty. The Court of Auditors observed in 2006 and 2017 that specific credits included in programme 147 'Social and territorial equity and support' are often considered as constituting the entirety of urban policy, although they should ‘only intervene as a complement to create a leverage effect with regard to the mobilisation of common law policies. For the Urban France Association, “it must be noted that the mobilisation of common State rights remains, once again, the weak link in urban policy, due to the lack of sufficient impetus at the highest level of government” (Guillemot and Létard, 2017[100]).

Finally, another problem is that inter-ministerial agreements on objectives signed with the Ministry for Urban Affairs rarely quantify the expected results. Similarly, the City Contracts do not include quantified financial objectives. Ministries should ensure that quantified financial objectives are defined in the City Contracts and in inter-ministerial agreements to facilitate the evaluation of the urban policy.

Build on Citizen Councils to draf and implement City Contracts

In 2019, Citizen Councils only participated in the drafting of City Contracts very exceptionally, even though Article 7 of the Lamy Act made it an obligation (Guillemot and Létard, 2017[100]). Citizen Councils are also supposed to be associated with the implementation and evaluation of City Contracts according to the same law, although many feel they are not involved enough in these bodies (Y aller par 4 chemins, 2021[104]). In the case of the city of Nantes, it has been observed that agendas for institutional bodies are sent out too late for the Citizen Councils to be able to have an opportunity to discuss the issues (RésO Villes, 2020[98]).

The vagueness of the role of the Citizen Councils alters the participation of inhabitants to the PdV, which is already affected by the difficulties in meeting caused by the health crisis. In 2019, the National Commission for Public Debate (CNDP) reported a loss of momentum in Citizen Councils and the demobilisation of their members. This massive demobilisation is notably problematic as it comes one year before the scheduled end of the City Contracts, which means that Citizen Councils are not contributing to the implementation and the monitoring of the Contracts in their ending phase. Many urban policy professionals and citizen councillors have noted an increased difficulty in motivating the members of the local residents groups (most of whom now have only 5 active members out of some 15 registered with the prefecture) and in involving them in the city contract bodies, including those councils that are still active (Y aller par 4 chemins, 2021[104]). However, it is not a matter of disinterest. Three out of five citizen councillors were involved in associations and solidarity actions during the health crisis and one out of four saw at least one of their members standing in municipal election. The Citizen Council thus no longer seems to offer a space where the voice of the inhabitants of the city's political neighbourhoods can be heard, neither where collective actions can be organised. Despite the involvement of the councillors during the crisis, only one out of ten Citizen Councils carried out actions in their name, either because they were not set up as an association or because the residents felt that the role of the Citizen Council was not to take the place of neighbourhood associations. It is therefore essential to remobilise Citizen Councillors on the basis of ideas proposed by actors involved in PdV (see Box 11).

Moreover, it is essential that each municipality participate to the contract. Even though a city contract is supposed to involve a group of municipalities, too often only one or two member municipalities participate.

Box 11. Good practice: A workshop on the levers to remobilise Citizens' Councils

In 2021, Labo Cités (a resource centre, for information, exchange and qualification for urban policy actors working in Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes), carried out a survey about the activity of Citizen Councils, following the municipal elections and the health crisis.

The results were shared during a videoconference during which, some sixty participants (community technicians, citizen advisors, elected officials, prefect's delegates and adult relays) reflected in a workshop on the existing or future levers for remobilisation. Their conclusion is that remobilisation requires being attentive to the expectations and desires of residents and adapting the Citizen Council.

- For Citizen Councils wishing above all to carry out neighbourhood projects, the associative form is more suitable than that of the residents' collective, particularly for applying for subsidies or organising events involving the civil liability of the members. Suggested creating an association of residents in parallel with the council validated by the prefecture.
- For Citizen Councils that find it difficult to involve residents over the long term or that do not feel representative, the participants suggest coupling the council with other participation mechanisms such as neighbourhood tables, which have the advantage of involving residents who are not used to participation over shorter periods than Citizen Councils.
- For Citizen Councils interested in a particular subject but not necessarily in all aspects of the city contract, the participants suggested setting up thematic working groups (e.g., urban renewal, cleanliness, relations with landlords). These can also be crossed with the thematic groups of the city contract.

Source: https://www.labo-cites.org/rencontre/suite-la-visio-conference-les-conseils-citoyens-la-necessaire-remobilisation-du-jeudi-11

Improve transparency and accountability by conducting evaluation

One of the main challenges for a contract to be effective is to guarantee the credibility of commitments and their verifiability, which implies the need for enforcement and evaluation. The evaluation aims to assess impacts to ultimately learn from success and failures. It is crucial for informing, prioritising and negotiating terms of contracts in the following period (Charbit and Romano, 2017[5]). The Court of Auditors, has noted that the Urban Policy cannot yet be assessed in its entirety. This impossibility results from the breadth of its field of intervention; its evolving objectives (specified by at least eight different laws since its launching), which are often poorly quantified and non-hierarchical; and the inaccessibility, or even absence, of data enabling us to measure from coherent "statistical cohorts" whether the objectives sought have been achieved over time (Cour des comptes, 2020[86]). The evaluation of PdV is complex also because of the difficulty of quantifying spending and of separating the share of subsidies strictly intended for the policy. For example, associations located within QPV who are given subsidies may also work with populations located outside priority neighbourhoods.

The signing of 12 inter-ministerial agreements on objectives reinforced the performance approach. However, these agreements are still poorly monitored. Due to the lack of rigorous collection of indicators by the administrations, only 60% of prefectural services have been able to produce the requested reports, which prevents any national consolidation.

The National Observatory for Urban Policy carries out evaluations but the available indicators only give a partial view of the situation and do not provide information on the living conditions or the quality of life of

the inhabitants (ANCT/ONPV, 2019[87]). The observatory should be able to steer the inter-ministerial programming of surveys, with the support of the evaluation bodies of each ministry.
In addition, local authorities often lack financial and engineering resources to evaluate City Contracts (Guillemot and Létard, 2017[100]). However, some citizen councils have tried to implement some internal evaluation methodology. For example, the citizen council of Soeur Janin in Lyon has implemented a shared evaluation focused notably on the independence from the public authorities (see Box 12). The Valenciennes Métropole agglomeration community also decided to set up a specific mission entitled "OSE" (observation-monitoring-evaluation), carried out by the "territorial co-ordination" project managers, which aims to mobilise all the partners in the city contract. Each citizen councils should be encouraged to launch its own shared evaluation.

Box 12. Good practice: The citizen council of Sœur Janin (Lyon 5th district)

The shared evaluation and the notion of independence

The citizen council of Sœur Janin (Lyon 5th district) is fiercely attached to its independence and has put this theme at the centre of its evaluation theme. The council proposed an innovative concept: a shared evaluation, with the support of the University of Lyon and the Labo Cités resource centre.

The concept of shared evaluation places the people most concerned by the object being evaluated alongside the evaluators. Thus, the citizen council was involved in choosing the subject of the evaluation: what exactly are we going to evaluate for the Sœur Janin citizen council? What do you think is most relevant and interesting to evaluate? During the discussions between the citizen council and the evaluators, independence emerged as an essential issue to evaluate.

In addition, it was established from the outset that the process should benefit the citizen council. In this case, as the council had recently been set up, its members wanted to extract material from it to draw up internal regulations.

Methodology used

The evaluation process took the form of co-evaluation workshops with a format conducive to exchanges and collective reflection.

First, the group examined the notion of independence to obtain a shared definition. Then the citizen council was asked to share its opinion on the current situation. This led to a work of projection and anticipation, aiming at identifying the opportunities and threats that could arise in the future. For example, the council considered how to best deal with possible power issues within the council. Points of vigilance emerged from this work and the group set the "conditions for success" for the independence of the citizen council.

Source: Une évaluation partagée des conseils citoyens – Y aller par 4 chemins (yallerparquatrechemins.fr)

Adapting to "mobile cities"

Poverty is a mobile phenomenon, even though it is still inscribed in specific places. However, the PdV treats poverty as a static phenomenon that does not spill out the QPVs. It does not take in consideration some forms of poverty in urban areas not inscribed in a specific place, such as emergency shelter programs, homeless people or social hotels. Furthermore, it leaves aside the problem of internal migration, which tends to reinforce the vicious circle of poverty in the QPVs. Indeed, most of these neighbourhoods receive a poorer population than the one already living there, while at the same time allowing a better-off population to leave. In addition, it should be taken into consideration that some socially and economically disadvantaged areas may not be located in QPVs, such as pockets of poverty in more affluent areas.

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