

*Beyond gateways cities: immigrants' local incorporation pathways in small and medium-sized cities*

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**Convenors:**

Eduardo Barberis (Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo)

Adriano Cancellieri (Università IUAV di Venezia)

Roberta Marzorati (Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca)

**Session 1: Migration beyond gateways cities: small towns and rural areas**

**Diversity adds up: Explaining immigrants' new destinations in Spain**

**Author:** Carmen Lamela (Universidade da Coruña - Spain)

Local or regional levels of analysis might reveal aspects about migration determinants that get lost at the national level (Malmberg, 1997). Here, I aim to explore the causal factors behind the intensity and composition to a migratory movement to a secondary and peripheral destination within Spain: Galicia –a relatively underdeveloped region with a very weak labor market and a severely aged population. The initial question was whether, in the absence of powerful pull factors, network effects may better explain the observed immigration. The links between migrant networks and the size of immigration flows should be more evident at the local level of analysis (Van der Gaag and Van Wissen, 2002). Specifically, I work with data on towns and cities of less than 250.000 population. Statistics and ethnographic evidence support an add-up effect of a diversity of motives and chains of migration, even within inflows from the same national origin. To explain the observed dynamics, the concept of “superdiversity” (Vertovec, 2007) works properly.

**Countryside ghettos? Segregation in small towns in Central Italy**

**Authors:** Eduardo Barberis (Università degli Studi di Urbino Carlo Bo) and Emmanuele Pavolini (Università di Macerata)

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Italy is characterized by an articulated and plural migration settlement pattern. Besides large concentration in major cities like Rome and Milan, also small and medium-sized towns have been for long immigrants' destinations. Contradicting hypotheses exist on social participation processes in such destinations: is socio-economic inclusion easier thanks to the small size of social networks, and the role of face-to-face interactions, or small local communities are places of bonding social capital, locked-in relations, and hence exclusion? We will try to answer this question by analysing a dimension rarely studied in small-size areas, i.e. spatial concentration and segregation. In particular, we ask if spatial segregation is possible also in small towns, and which implications it may have for place-based social and economic relations. Starting from the (limited) literature existing in the field, we will answer this question by analysing the case of Region Marche in central Italy. As an area characterized by a small-scale urbanization and widespread cluster economy, it has been attracting migrants for some three decades now, and may be a good example of ongoing settlement process outside gateways cities. Using Census data from 2001 and 2011 and LFS data, enriched with qualitative case studies, we will show that spatial marginalization is well possible in rururban contexts, when matched with specific built environments (failed real estate developments) and economic conditions (precarious assimilation into labour intensive, mature industries).

**Ghettos in Small Towns? The Research on Ethnic Segregation and Stigmatisation Processes in Small Town Germany**

**Author:** René Kreichauf (Independent Reseracher)

Not noticed by politics and research, immigration has increased in rural areas in Germany in the past decades, which puts forward questions of the integration of immigrants in small towns. This study reviews the current state of urban research on the given subject and puts the urban phenomenon of segregation in the context of small towns using case studies in Germany. The analysis employs a qualitative research approach to investigate the reality of ethnic segregation in small towns by illustrating the local conditions and tendencies of segregation, its causes, characteristics, and its perception by different groups within the town's society. The investigation of these topics is intended to provide a clear understanding of the primary argument of this research, namely that there is strong evidence for ethnic segregation in small towns, but the process seems to express itself in a different dimension in comparison to big cities. The appearance and on-going development of segregation are not only determined by macro-social factors and trends, but rather substantially affected by local practices, political decisions and also by the perceptions and views of the small town society. This intense scrutiny of segregated areas produces a stigmatization of neighbourhoods and their residents, xenophobic attitudes and neighbourhood conflicts, which highly influence the quality of segregation and the integration process of immigrants. In order to understand the complexity of segregation development in small towns, which is highly affected by particular processes of stigmatization, this

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study proposes the necessity of setting different patterns for the research of the subject in small towns from common approaches used for researching the same phenomena in big cities.

**Agricultural migrant workers in rural towns: comparing local administration policy interventions in Southern and Northern Italy**

**Authors:** Anna Mary Garrapa, Roberta Marzorati, Michela Semprebon (Università degli Studi di Milano-Bicocca)

In Italy migrants' presence in medium-sized and small towns has been of relevance since the first migration waves in the country. However, in the last decade, their presence has grown to an unprecedented level not only in urban but also in rural areas, following both international and internal migration movements. In this paper we propose to explore the role of small rural municipalities as far as migrants' arrival and socio-economic inclusion is concerned, by discussing two divergent and yet similar cases: Sermide (Northern Italy) and Rosarno (Southern Italy). In Sermide the largest migrant community comes from Morocco and has been mostly engaged in melons harvesting, initially on a seasonal-basis to then settle. More recently, Eastern European migrants have joined the seasonal workforce. In Rosarno migrants come largely from Sub Saharan and Eastern European countries: the former are engaged in local winter citrus fruits harvesting and in other cultivations elsewhere in Italy; the latter are more permanently settled and engaged in different manual works, thanks to their legal status. In both localities, especially in Rosarno, migrants have experienced hard living conditions and municipalities have had to address their needs. Our main aim is to analyse how horizontal and vertical governance processes have been activated to deal with their inclusion in order to answer these questions: which actors have been involved and how? What is the specificity of migrants' settlement in these localities? How does it relate to internal migration dynamics? Does it have an impact in rescaling the geography of migration governance?

**Governing migration: small-size cities between limits of scale and social innovation**

**Author:** Elena Ostanel (University IUAV of Venice, SSIIM Unesco Chair)

According to the recent literature (Hoggart, Buller, 1995; Kasimis et al., 2003; Fonseca et al., 2004; Rogaly, 2004, Morén-Alegret, 2005; Hussain, Stillwell 2008) the settlement of immigrants in small size cities is of interest, not only because of its increasing scale in different countries of Europe, but particularly because the socio-spatial inclusion process of immigrants can be quite different to that of their counterparts who settle in large urban areas. As stressed by different authors, despite a population small in number, small size cities have become the scene for relations, practices,

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consumption patterns and collective imaginary typical of cities with a much larger population, showing a level of 'urbanity', i.e. of economic, social and spatial complexity, similar to those of larger urban centers (Bell and Jayne, 2006, p. 690). In Italy in 2012, of the 20 cities with the highest percentage of migrants only one had 36,000 inhabitants, two were in the 10,000-15,000 brackets; the remaining 17 had less than 10,000 people (12 less than 5,000) (Cancellieri, 2015). The Paper, starting from the evidence collected during the PRIN Project 'Small-size cities and social cohesion: policies and practices for the social and spatial inclusion of international migrants' aims at inquire the governance framework adopted by small size cities where migration poses major challenges to the urban coexistence. The economic crisis and the constraints to the local welfare expenditure have de facto reduced the capacity of the local societies to sustain both with policies and practices the social and spatial inclusion of newcomers; in many cases small-size city governments may lack the competences, knowledge and networks to adequately design effective interventions and, more generally, they usually suffer severe limits of scale. However the smallness of the urban context may possess some interesting features that should be further discussed and socialized to work for social innovation, institutional learning and social change in the city of difference.

**Session 2: Migration beyond gateways cities: medium-sized cities and metropolitan outskirts**

**Dealing with diversity in the periphery. Exploring the arrival and transition infrastructure in a small city on the outskirts of Brussels**

**Author:** Elise Schillebeeckx (Catholic University of Leuven & University of Antwerp)

Until today, policy makers seem to believe that increasing the social mix in deprived migrant neighbourhoods by attracting middle class residents is the only way to divert the alleged danger posed by these kinds of neighbourhoods. Recently, some academics and policy institutions (VROM-raad, 2006; Rose et al., 2013) advocate for 'endogenous' social mixing, i.e. creating a middle class from within the neighbourhood. Following this line of thinking, our study focuses on the concept of the urban zone of transition, a concept developed by the Chicago School. Neighbourhoods in the transition zone often fulfil a gateway function to the host society as well as a transition function that provide migrants with the necessary skills, services and social networks to climb up the socioeconomic ladder. In some larger cities with long histories of immigration and sizable immigrant populations the socio-spatial infrastructure has been examined. This article focuses instead on dealing with diversity in a less pronounced gateway context; the city of Aalst. Aalst is a small city of nearly 83.500 inhabitants in the proximity of Brussels which relatively recently saw its migrant population grow and diversify and hence, has a less developed socio-spatial infrastructure that targets the migrant population. To examine the arrival and transition functions, we use Polanyi's three forms of integration as our analytical framework (Polanyi, 1968). Based on interviews with newcomers, politicians and the civil society in Aalst, we test the hypothesis that its less significant arrival and transition infrastructure in

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comparison with larger immigrant gateways offer less opportunities for social mobility and integration.

**Types and perceptions of diversity. A comparison between three different neighbourhoods in Antwerp.**

**Authors:** Ympkje Albeda, Stijn Oosterlynck, Gert Verschraegen (University of Antwerp, Belgium)

The diversification of the city does not limit itself to the part that is known as the 'arrival city'. As the case of Antwerp shows, the former suburban district Deurne is also confronted with an increasing inflow of immigrants. By studying three different neighbourhoods of Antwerp this paper will address the question how residents living in areas with different types of diversity perceive this. Do they appreciate diversity? Did the diversity of the neighbourhood play a role when they moved into this neighbourhood? We will use qualitative data gathered in Antwerp answering these questions. The first neighbourhood, Antwerp Noord, is known as a traditional immigrant gateway; the second, Borgerhout, is known for its high amount of Moroccan people living here and the third neighbourhood is an urbanized suburban area. Interestingly, this last neighbourhood is known by the policy makers as a deprived area, but by others (mostly of non-Belgian origin) as the ideal place to live: quiet, diverse and close to the city centre. We will argue that specifically immigrants feel attracted to this place among others because of the minimum amount of diversity. By comparing three different neighbourhoods this paper will give a better understanding of the different perceptions of diversity in and about more traditional

**At the Margins of the City. Immigrants and Minorities Segregation Patterns in Stockholm, Sweden:**

**Author:** Jonathan Rokem (UCL Bartlett Development Planning Unit – DPU)

This paper addresses one of the fundamental societal transformations of the 21st century; the rapid urbanization of our planet bringing with it new opportunities and challenges. Currently, as a result of mounting global urban migration and rising Inequalities, there are significant debates as to the role of the urban industry, urban politics and planning as such, in addressing the challenges and needs of immigrants and minorities living in marginal spaces in different 'contested cities'. This research suggests that via a use of mixed methods there is potential to better define immigrant minority populations local conditions based on a set of interviews and spatial analysis from a recent research of the immigration- dense neighbourhood Fittja south of Stockholm. Focusing particularly on Sweden with its greater racial, class, religious,

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and ethnic homogeneity compared to gateways cities. The research evaluated; (1) the nation state role in planning for urban segregation, (2) spatial segregation at the city scale, and (3) the role of local community and civil society in, and individual's perception of, these urban processes. Setting the findings from Stockholm in a wider comparative and relational conversation with previous ethnographic neighbourhood scale research in Jerusalem.

**Arriving in Burgos: migrants in a Northern Spanish city**

**Author:** Luis Garzón (Universidad de Burgos)

This communication presents a portrait of migration in a mid-sized Spanish city, Burgos. Burgos, located about 200 kilometers north of Madrid, received important waves of immigration, both internal and external, during the second half of the 20th century. Internal migration started increasing in the aftermath of the official nomination of the city as a "Pole of Industrial Development" in 1964, as part of a policy by the Francoist government to spread industrial development in previously undeveloped cities. Burgos, an historical node in between the 12th-16th centuries, had declined in importance in the previous 250 years and becoming a "Pole of Industrial Development" drew an influx of migrants to some parts of the city, notably the neighborhood of Gamonal. From 1990's onwards, industries began welcoming foreign immigration, from some countries of Latin America and Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, notably). This presentation examines the pivotal role of pull factors in driving migration to Burgos and the experience of the city by migrant communities. We follow Glick Schiller's approach in order to show how Burgos labour market has contributed to migration increase and examine the opportunities and constraints offered by the city to prospective migrants.

**Incorporating through economic-political cooperation? Governance, policy and immigrant entrepreneurship in two medium-sized cities in Germany**

**Authors:** Charlotte Raeuchle, Henning Nuissl (Humboldt-University Berlin, Geography Department)

'Immigrant entrepreneurship' in Germany has been mainly taken to be big-city phenomena and analyzed in a sociographic perspective. Based on comparative fieldwork in two medium-sized, low-scale German cities (Braunschweig and Rostock; cf. Glick-Schiller & Çağlar 2009) – explicitly not the traditional gateway metropolises and much less heterogeneous in terms of the population's religion, ethnicity and race –, these approaches will be discussed. The paper will ask which (local) governance-arrangements dealing with 'immigrant entrepreneurs' have

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been established, which policies have been worked out in these networks and how different migrants position themselves within these contexts. Thus, entrepreneurship itself does not form the main focus of analysis, but the highly-contested figure of the 'immigrant entrepreneur' will serve as the starting point to discuss the immigrants' diverse economic, social and political ways of incorporation. Referring to rescaling processes in either city and a comparative local governance model, firstly the relevant stakeholders and their (in-)formal networks will be described. Secondly, different policies – evolving 'between' the traditional German policy fields of integration, economy and urban development – will be analysed. Finally, the paper will discuss on the one hand, to what extent a relation between the cities' scale/size and the emerging governance arrangements as well as policies regarding 'immigrant entrepreneurs' can be assumed. On the other hand, it will be revealed that entrepreneurship and engagement in the described field of governance/policy do not foster the immigrants' (not only economic) incorporation to the same extent in both cities: This pathway appears to vary depending on e.g. transnational ties and social capital, but also on the urban context.