



Sustainable Development in a Diverse World (SUS.DIV)

POSITION PAPER OF RESEARCH TASK 4.1

“Cultural dialogue through governance: Diversity in the political arena”

**Cultural dialogue through governance:
Diversity in the political arena**

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Introduction

Governance has become a buzzword in both policy-making and academic circles. From the governance of crime to the coinage of “progressive governance”, the term has been used as a panacea to old and new problems at the national and local level, involving government and other bodies. One area of growing concern in Europe is immigration, which has become a major political, economic and social issue in many countries which face streams of immigrants in search of something better. Some of these immigrants are sought after, providing needed labour, while others are unwelcome and seen as economic and social or cultural threats. Management of the people seeking to make a new living, or new homes and lives on foreign soils poses challenges both to the incoming and the autochthonous population. Governance of this “problem” occurs at multiple levels, this paper, however, is concerned with local or city governance as it relates to cultural dialogue and diversity, notably diversity stemming from immigration, and city governance.

While immigration is a major issue on the national level,¹ this is largely in relation to the means of controlling it and some general discussion about integration and multiculturalism. Integration can be seen as being a largely local issue since context can have a profound impact on the efficacy of any given national policy. Immigration laws may be established at the national level, but (in)tolerance for immigrants and the means of responding to an influx of (im)migrants² is arguably more deeply rooted in local culture, economics and politics than in national.

Thus, the main issue that we are concerned with is not how to control immigration, but what the local reality is, the nature of the dialogue, and what local governments and organizations can do with this reality. City governments have minimal control over who enters the country, whereas much more control over the social, cultural and economic life of residents, whether legal or otherwise. This means a shift in the nature of governance from “hierarchical governance”, which has been

¹ See Sassia Sasken (2002), ‘Governance Hotspots: Challenges We Must Confront in the Post-September 11 World’, <http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/sassen.htm>.

² It should be noted that Italy has historically been a country of emigration with a great deal of internal migration, notably with residents from the south migrating to northern cities.

dominant at the national level, to “heterarchical governance”, which involves non-state actors and has emerged with the need to manage transnational problems³ and may be more appropriate as government bodies work with local organizations and actors to address challenges posed by a changing population. The city may not be able to change immigration laws, but it can influence the extent to which immigrants become a part of the social and economic fabric of the city.

The city government and connected organizations are not the only ones with an interest in the management of diversity. The individuals who comprise that diversity, in this case immigrants (as well as the autochthonous population), also have a vested interest in the local culture and in the implementation of local and national laws. Regardless of why an immigrant has selected a given country, once in that country he/she is likely to be more concerned with the local, whether they find themselves in a city that welcomes them and the resources they bring, or shuns them for their apparent problems. Given the importance of the local context, this paper explores definitions of governance as they relate to local governance in preparation for a series of studies (see Strategic Paper 4.1) that seek to gain an understanding of the cultural dialogue and how city governance currently operates locally in Rome, Italy, a city with a rapidly growing immigrant population that is actively seeking to address the integration of these individuals through a series of initiatives and opportunities. The questions that arise are not just about what the problems and challenges are, but how a city can address those problems.

Studying Governance and Cultural Dialogue

An essential aspect of governance involves cultural dialogue. This means finding avenues for communication between immigrants and the autochthonous population in different spheres of life. In fact, the European Commission has proposed that 2008 should be declared the “European Year of Intercultural Dialogue” with the

³ Jan Kooiman (1993), Introduction to *Modern Governance, New Government-Society Relations*, Jan Kooiman (ed.), (London: Sage). Jan Kooiman has coined the term ‘heterarchical governance’ as opposed to earlier modes of ‘hierarchical governance’. Hierarchical governance was based on the nation-state and its subordinated institutions, while heterarchical governance involves various non-state actors, whose cooperation is instrumental in managing transnational problems.

primary goals of promoting intercultural dialogue and increasing the cultural awareness of all EU residents, thus promoting an open European citizenship that is “respectful of cultural diversity and based on common values.”⁴ This respect for cultural diversity also needs to be considered at the local level where people and cultures meet. This position paper, then, looks at the existing theory and literature regarding governance and argues for a conceptualization of governance that is rooted in the local, in the reality of the individual, the community and the city.

The first questions to be asked relate to how one goes about studying governance in a city. What *is* city governance? How can it be measured? A wide array of literature discusses what governance is, although the definitions vary depending on context. For the sake of this project it is important to select a meaning of local or city governance in order to guide the analysis. Of course, having chosen that definition, the real task involves operationalisation. What aspects of city life and governance should be analysed? What is their importance in relation to the primary focus, which, in this case, is immigration and increasing diversity? Given the multi-faceted nature of immigration and governance, the approach taken here is multi-disciplinary and seeks to explore governance in Rome by looking at multiple aspects that address various aspects of city life—the social and economic. This study takes us from the abstract to the real, with the hopes of returning to theory in the next phase of the project by allowing the lessons learned through these studies involving cultural dialogue to inform the development of a model of governance.

Governance: the concept

The concept of governance has various meanings and manifestations in many contexts, reflecting a combination of *descriptive* and *normative* usages. Many of these meanings relate to governance on a larger scale (i.e., *global governance*, initially used by the United Nations, is a normative concept connected to consensus-gathering rules that are applied world-wide, even in the absence of a global government⁵) or for more specific, non-governmental governance (i.e., *corporate governance*, which regards

⁴<http://europa.eu.int/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/05/1226&format=HTML&aged=1&language=EN&guiLanguage=en> Last accessed 12 June, 2006.

⁵ *White Paper on European Governance*: 3.

private actors that aim to ensure the accountability of management to the various stakeholders of a company⁶). Other types of governance are more appropriate at the city level: *good governance*, which emphasizes transparency, accountability and effectiveness as necessary conditions for successful public development policy; '*multi-level governance*', which regards the challenge of articulating independent public actors' actions towards shared objectives on different geographic levels; and governance related to the privatization of publicly-owned industries and the introduction of commercial practices and management styles within the public sector⁷.

Of the above types of governance, 'good governance' is perhaps the most relevant for local governance of immigration. Good governance was initially used in the field of economic development where it referred to institutions' role in functional democracy, recognizing that establishing free markets and encouraging investments were not enough in promoting economic development. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has utilized good governance as a key concept in its Urban Governance Initiative (TUGI), defining good governance as comprising: accountability, transparency, participation, and the rule of law as mandatory administrative functions. These elements, together with consensus orientation, equity building, effectiveness and efficiency, are vital pre-requisites for sustainable change.⁸ Hirst's definition of good governance is similar to these applied definitions. His definition of good governance involves "creating an effective political framework conducive to private economic action—stable regimes, the rule of law, efficient state administration adapted to the roles that governments can actually perform, and a strong civil society independent of the state".⁹

Kooiman offers an alternative to the above conceptualizations of governance. In his view: "Governance means all those activities of social, political and administrative

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Paul Hirst (2000), 'Democracy and governance' in *Debating Governance*, Jon Pierre (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

⁸ Based on the definition used by the Urban Governance Initiative (TUGI), which is a UNDP project that acts as a hub for promoting good governance through institutional capacity building, providing policy advisory services, enabling innovations in tools and methodologies for good urban governance and ensuring wide information dissemination and collaborative networking on all of the above within and between cities in the Asia Pacific Region: www.tugi.org.

⁹ Paul Hirst (2000, p. 13), 'Democracy and governance' in *Debating Governance*, Jon Pierre (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

actors that can be seen as purposeful efforts to guide, steer, control or manage sectors (or facets of sectors).”¹⁰ Kooiman also writes that governance takes place in interactions between actors on micro, meso and macro levels of social-political aggregation.¹¹ These definitions are based, however, on the vertical/horizontal approach in which the state, with its hierarchical policy-making mechanism, is the point of reference. Governance includes decision making mechanisms that move from the bottom up as well as beyond the level of the nation state. In this context, however, the state is not obsolete; it simply has a more ambiguous role. It is, in effect, one of many potential actors. As such, it loses some control, but potentially gains in terms of resources and expertise offered by other entities.

The governance of migration refers to states’ adaptive strategies in confronting contemporary problems such as immigration. Indeed, Saskia Sassen has identified immigration as one of the hotspots of governance in a globalised world.¹² According to Sassen, globalization has facilitated not only the trans-national flows of capital and goods, information and labour, as its ‘framers’ intended, but also influxes of less desirable economic migrants. Although states are determined to keep these migrants out, Sassen warns that the growth of this type of migration is inevitable, given that it is part and parcel of the globalization process, which has brought shifts in the labour market and in particular, reliance on cheap manual labour.

The European Commission conceptualizes the governance of migration according to two complementary strategies: the first focuses on the efficient management of migration flows through closer co-operation between Member States and both countries of origin and countries of transit; the second seeks to ensure fair treatment of third country nationals that legally reside in the EU.¹³ The UK Home Office White Paper “Safe Borders, Safe Haven” takes a similar stance, arguing for the management of migration in similar terms. While pointing out the need “to bring order to the disparate flows of people”, the White Paper addresses “integration with

¹⁰ Jan Kooiman (ed.) (1993), ‘Introduction’: 2.

¹¹ Jan Kooiman, ‘Governance and Governability: Using Complexity, Dynamics and Diversity’ in Kooiman (ed.) (2001), p. 41.

¹² Sassa Sassen (2002), ‘Governance Hotspots: Challenges We Must Confront in the Post-September 11 World’, <http://www.ssrc.org/sept11/essays/sassen.htm>.

¹³ Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on an open method of coordination for the community immigration policy, COM/2001/0387 final.

diversity”, in other words, managing immigrants’ inclusion in society at large and the labour market in particular, as well as encouraging the autochthonous population to welcome immigrants into the community.¹⁴ The central point to be taken from this is the importance of integration strategies that are rooted in a local context. Urban and rural centres become the stage for understanding the issues stemming from immigration and defining the best means for addressing these issues.

Governance: forms of analysis

The vertical/horizontal differentiation mentioned above has typified the study of governance and migration, but this paper considers the following typologies for analyzing governance as defined by Janet Newman: political, economic and social. According to a political analysis, political and economic changes on an international level have limited the ability of nation-states to govern,¹⁵ causing them to rely increasingly on a multiplicity of institutions and actors. This approach allows us to analyze links and contradictions in the governance of migration in a manner that accounts for the multiple needs and concerns that immigrants and the autochthons population face.

Political governance therefore regards new forms and combinations of hierarchical/heterarchical governance. This is not a primary focus for this paper given the focus on local governance. It should, however, be considered in the distinction between the roles of local and state governments and the limits that local governments face in addressing some issues related to migration (e.g., cities cannot change immigration laws or grant citizenship).

The second typology is economic analysis, which posits markets and economic networks as central in governance strategies. Indeed, markets are the ideal mechanisms for coordinating a number of actors. Gamble, in ‘Economic Governance,’ defines governance as “the steering capacities of a political system, the ways in which governing is carried out, without making any assumptions as to which institutions or agents are doing the steering”.¹⁶ This allows for the involvement of a wide array of

¹⁴ Home Office (2002), *Safe Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Britain*: 22.

¹⁵ Newman (2002): 13.

¹⁶ Andrew Gamble (2000), ‘Economic Governance’ in Jon Pierre (ed.): 10.

participants without limitations of place.

The third typology is the social level of analysis and concerns social issues in their multifarious manifestations. As Newman emphasizes, no single agency—public or private—has all the information needed to solve complex problems in a dynamic and diverse society, nor does a single actor have the power to control events in a complex and diverse field of actions and interactions. Steering, managing, controlling or guiding are no longer tasks exclusively carried out by the government, but involve a wide range of agencies in the public, private and voluntary sectors, often acting together.¹⁷ This third level needs to be thought of as complementary to the first two in the sense that it emphasizes the multiplicity of actors participating in governance. As the Commission pointed out in the White Paper on European Governance, “The linear model of dispensing policies from above must be replaced by a virtuous circle, based on feedback, networks and involvement from policy creation to implementation at all levels”.¹⁸ This third typology is especially relevant for local governments who have more direct contact with other social actors and a less hierarchical structure than state governments.

Political governance and migration

The Europeanization of migration and asylum policy is the most conspicuous example of governance strategies beyond the nation-state which links the supra-state and local levels characteristic of the globalization process. European governments have adopted a two-pronged policy with respect to migration: integration in the host societies for the legally resident migrants and tight border control with strict migration policies to stem migration.¹⁹

Local governance plays a minimum role in border control, which has become a major political issue despite the fact that attempts at controlling immigration by tightening borders have been largely unsuccessful. On the contrary, stricter border controls has effectively contributed to human smuggling by increasing the costs

¹⁷ Janet Newman: 15.

¹⁸ *White Paper on European Governance*: 11.

¹⁹ Rey Koslowski (2000), *Migrants and Citizens. Demographic Change in the European State System* (Ithaca: Cornell University): 156.

associated with illegal immigration and does attracting more smugglers.²⁰ As Bigo pointed out as early as 1996, borders cannot be made impermeable.²¹ Efforts to make them impermeable not only results in tax hikes, but also curb flows of the needed regular immigrants. This scenario makes it necessary to find new means of governing migration that do not just rely on law enforcement, but make use of other resources and social capital to allow for what the Demos Report has called ‘peaceful co-existence’²²— a concept that can potentially replace the dichotomy between integration and multiculturalism. In light of this new conceptualization, the authors of the Demos Report propose five principles that have implications for the nation-state and local governments:

1. As diversity increases, we should more strictly adhere to a common set of rules embodying democracy, the rule of law and freedom for all.
2. Support for foreigners who are not self-reliant should be facilitated in standardized ways.
3. Neighbourhood and school environments should be the major focus of efforts that are constructively responding to diversity.
4. Ties with countries of origin should be established in ways that increase the potential for the successful management of diversity.
5. The areas of the arts, media, universities and religion should be encouraged to accept shared responsibility for peaceful coexistence.²³

These recommendations highlight the aforementioned need to consider both the immigrant and non-immigrant population in developing strategies that support successful (in the sense that it reduces strife) co-existence. The recommendations also

²⁰ Rey Koslowksi, 2000: 110.

²¹ Didier Bigo (1996), ‘L’Illusoire Maitrise des Frontieres’, *Le Monde diplomatique*, Octobre. This was later emphasized in the Demos report : Theo Veenkamp, Tom Bentley, Alessandra Buonfino (2003), *People Flow. Managing Migration in a New European Commonwealth* (Demos & Open Democracy): 11.

²² Demos Report.

²³ Demos Report: 38.

point to activities that can benefit from regional or national support (financial and political), but are essentially local activities. Thus, the neighbourhood becomes the place for identifying and confronting many issues that arise through immigration.

Political governance on the city level has been the focus of a previous EU project, *Economic Growth and Innovation in Multicultural Environments* (ENGIME)²⁴, which was also carried out in several cities including Rome, the focus of the current and proposed research activities. This study addressed changes in the socio-political involvement of immigrants who are not Italian citizens through a “Pact of Integration” in 2001, which effectively set out to increase cultural dialogue at the political level. From a political perspective, non-citizens were given representative power in the city government as City Council Members and advisors although none of these individuals had the right to vote in the city government. This did, however, mark the beginning of a new approach to immigrants and immigration within the City of Rome that is likely to continue in the immediate future given the recent re-election of Veltroni (May, 2006), the mayor who initiated the “Pact of Integration.” The study showed the potential for the inclusion of foreigners as representatives within the city government as a means of improving communication between communities and sense of empowerment through self-representation in city government. The study also illustrates that representation, in this basic form, is not necessarily enough due to the lack of voting rights and that failure to recognize linguistic barriers can lead to difficulties in the short and long-term. Irrespective of these criticisms, the study demonstrates both the potential for inclusion and need to address long-run concerns, especially in a country where citizenship, and hence the right to vote, is difficult for immigrants to come by.

In the current focus on city governance in Rome we do not wish to repeat the work that has already been done or, for the time being, focus intensely on political governance. It seems more opportune to turn to other aspects of governance, namely social and economic. It should be kept in mind, however, that these categories often overlap and hence social and economic governance has implications for political governance and vice versa. It is this intertwining of different aspects of life and

²⁴ See <http://siti.feem.it/engime/index.html>

governance that make it particularly important to adopt a more comprehensive approach.

Economic governance and migration

Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson have noted a change in economic governance as a consequence of globalization.²⁵ Whereas the national economy used to be a resource for other areas of social life, the globalised market economy is now the regulating principle. The welfare state aiming to provide for the national population has been replaced by a concept of economic governance aiming to promote economic efficiency and competitiveness. All activities become assessed primarily in terms of the availability of resources, and secondarily, according to whether or not they improve economic efficiency. These new ways of governing rely on the diffusion of the market and the introduction of contractual relationships in areas that had previously been governed differently.²⁶

The differentiation between the economy and other areas of social life has become less clear-cut insofar as these areas—health, security, welfare, education—ought to be governed according to the logic of the market. In accordance with the logic of the market, individuals are encouraged to “capitalize” themselves, to invest in the enhancement of their own economic capital. As Nikolas Rose has put it, the contemporary citizen is to make an entrepreneur of him or herself.²⁷

While many European countries nowadays accept that there is both an economic and a demographic case to be made for migration given the rapid ageing of Western population, these concerns have not been linked so far with political governance, which often seeks to restrict immigration through the aforementioned border controls. These concerns, however, have significant consequences and implications for pension

²⁵ Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (1999), *Globalisation in Question* 2nd edition (Cambridge: Polity Press).

²⁶ Barry Hindess (1998), ‘Neo-Liberalism and the National Economy’ in Mitchell Dean and Barry Hindess (eds.), *Governing Australia. Studies in Contemporary Rationalities of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

²⁷ Nikolas Rose (2001), ‘Governing Liberty’ in Richard V. Ericsson and Nico Stehr (eds.), *Governing Modern Societies* (Toronto: Toronto University Press): 162.

schemes, health-care systems, education programs and housing plans as well as for economic vitality and growth.²⁸ Given the widely accepted idea that skilled labour is a valuable asset for Western economies, control policies have mostly targeted low-skilled and unskilled migrants. There is, however, a huge demand for unskilled labour in the West. The recent Shark Operation case in the UK has found that more than half of the workers preparing fresh food in factories and packing houses for big supermarkets are working illegally.²⁹ A report by the International Labour Organization on human trafficking has argued that policy responses must address major abuses of exploitative forced labour outcome rather than movement across the border in conjunction with more liberal migration regimes.³⁰ At this time there appears to be a conflict between anti-immigration sentiments and economic demand (for factory workers, agricultural workers, housekeepers, childcare providers, etc.), illustrating a lack of connection between economic (and to some extent social) need and political reality, which may play out differentially in different urban or rural centres.

Migration is thus a very sensitive political issue that is embedded in larger societal fears. Bauman, in an analysis of 'identity fears' that are often connected with migration, demonstrates how these fears are rooted globalization:

In virtually every country the part of work-force still enjoying the old security of employment is crumbling fast, while almost all new jobs are of the part-time, temporary, fixed-term, no-benefits-attached, and altogether 'flexible' character. Add to this the new fragility of family units, brittleness of companionship, fluidity of neighbourhoods, the breathtaking pace of change of recommended and coveted life-fashions and of the market value of skills and acquired habits - and it is easy to understand why the feeling of insecurity... is so widespread and overwhelming.³¹

²⁸ Joseph Chamie (2003), 'The Global Migration Picture', policy brief for AMPI.

²⁹ *The Guardian*, 17.05.2003.

³⁰ International Labour Organisation (2002), 'Getting at the Roots. Stopping Exploitation of Migrant Workers by Organised Crime', <http://www.ilo.org>.

³¹ Zygmunt Bauman, 'Europe of Strangers', Working Paper, <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/bauman.pdf>: 7. Bauman has developed at length these ideas in his book *In Search of Politics*.

Baumann argues that these fears and anxieties are displaced at the level of individual safety and livelihood, and are refocused on the ‘stranger next door’, which is relevant for debates centred on ‘bogus asylum seekers’ and economic migrants.

Entrepreneurship

In terms of economic governance it is important to consider immigrants both in terms of what they provide (i.e., low-cost labour) and the actions that these individuals take to survive when paid employment is either not available or inadequate. Here economic governance focuses on creating entrepreneurial citizens capable of competing in the market. This can be seen as crucial for a population that faces barriers to entry into the labour market. According to Graham Burchell:

The generalization of an ‘enterprise form’ to *all* forms of conduct – to the conduct of organizations hitherto seen as being non-economic, to the conduct of government and to the conduct of individuals themselves – constitutes the essential characteristic of this style of government: the promotion of an enterprise culture.³²

Self-enterprise may be a means of survival and achieving some level of acceptance in the eyes of the autochthonous population as perceptions of immigrants shift from welfare recipients to individuals responsible for their own political and economic trajectories.³³

Patterns of successful ethnic entrepreneurship in countries such as the US, Canada and Australia are less pronounced in Europe. This is explainable by certain

³² Graham Burchell (1996), ‘Liberal government and techniques of the self’ in A. Barry, T. Osborne and N. Rose (eds.), *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government* (London: UCL Press): 29.

³³ Migrinf (Informal/Undeclared Work: Research on Its Changing Nature and Policy Strategies in an Enlarged Europe) See http://cordis.europa.eu/improving/socio-economic/conf_work.htm; SEWM (Self-employment activities concerning women and minorities: their success or failure in relation to social citizenship policies). The study was carried out in six European countries: Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Sweden and the UK. See http://improving-ser.jrc.it/default/show.gx?Object.object_id=TSER----000000000000BAF&_app.page=show-TSR.html

characteristics of the existing economic and market place model in these countries as well as greater flexibility in the legislative and institutional system. The market-place is indeed one of the key components of the so-called 'opportunity structure' (defined as 'the distribution of opportunities to achieve goals in a social system'). Research shows that new economic trends are responsible for having given minorities and immigrants greater possibilities to enter the main market through the differentiation of products and activities, outsourcing, delocalization and the promotion of the products through official channels.

Immigrants and minorities in Europe have frequently initiated successful autonomous activities as well, despite the fact that both the market-place and legislative and institutional systems are very different from those in the U.S., Canada and Australia. The high level of state participation in the economy, highly regulated social systems and complex bureaucratic procedures have contributed to creating the disadvantaged circumstances of ethnic minorities and immigrant communities. Once again, the impact of political governance (local and national), becomes evident in concerns over economic governance illustrating how intertwined the concepts are.

Despite the obstacles to entrepreneurship in Europe, Position Paper 4.4 by Tuzin and his colleagues illustrates that the participation by ethnic minorities in self-employment or entrepreneurial activities generally exceeds their share of the population. This is particularly true for the informal sector in Italy, which includes both self-employment and wage workers. In fact, involvement in the informal sector, whether through self-employment or wage labour, may be a major pull factor for immigrants seeking to improve their economic condition³⁴. These opportunities represent one of the primary reasons for immigrating, but may also impose constraints on the extent to which immigrants are able to stabilize their lives in the new environment as the informal, and potentially illegal, sector may be their only viable employment option.

³⁴ Kloosterman and Rath, YEAR. "Working on the Fringes: Immigrant Businesses, Economic Integration and Informal Practices." *Invandrades Företagande*, ISSUE: 27-38. Available at <http://users.fmg.uva.nl/jrath/downloads/@rath%20NUTEK.pdf>

A quick glance at immigrant areas in Rome demonstrates the importance of entrepreneurship for the immigrant population. The question that arises is what role these businesses play. Is it solely financial? In all likelihood are a number of factors that converge wherein a foreign-owned shop or café may provide an income for the owners, but also provides a cultural link (e.g., a shop that sells goods or food from the country of origin), a place for social interaction (e.g., a restaurant or café where customers can mingle with others from their community), and source of employment that can create social and financial networks and bonds. These businesses and networks, along with other community characteristics, are the focus of one of the studies described later in this paper.

The bazaar, or open market, is one example that allows for entrepreneurship and links the formal and informal markets. It takes on symbolic value as:

the place where diverse worlds meet for exchanges on different levels of the economic mechanism more than a market per se. More than a commercial centre, it stands for a place of equilibrium between the logic of economic rationalization and that of the super-imposition and intertwining of products, rhythms, sequences and social orders.³⁵

In this sense, the urban reality and particularly, the ‘structural and relational embeddedness’ that occurs both within the bazaar and between the bazaar and the “formal” commercial areas, serve as reference points for other levels of governance. Research³⁶ shows that migrant vendors are generally not connected to the activities of criminal organizations. On the contrary, they are believed to have a positive role in rejuvenating decrepit urban centres. In particular, piazzas are vital centres for constructing new identities. In this sense, markets merge the economic and social, bring together financial, social and cultural exchange.

Bazaars can generate positive effects at the local level, which contrasts with the diffuse negative opinion of migrants as criminals. The informal bazaar economy

³⁵ ECOBAZ-The Bazaar Economy in the Euro-Mediterranean Metropolis: Informal Market Activities, Trans-border Migration Networks, Commercial Centrality, and Codes of Honour. See http://ec.europa.eu/research/social-sciences/knowledge/projects/article_3460_en.htm

³⁶ Ibid.

emerges as an alternative model that influences the transformation of the economy, and at the same time, is a consequence of it. The bazaar economy provides opportunities for the economic integration of migrants, representing a place where encounters between 'here' and 'there' may take place in a non-conflictual context. As such, markets are central to the economic functioning of a city or community *and* may assist immigrants financially, socially and culturally. This is especially relevant in Rome where official markets can be found through-out the city in piazzas, streets and on sidewalks, not to mention the countless unofficial vendors who can be seen selling their goods in strategic locations around the city. The prevalence of these markets and likely role that they play in the lives of immigrants make them an important focal point for research.

Economic Considerations of Women as Immigrants

Research on self-employment amongst women and minorities demonstrates that there is nearly an absence of targeted policies with a preference for a universalistic approach, which is often justified by the conclusion that targeted policies may be considered to be another form of discrimination.³⁷ As a consequence, migrants, women and ethnic minorities are more or less invisible as employers in the labour market and as entrepreneurs. Even if policies promote the business activities of women, immigrants and minorities, they are often limited by bureaucratic obstacles such as the inability to take out loans. These policies' failure to support the training and professional development of women and minorities has often been attributed to the subjects' own incompetence, but in many cases, it is the result of a misinterpretation of women's motivations for initiating autonomous activities or their lack of application in policy-making.

For example, initiating autonomous activities may depend, for example, on women's desire to liberate themselves from traditional and rigid family contexts that characterize many immigrant communities. In other cases, women pursue self-employment as a last resort in the context of discrimination in the host society, such as the lack of recognition of professional qualifications. In these cases, women are likely to have an inadequate understanding of the marketplace and the most effective strategies

³⁷ SEWM

to adopt, leading to a higher risk of failure. Overall, the prospects of self-employment for immigrant women can be seen as being particularly low given that these individuals face barriers as immigrants as well as any social and cultural barriers (either of the host country or the immigrant's background) linked to gender. This means that women may be more prevalent in areas such as housekeeping and childcare whereas men are more visible factories. In informal job markets, women may be more evident as prostitutes whereas men may be engaged in makeshift "markets" selling counterfeit and pirated merchandise on the streets. Thus, it is important to consider social relations and the presence of various individuals in different economic situations.

Social governance and migration

Social governance regards the participation of local, usually under-represented actors (communities, immigrants) in devising and assessing governance strategies and policies. Open communication between policy makers and society is essential: This concept is intrinsic to strong democracies and represents a new strategy in facing problems that typify contemporary society such as difficulty in both verifying the effectiveness of social policies and developing salient democratic institutions. According to Kooiman and Van Vliet,

The purpose of governance in our societies can be described as coping with the problems but also the opportunities of complex, diverse and fragmented societies. Complexity, dynamics and diversity had led to a shrinking external autonomy of the nation-state *vis-à-vis* social sub-systems... Governing in modern society is predominantly a process of coordination and influencing social, political and administrative interactions, meaning that new forms of interactive government are necessary. Governing in an interactive perspective is directed at the balancing of social interests and creating the possibilities and limits of social actors and subsystems to organise themselves.³⁸

³⁸ Kooiman and van Vliet quoted in Newman: 64.

This balancing of social interests implies that governance is a *social* process necessitating the involvement of various actors through the creation of networks³⁹ or other collaborations. This may occur either through top-down network formation in which a higher government or administrative body deliberately establishes a network or through a bottom-up approach one in which networks are formed by those affected by specific policies in order to articulate and promote their claims.⁴⁰

This bottom-up approach is perhaps most relevant at the city-level where there is a need to create networks based on local problems and resources. The networks may in fact be more organic than deliberate and may arise from the city administration, community groups or some other body. Given this lack of pre-definition, research is necessary to understand the existence and nature of various networks and the roles that they play within communities and the city as a whole.

Another aspect of social governance deals with the potential for ‘social rejection’ resulting from the discontinuity between migrational needs (i.e., the economic need for migrant labour) and social willingness to accept those migrants within the larger society. As Guido Bulaffi notes, “The economy needs immigrants, but society does not—at least this is how things appear.”⁴¹ Tackling ‘social rejection’ calls for the involvement of different actors in new global cities. It requires a different understanding and shared vision of the city’s future:

We need to start understanding our cities as bearers of our entwined fates. We need to formulate within our city a shared notion of a common destiny. We need to see our city as the locus of citizenship, and to recognize multiple levels of citizenship as well as multiple levels of common destiny, from the city to the nation to transnational citizenship

³⁹ The European Union has typically viewed the formation of networks as an asset for policy making. Some networks are created deliberately by the Commission in order to formulate and implement policy more effectively, to increase awareness of certain problem or to give a European dimension to a national problem. See Alberta Sbragia (2000), ‘The European Union as Coxswain: Governance by Steering’ in J. Pierre (ed.): 234.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Guido Bolaffi (2003), ‘Immigration & European Economy’, policy brief for AMPI.

possibilities. We need to see our city and its multiple communities as spaces where we connect with the cultural other who is our neighbor.⁴²

Understanding how to deal with this social rejection, regardless of the cause, requires an understanding of the underlying reasons, whether founded or unfounded. This means that research needs to try and understand the dialogue within and between communities. *Is there a dialogue? What is the nature of that dialogue? How does the dialogue relate to network formation?*

Globalisation and the rise of global cities mean that most of the onus of addressing social rejection and other problems that crop up fall on cities, giving them a greater role in governance strategies. Pennix advocates “intensive and pro-active integration policies on this local level, where the citizen should regain its original meaning: an active and accepted participant in the daily life of these cities and thus both profiting from and contributing to the health of that city”.⁴³ Thus, the real challenge for social integration can be seen as being at the local level, within the city and within *and* between communities. The latter may be particularly important given concerns about ghettoisation, which may bolster immigrant communities through the concentration of resources, but can also decrease the chances of social and economic integration. One question that emerges is whether or not there is a tipping point, as described by Gladwell⁴⁴, in which there are certain community characteristics that do not have a marked effect up until a certain level, beyond which there is a marked change.

Do We Need a New Model of City Governance?

As previously mentioned, models of governance abound. Their prevalence, however, does not necessarily mean that they are appropriate. This is especially true in relation to city governance, which has essentially been subject to pre-existing models that were developed for other types and levels of governance. The aim of this research,

⁴² Leonie Sandercock (1998), *Towards Cosmopolis: Planning for Multicultural Cities* (New York: Wiley): 181-182.

⁴³ Rinus Penninx (2002), ‘Migration and the city: local citizenship and integration policies’, paper presented to the conference *Cities in Movement. Migrants and Urban Governance*. Centro de Estudos Geograficos, Universidade de Lisboa, November 11-12, background reading for AMPI.

⁴⁴ Malcolm Gladwell (2000). *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.

as laid out in the Strategic Paper, is to consider the applicability of existing governance models to the governance of immigration in Rome. Current models may be sufficient, however, it is likely that that another model may be more appropriate. The question that arises then is whether it is possible to develop a “universal” or categorical (i.e., it applies to all mid-size cities in a certain geographic area) model of city governance or whether local context, politics and culture create unique situations that make attempts at a more universal model superfluous.