# Chapter 3.  Block 1. Multi-level governance: Institutional and financial settings

The policy objectives listed in Block 1 relate to a multi-level governance framework and mechanisms within which local authorities make decisions for the integration of migrants in their territory. While most of the policy objectives address local authorities, some are geared to higher levels of government (supranational, national and regional) as they can provide the relevant incentives for successful local integration.

This section focuses on tools available for managing complementarities across sectors and government levels and for implementing administrative mechanisms.
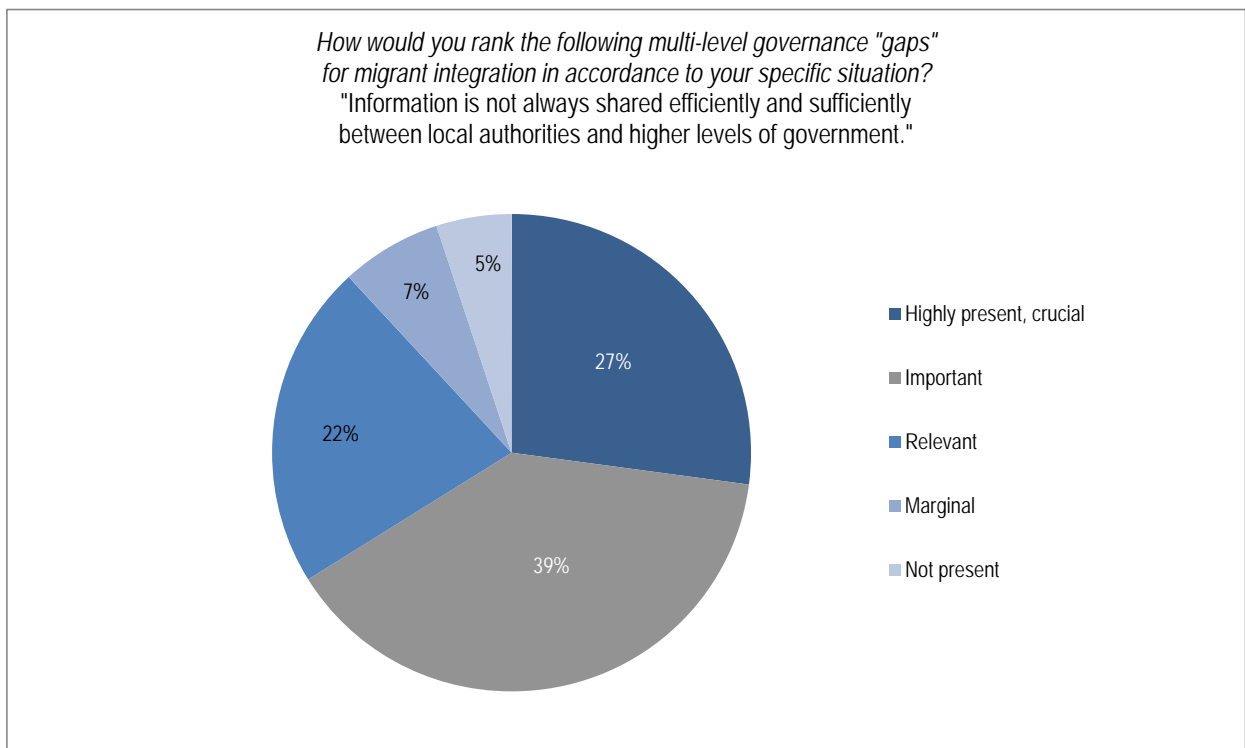
**Key takeaways:**

- Municipalities' room for manoeuvre in designing local integration responses depends on sectoral competences and financing mechanisms, as well as on governance structures. Across different integration-relevant sectors, such as health, education or employment, the extent of municipalities' roles and their scope for action varies. Regardless, any multi-level governance framework for migrant integration policy should be flexible, allowing for a two-way dialogue where local experiences can inform national policy changes.

- In order to develop local and coherent approaches to integration, municipalities must identify complementarities across relevant policy sectors. They must identify the skills and resources that relevant non-government actors, such as business, CSOs, faith-based organisations, NGOs and migrant associations, can bring to integration policy and implementation.

- Mainstreaming integration issues at the right stage of universal sectoral policies' design and implementation is essential. This requires close collaboration across municipal departments, with a focal point or entity to co-ordinate migration issues, and a strategy that both sets the overall outcomes and defines what an inclusive city should look like. All relevant departments should be able to measure their achievements in terms of inclusion, including that of migrants and refugees.

- Municipalities should work with their neighbours, developing a wider local response to migrant integration challenges. By sharing responsibilities, services can be delivered and newcomers welcomed more efficiently.

- Welcoming and integrating asylum seekers and refugees entails specific responsibilities for authorities across all levels. The peak inflow of refugees and asylum seekers in 2015 prompted an increased awareness of their particular needs. It required cross-sectoral co-ordination within municipalities and multi-level co-ordination across levels of government, in particular to establish dispersal mechanisms for asylum seekers.

## Objective 1. Enhance effectiveness of migrant integration policy through improved co-ordination across government levels and implementation at the relevant scale

### Why this objective is important and what to avoid

This study demonstrates that 80% of the cities responding to the ad hoc OECD questionnaire state that "there is a lack of co-ordination between different levels of government regarding migrant integration". Some 66% of respondents perceive that these challenges are more important concerning asylum seekers and refugee populations. More specifically, the majority (88%) of the sample of 72 cities identified an information gap as a highly present, important or relevant, obstacle to migrant integration. It is ranked highest in comparison to other multi-level governance gaps described below. An information gap is defined as "asymmetries of information (quality, quantity, type) between different stakeholders involved in migrant integration policy, whether voluntary or not" and reveals that "information is not always shared efficiently and sufficiently between local authorities and higher levels of government (local, regional, national and European levels)."

**Figure 3.1. Migrant integration information gaps between local authorities and higher levels of government**



How would you rank the following multi-level governance "gaps" for migrant integration in accordance to your specific situation? "Information is not always shared efficiently and sufficiently between local authorities and higher levels of government."

- Highly present, crucial
- Important
- Relevant
- Marginal
- Not present

*Note*: Multi-level governance gaps stem from asymmetries that arise across levels of government and public actors at all levels as one level depends on the other for information, skills, resources, or competences (Charbit and Michalun, 2009[2]). The Information Gap is defined as asymmetries of information (quality, quantity, type) between different stakeholders involved in migrant integration policy, whether voluntary or not.

*Source*: Authors' elaboration, based on case studies and the ad hoc questionnaire.

This gap is understandable when considering the variety of policy fields and governmental levels involved in migrant integration. Integration policies require: strong co-ordination mechanisms because they are often regulated, designed, implemented and evaluated by different actors at different levels of government. The cities in this study all report that they have different decision-making powers in sectors that are crucial for integration. For instance, only 9% report having exclusive competence in the education sector, whereas almost 30% have exclusive competence in the housing sector.

To respond to the needs of a more diverse society and to guarantee equal access to services, governments at all levels have two main tools at their disposal: either they formulate **specific** integration strategies/policies or they **adapt** legislation and policies that apply to the whole population to migrant integration specificities (a "mainstreaming" approach). This duality in terms of instruments that are "generic when possible and specific when needed" (Wittebrood and Andriessen, 2014: 5) adds a layer of complexity to integration policy formulation, implementation and monitoring, again calling for strong co-ordination. In the case of integration policies, a gap in co-ordination is sometimes revealed by looking at the objectives or indicators of national and local strategies. Where such indicators are not aligned, integration can take a mosaic of forms across the country, pursuing different goals. An integration measurement system that is too heterogeneous may limit the capacity to measure, evaluate and compare integration outcomes. Co-ordination across levels of government is needed to strike the balance between formulating policies and indicators that are adapted to territorial characteristics, and maintain comparability across local realities.-

This is particularly the case in highly-decentralised countries and when subnational governments have a long tradition in formulating integration plans. Sometimes, local action took place before the national one. For instance, in Vienna, a city integration strategy has existed since 1970, while a national one was only formulated in the 2000s. In general, improving mutual knowledge and information sharing would be beneficial for converging towards common national and local integration goals. Improved exchange across levels should inform subnational authorities about national policies and central governments about local realities when implementing integration policies.

### *Which tools could work and what could be done better*

### *1. Utilise institutional mapping*

**Institutional mapping (who does what, how and with whom)** is a powerful tool to identify all relevant actors across all levels of government, their roles and their functional relations (strategy and planning, information, policy implementation, financial, monitoring, operational management). An institutional mapping is included in each of the ten case studies and an example is available here (see Figure 3.2).

By identifying the type of relations across levels (co-operation, subordination, and representation), the horizontal linkages of the municipality with other local public and non-public actors and the organisation across departments within the municipality, the mapping identifies local authorities' leeway and helps maximise policy effectiveness through its partnership with a broad range of actors in the territory. Within the framework of this study, the OECD developed an institutional mapping for each of the ten partner cities that will serve as a reference point for all stakeholders in order to clarify allocation of responsibilities and relations among them at different levels of government. This is a useful starting point in multi-level dialogue and can be used to identify redundancies, gaps, and possibly costs that the municipality bears for integration purposes.

*2. Increase mutual knowledge of integration practices and objectives across levels when designing national or regional integration strategies*

On the one hand, national governments need to know more about what happens on the ground and the diversity of existing practices of subnational governments. On the other hand, consistent approaches to migration across levels of government can ensure equal standards in public services across the territory and more consistent measurement of integration issues. In this sense, useful tools can include multi-level dialogue mechanisms related to integration and national integration strategies and legislation formulated on the basis of local experiences (see Point 3. Make use of multi-level and multi-stakeholder dialogue mechanisms to increase mutual knowledge of integration practices and objectives across levels).

A national integration plan provides programmatic priorities that could incentivise implementation of local innovations and practices and enhances more performant national outcomes. Such a plan should allow for a coherent approach, while preserving the customisation of implementation and adaptation to diverse contexts. Local authorities should be given the opportunity to provide input into how these priorities are set. This would ensure that the authorities at the central level are aware of local priorities, innovations and practices. Further, national plans and legislation on integration-related issues can contribute to creating incentives and standards for mainstreaming a migrant focus at the local level in a number of sectors. For instance, the national level can include incentives in their national development strategies, in order to ensure that migration will contribute to the country's economic development as a whole, or recognise the role that non-state actors play in this sector.

- **Italy:** The new National Integration Plan released in September 2017 aims to co-ordinate existing territorial strategies under a set of national priorities for integrating beneficiaries of international protection. It is a biannual programmatic document, without an action plan or budget, formulated through consultation with the regional level.
- **Tyrol (Austria):** Municipalities in the Austrian *land* of Tyrol share an integration strategy framework called "integration mission statement", which is implemented across municipalities of the federal state.
- **Germany:** In 2006 the German Chancellor invited to the first Integration Summit representatives of all social groups working on the issue of integration: associations of migrants and numerous other non-governmental players, together with the federal *Länder* and local authorities. During this summit the National Integration Plan was formulated and adopted the following year. The plan includes more than 400 measures and voluntary commitments relating to integration based on the underlying principle of providing support whilst requiring the migrants to do their part.[1] A review of its implementation was published in 2008.
- **United Kingdom:** The Equality Act (2010) synthetises and replaces successive pieces of legislation introduced since 1976, which put race equality at the centre of policy making, service delivery, regulation and enforcement, and employment practices. All relevant UK public institutions have to demonstrate they meet their duty "to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and promote equality of opportunity and good race relations."[2] This act devolves the responsibility to formulate and implement policies related to race equality to the English, Welsh and Scottish ministers through secondary legislation. Statutory bodies such as the

Equality and Human Rights Commission[3] monitor the implementation of anti-discriminatory duties by public bodies across levels.

- **Canada:** The Settlement and Integration system is the multi-level funding mechanism to support activities related to facilitating the arrival of newcomers (including work and humanitarian migrants) in Canadian communities. This programme is funded by the Ministry of Immigration, Refugee and Citizenship Canada as well as the provincial governments. Services are provided by local third party organisations based on local needs. The ministry engages with provinces and territories via multilateral forums such as the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Settlement Working Group.

*3. Make use of multi-level and multi-stakeholder dialogue mechanisms to increase mutual knowledge of integration practices and objectives across levels*

The following four models for dialogue were identified in the study:

1. **Sharing information:** To allow the central and local levels to mutually learn about policy directions and place-based needs. Such exchanges should inform local and national levels of policy making.

   o **Austria:** The Expert Council for Integration is composed of relevant ministries, all provinces/*Länder*, and five of the most relevant NGOs. It meets twice a year to share information about the implementation of the national plan for integration.

   o **Germany:** The Permanent Conference of Ministers and Senators for the Interior of the federal *Länder* (IMK). The conference takes place twice a year and is an important venue in co-ordinating policy making between *Länder* and the federal level.

2. **Design and implementation of integration policies:** From design to action for integration policies, these dialogues take the form of peer negotiation in which each party has its share of sovereignty and the result is that a policy is agreed upon at both the local and national level. A multi-level council with programmatic responsibilities for EU and national funding relevant for migration serves such a purpose. In addition, a multi-level working group defines criteria for asylum seekers and refugees' geographical distribution as well.

3. **Clarifying roles and responsibilities to implement a specific policy contributing to integration objectives.** A multi-level task force on youth employment with a focus on migrant youth among other groups is an example of such an approach.

   o **Netherlands:** National-local consultation mechanisms are topic-specific; they involve relevant national ministries, the local level (often through the G4 composed of the city of Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht) and social partners (trade unions and employers' associations). For instance, the Ministry of Labour set up a roundtable to fight discrimination in the labour market and a national measure was developed to impose anonymous job applications.

   o **Germany:** A multi-level federal working group on Migration and Public Health aims at improving health care and information for migrants. The group is coordinated by the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration and includes around 50 members from different sectors of the public health services and the health system of cities (*Kommunen*), *Länder* and the Federation.

o **France:** To uphold its commit to receiving resettled and relocated refugees the Inter-ministerial Delegation for Accommodation and Access to Housing (DIHAL) set up in 2015 a multi-level platform to match newcomers' needs with available housing solutions across the country. Through a dialogue with local authorities and private housing corporations, this platform provides resettled refugees with accommodation as well as a package of integration measures, implemented for one year by local authorities, alongside NGOs, through national funding.[4] Since 2018 the DIHAL has established a platform with the employment agency (Pôle Emploi), the Ministry of Solidarity and health (DGCS) and a housing corporation (USH) to match job offers and social housing solutions across national territory. This platform will be visible to all practitioners working in the sector who can fulfil the demands of all vulnerable groups including refugees who are willing to change locations.

4. **Shared evaluation mechanisms:** To assess the results of integration policies, including in terms of the respective contribution of levels of government, and possibly use them to revise the next policy cycle.

   o **Germany:** The institutionalised dialogue conference of ministers for the integration of the *Länder* (Integrationsministerministerkonferenz, IntMK) is an interface between the federal level and the Lander. This conference develops indicators that are compared every year across *Länder*.

Overall, multi-level dialogue would gain from direct interaction with non-state actors who play a significant role in integration issues (e.g. non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector, migrant and refugee organisations, unions, faith-based organisations, etc.).

## *4. Establish alliances within municipalities inside metropolitan areas as well as strengthen urban-rural linkages and assess their benefits*

To set up joint service provision for migrant integration financial agreements across neighbouring municipalities should be established. Further, forces should be joined across municipalities in dialogues on migrant integration priorities with higher levels of government (regional, national or supranational) and other stakeholders (like businesses and NGOs).

- **Amsterdam:** 35 municipalities (Amsterdam included) are members of the *Labour Market Regions*. They co-operate and have regular meetings involving representatives of the private sector to involve the biggest employers of the region. This region can also apply for grants, making additional finances available to municipal authorities.
- **Gothenburg:** The Association of the Region of Gothenburg, involving 13 municipalities, has a practice of sharing resources and services targeting migrants to achieve a critical mass and improve the quality of services. Together with four other sub-regional associations and the region, it set up an organisation called Validering Väst (Validation West). This organisation works with various stakeholders (including the employment agency) in order to help individuals receive documented proof of their skills (e.g. as an electrician or a builder, etc.), to be released by Swedish Council for Higher Education [UHR], so that they can work in specific vocations that require a license or formal education -. One of their goals for 2017 is to create conditions so that newcomers to Sweden can have their practical skills "made visible" and documented.

**Figure 3.2. Institutional mapping of the multi-level governance of integration-related policy sectors in Gothenburg (Sweden)**
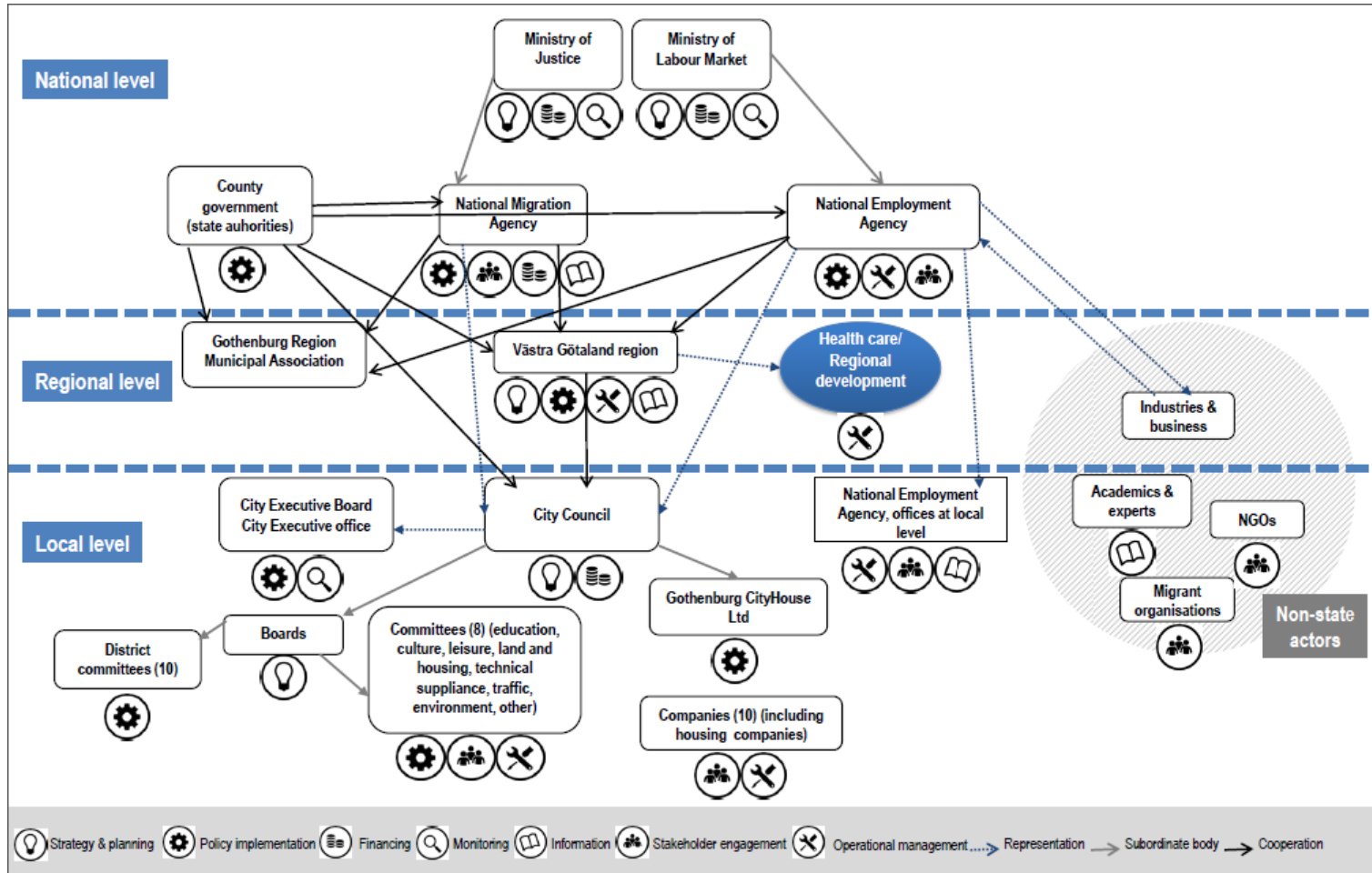


*Source*: OECD (forthcoming a), "Working together for local integration of migrants and refugees Case Study of Gothenburg". The institutional mapping used the graphic of previous OECD publication (OECD, 2017a).

**Figure 3.3. Institutional mapping of the multi-level governance of integration-related policy sectors in Amsterdam (Netherlands)**
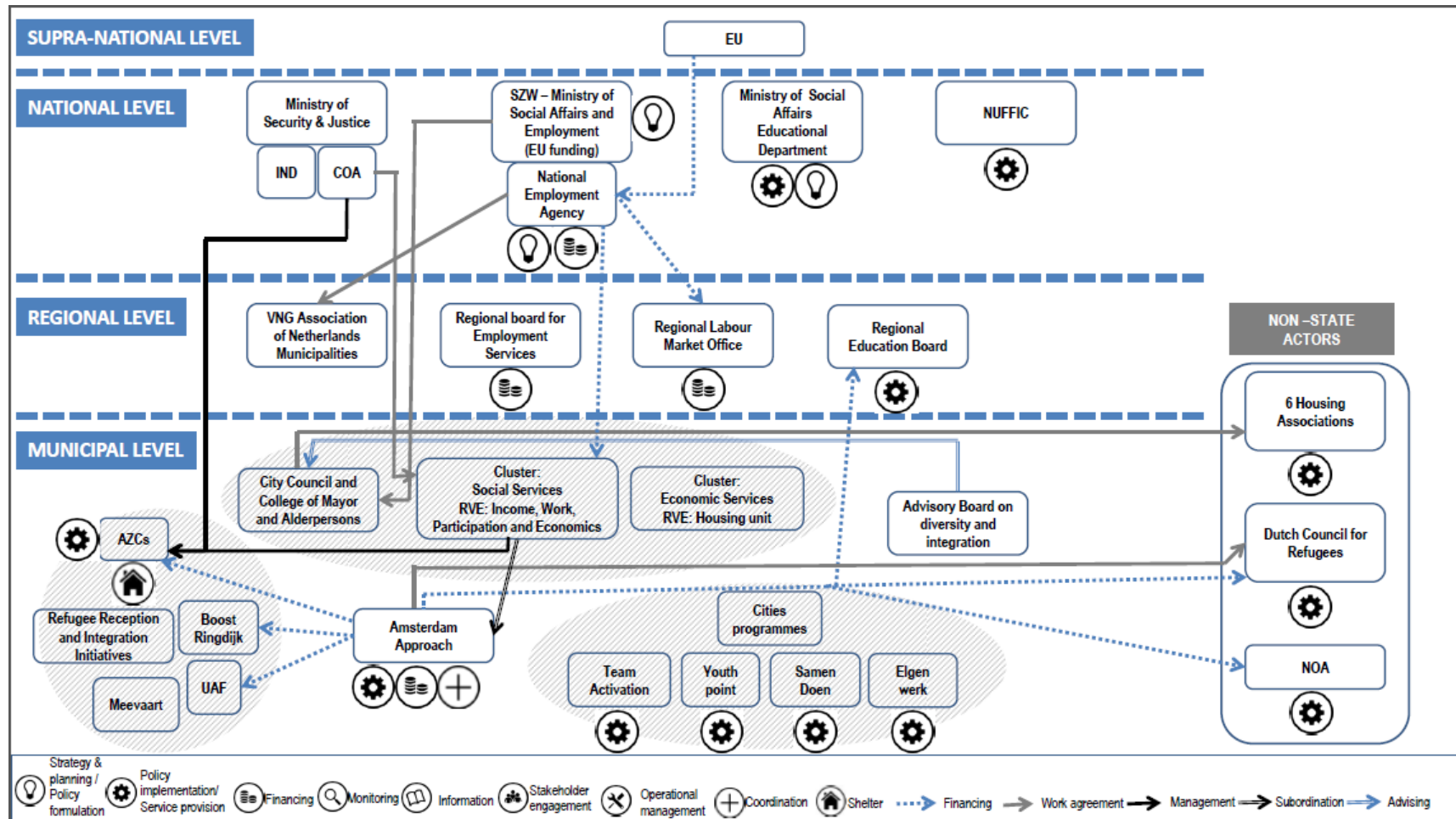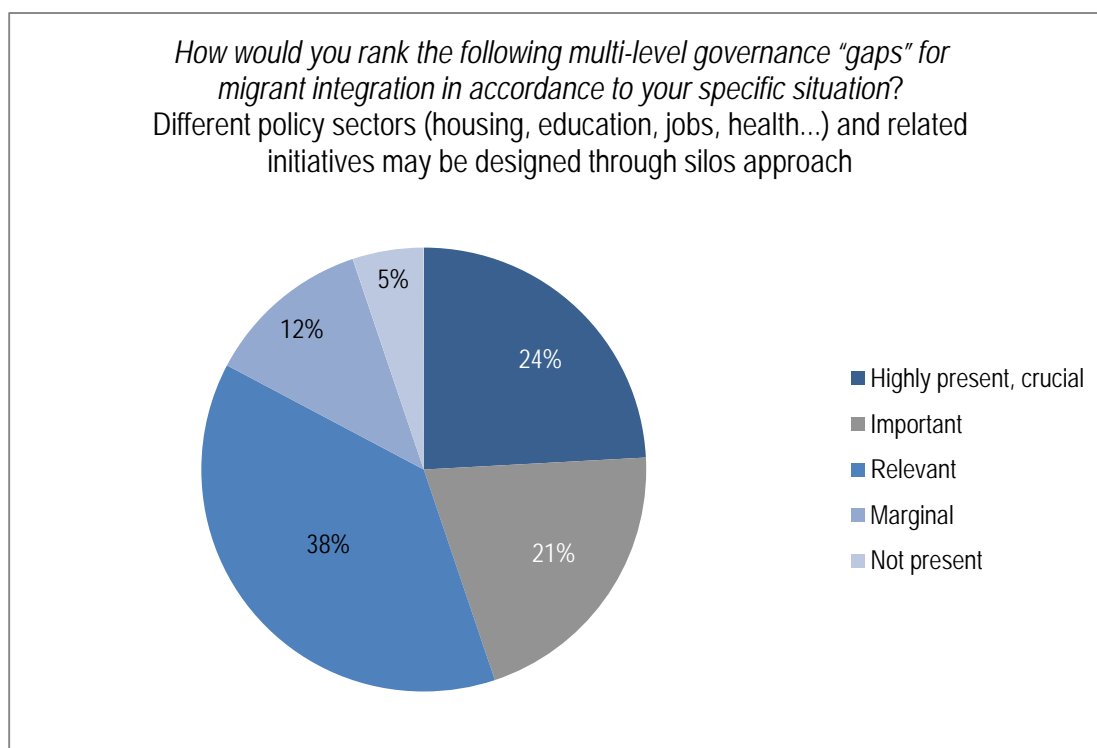


Source: OECD (forthcoming b), "Working together for local integration of migrants and refugees – Case Study of Amsterdam".

## Objective 2. Seek policy coherence in addressing the multi-dimensional needs of, and opportunities for, migrants at the local level

### *Observations: Why it is important and what to avoid*

Another important challenge in multi-level governance for the cities studied in this report is the policy gap, defined in the OECD questionnaire as "sectoral fragmentation of integration-related tasks at central level across ministries, as well as at local level across municipal departments and agencies". Different policy sectors (housing, education, jobs, health, etc.) and related integration-relevant initiatives are sometimes designed using a silo approach, missing cross-sectoral co-ordination and the potential synergies created through more complementary policies. In the study, 83% of the 72 cities perceive the policy gap as crucial, high or relevant. Not surprisingly, large cities such as the ones analysed through the case studies find it more challenging to achieve policy coherence than the small- and medium-sized cities in the sample. The number of services and agencies involved in policies and initiatives that relate to integration, as well as the diversity of funding streams, might constitute an obstacle to a coherent approach.

**Figure 3.4. Ranking policy gap**



*How would you rank the following multi-level governance "gaps" for migrant integration in accordance to your specific situation? Different policy sectors (housing, education, jobs, health...) and related initiatives may be designed through silos approach*

- Highly present, crucial
- Important
- Relevant
- Marginal
- Not present

*Note*: Multi-level governance gaps stem from asymmetries that arise across levels of government and public actors at all levels as one level depends on the other for information, skills, resources, or competences (Charbit and Michalun, 2009[2]). Policy gap is defined as: sectoral fragmentation of integration-related tasks across ministries, municipal departments and agencies.
*Source*: Authors' elaboration, based on case studies and OECD ad hoc questionnaire.

Gaps regarding coherence in integration policy can take different forms. They can translate into loopholes for migrants in their access to services because of administrative delays, or changes in regulatory frameworks, which suspend service provision.

Uncoordinated services fail to connect users' information, and they multiply administrative obstacles. Gaps can translate into lack of coherence when for example language classes are arranged in places that are inconvenient with public transport or during hours that are incompatible with daycare services for children. These gaps often result from difficulties or limited efforts to co-ordinate an integration approach across sectors of policy and lack of information-sharing across public agencies. Some other examples of policy gaps manifest in policies targeting the same group (migrants, newcomers, etc.) that are formulated in silos (i.e. youth employment, entrepreneurship, skills, etc.), resulting in overlapping, discontinuity of objectives, measures and actors. This lack of coherence in turn decreases the effectiveness of third-sector actors and NGOs that contribute to policy implementation. In a number of cities, non-state actors reported a lack of transversal co-ordination, which increases transaction costs and obliges them to divide their actions for a same group through several grants and to report on different indicators. Missed opportunities resulting from weak cross-sectoral co-ordination not only translate into sub-optimal adaptation of service delivery, but also into decreased chances of effectively integrating migrants into local society.

Local policy makers are the best placed to ensure that local strategies (e.g. economic development, social and business innovation, social inclusion, spatial planning, youth employment, inclusion of the elderly, cultural activities, etc.) take into account the presence of migrants in their community. The goal is not only to ensure equal treatment but also to make sure their contribution to local development is valued. The overall goal of more coherent local policies is to ensure that integration is facilitated simultaneously through different aspects of migrants' lives (e.g. labour integration, social, language, social assistance, etc.), enabling them to become self-reliant and empowering them as active members of their new societies.

Communication tools often accompany a clear vision and need strong leadership that intends to provide space and recognise the added value of migrant communities. Achieving policy coherence is facilitated by internal processes, such as creating incentives across departments to work together at co-ordinating integration across relevant policies, avoiding bureaucratic breakdowns and fragmentation. However local integration strategies, beyond the operational purpose of streamlining actions internally, contribute to inform the public opinion on what the municipality is doing with regards to integration.

Transparent communication about the concrete paths for integration that the municipality foresees is key to fighting potential uneasiness and misconceptions of the host communities towards migrants. Sometimes migrants are perceived as consuming resources and benefits that are meant to meet the needs of people born in that country. Yet only in rare - but significant - exceptions, municipalities shaped the consensus through a communication campaign expressing their integration objectives and positive integration outcomes. Many of the cities analysed prefer to remain silent with regard to their integration initiatives as they fear the media and political groups will misuse such information. Despite limited communication strategies, the NGOs interviewed during OECD fieldwork reported, in many cities, that there was a solid consensus among the local public in favour of refugee integration.

### *Which tools could work and what could be done better*

#### *1. Create a local standalone municipal department, or co-ordination bodies, to deal with the integration of marginalised groups, including migrants and children of migrant parents.*

This is a practice that recognises the importance of integration issues for the local administration, and it helps to mainstream integration policy across all municipal departments. This office/body (permanent or ad hoc) is often mandated to raise awareness and build capacity in all other departments, to develop "migration-sensitive" policies in their respective sectors of competence. All of the cities assessed in the case studies and 78% of the respondents of the ad-hoc survey sample, indicated that they had a standalone municipal entity to deal with integration and diversity – even though some deal only with refugees and asylum seekers. Some 21% of the entities of the ad-hoc-sample responses have their own budget, which enables them to track municipal spending on integration. 61% of the respondent cities have set up an inter-departmental committee for migrant integration in which designated persons from each department participate. In some cities, these committees might have specific tasks (e.g. monitoring health status of migrants, etc.).

The size of these entities varies from a mere advisor to full-fledged departments with their own budgets. Beyond raising awareness and building capacity across municipal departments, this entity can have a more operational mandate. In certain instances, it is tasked with running a "migration-sensitive" check when policies are proposed across all fields (*ex ante* evaluation stage). The entity would assess whether the proposed policy is adapted for migrant integration (i.e. migrant integration equality assessment/migrant integration impact assessment, etc.) according to municipally agreed standards (EUROCITIES, 2009). Equally, such bodies should avoid operating in a vacuum. Rather, they should seek direction and feedback from migrant and refugee populations as well as experts on integration from business and civil society organisations. However, only 47% of the ad-hoc sample indicated they had a permanent consultative committee involving non-institutional municipal actors. There could be an added value in setting up such interdepartmental entities to serve all marginalised groups. This would avoid social exclusion and would gather in one place all competencies and funding streams that the municipality has specifically dedicated to dealing with persons with specific needs.

- **Milan (Italy):** The Policy Unit for Immigration is responsible for the development of policies regarding migration, such as management related to migration flows, assisted voluntary return, migration health and assistance for vulnerable migrants.
- **Tampere (Finland):** The Head Co-ordinator of Immigrant affairs is responsible for co-ordinating services in all the policy sectors of the municipality. The co-ordinator does not have the main spending power in various service sectors.
- **Vienna:** The Municipal Department for Integration and Diversity (MA17) participates in all steering committees and departmental boards of the programmes related to migrant integration that the city implements. M17 has established contracts with relevant municipal departments to monitor the delivery of integration-related services.
- **Montreal:** Since 2016, the Montreal Newcomers' Integration Office (BINAM) brings together all services and funds allocated to the reception and integration of new immigrants, in order to implement the federal government's commitment at

the city level to accepting several tens of thousands of Syrian refugees in 2015 and 2016. Receiving USD 945 000 in funding for the year 2016, and with a dozen employees, BINAM enables the municipality of Montreal to develop internal expertise in the reception of immigrants, which it did not have previously. The municipality's objective is to offer an integration pathway through extended guidance focused on immigrants. This requires enough flexibility to tailor interventions to the profiles of the individuals and to the specific characteristics of the area, from a social, economic and cultural perspective. For instance it involves local employers to ensure that immigrants can have access to sustainable jobs (OECD, 2017b).

## 2. Utilise consultative mechanisms with migrant communities at local level

Municipalities have developed mechanisms to include migrant communities in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the policies that concern them. These mechanisms collect information on the most pressing issues that impact foreign communities. While recognised as important information platforms, sometimes their effectiveness in formulating proposals and advocating at higher levels of government is contested. However, some important results can be achieved in changing the regulative frameworks that impact migrants' access to certain services.

- **Athens:** in Greece, Migrant Integration Councils are entrusted with a consultative role on issues pertaining to migrant integration in local communities. Specifically, their role is to identify integration problems faced by third country nationals legally residing in the municipalities and submit recommendations and proposals to the municipal councils concerning the development of local actions for the smooth integration of migrants in local societies. The Migrant Integration Council of Athens (MIC) was established in 2011 and convenes at least once a month, bringing together the deputy mayor and six representatives of migrant communities. The MIC has no decision-making power; however, through this consultation, migrant communities effectively advocate for their grievances. For instance, the Philippine community lobbied very strongly to change the criteria to access municipal day care. In the past, both parents were required to have legal permits to benefit from day care but the municipality changed the requirement to one parent with a legal permit.
- **Berlin:** The State Advisory Board on Migration and Integration includes elected representatives of seven migrant organisations and makes recommendations and approves the appointment of the Integration Commissioner of the city of Berlin.

## 3. Create a standalone unit/ministry or steering group to deal with migration at central level

An inter-ministerial, national entity in charge of integration issues could be set up to form a coherent vision for migrant integration and to limit transaction costs for local authorities when dealing with higher levels of the government (to avoid multiple administrative requests, reduce the entry points for formulating and funding of integration related policies, etc.) . Coherent integration work across national ministries and agencies would strengthen the complementarities among relevant public services (work, health, education, etc.). However, a full-fledged unit or ministry for migration is not, as such, a guarantee for more coherence. More flexible co-ordination mechanisms could be more effective to avoid parallel delivery, ensuring agile communication between all state

agencies involved. For instance, setting up an inter-ministerial taskforce or working groups around specific migration-relevant policies, i.e. anti-discrimination policy, could be effective.

- **Germany:** The Commissioner for Immigration, Refugees and Integration acts as a ministry position within the Federal government. Its role is to advise the government, working across all ministries involved in migration-relevant policies, rather than act as a multi-level co-ordinator. It has the lead on designing the federal integration strategy and co-ordinates and evaluates the National Integration and Action Plan.
- **Greece:** The Ministry for Migration Policy was set up in 2016 incorporating under an autonomous portfolio the units responsible for third country nationals' immigration, reception, identification, asylum and integration issues, which previously belonged to different services of the Ministry of Interior.
- **Spain:** Inter-ministerial Commission on Asylum and Refugees was set up on 29 September 2015. It is an intra-governmental platform of the central government that reunites the ministries with competences in: home and foreign affairs, justice, immigration, reception, asylum seekers, and equality. It consists of the following ministries: Interior; Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation; Employment and Social Security; Health, Social Services and Equality; Education, Culture and Sport; and Defence.
- **France:** an Integration section was created in 2016 within the Interior Ministry. Through a participative process involving competent ministries, non-governmental organisations, sectorial start-ups and experts. This section assessed current refugee integration in France and formulated an Inter-Ministerial National Strategy for refugee Integration 2018-2020. The action plan foresees the establishment of an integration path based on an individualised support and adapted to personal vulnerabilities in the first months after status acquisition. Five sectorial axes and 60 actions are identified in the strategy: access to rights (1), access to housing (2), access to employment, to professional training and language learning (3), access to the health system (4) and access to culture, sports and social ties (5). Each Ministry involved will mobilize and manage the budget to implement the measures which fall within their remit. Results of the actions will be monitored with indicators. There will be three coordination bodies: (i) An inter-ministerial committee at the national level will meet every two months to ensure information-sharing on the implementation of the Action Plan; (ii) Local Steering committees will be run by the Prefects and include associations, deconcentrated services and agencies of the state, local authorities, businesses and NGOs; and (iii) an annual national conference will be held for concertation between public authorities and NGOs on refugee integration policies in France. The Strategic plan will be officially communicated in March 2018, following the parliamentary report drafted by the Member of Parliament Aurélien Taché on foreigners' integration. The implementation of the National Strategy for refugee integration will be led by the new Inter-Ministerial Delegate for refugee reception and integration, who will be designated in January 2018 in order to coordinate inter-ministerial policies on this matter.

## 4. Adopt a local integration strategy

Some 54% of the respondents indicate that their city has adopted a specific overarching strategy to migrant integration, aiming at co-ordinating the variety of policies. It emerges

from the sample that most of these strategies actually address refugees and asylum seekers and were prepared after the peak of arrivals in 2015.

The ambition of integration strategies can vary significantly. While most serve as political programmes, or communication tools, a few also include an action plan, and/or define concrete actions, indicators and responsibilities. In order to be operational, such action-oriented strategies require budget orientations and dedicated personnel. Their operationalisation could include, for instance, creating a database of the users of different services offered by the municipality.

It is important to involve different services (schools, employment agencies, health units, police, etc.) and non-state actors in the formulation of the integration policy, such as migrant associations, civil society organisations and business. In this regard, 50% of the surveyed cities taking part in the ad-hoc questionnaire ask their citizens and migrants what successful integration looks like. Some 45% of cities consult with NGOs in the formulation of their local strategies. If a national plan exists, the two instruments (national and local) should seek alignment when possible, in particular in terms of indicators.

Such strategies could follow a road-map approach consisting in following migrants' steps at critical junctures in their lives (e.g. change in residency status, family reunification, children schooling, etc.) ensuring that they have access to appropriate services. By following a local strategy based on the road-map approach, sectoral services will be delivered minding the gaps that migrants might face and inconsistencies in policy implementation could be avoided across municipal departments.

This can be facilitated by co-ordination and dialogue mechanisms, shared information systems, sharing of practices and building a sense of shared responsibility for all departments that deal directly with migrants.

Beyond mainstreaming migration-sensitive policies across all relevant municipal departments, a local integration policy must be instrumental to the development objectives set by the city. If informed by local economic needs and data on the characteristics of the migrant population settled in the city, such strategies can identify which enabling factors (i.e. education opportunities aligned with the local labour market, etc.) could allow migrants to fully contribute to the drivers of local development.

While most of the surveyed cities have developed an integration strategy prioritising integration through labour, others plug into the strategy different dimensions of integration, such as: participation and connecting migrants to local life through, for instance, cultural policy and sports (IOM-JMDI, 2015).

Many cities develop multi-sectoral plans – urban inclusive strategies – which include an integration dimension. These are tools to address problems that affect migrant and host communities through cross-sectoral measures such as protecting diversity and security, raising awareness about human rights, anti-discrimination, anti-radicalisation, inclusion and emancipation. Another example is cultural policies. Seven out of ten of the case-study cities say that their city's cultural policy has facilitated the integration of migrants.

- **Berlin** has developed and readjusted its integration concept several times since 2005. In 2010 the most recent Participation and Integration Act was established. This act as a binding power and it must be taken into account by all of the city departments, agencies and other subordinated bodies across sectors when

legislative and administrative actions are taken. Its main aim is to ensure that all people, regardless of their origin, have the same access to all city services.

- The city of **Vienna** has established its own guidelines for integration and diversity politics. Defining its integration policy as a set of measures that provide access to services across departments for the whole population. Following this principle the city's integration department (MA17) prepares reports that measure the integration of its migrant population in comparison to its native-born population. Further, the city evaluates its own institutional departments and services regarding diversity management. Part of this evaluation measures whether departments have included diversity and integration into their own strategy by setting benchmarks and suggested actions.

- **Gothenburg:** An example of programming across public sectors at the municipal level is the programme called ''Safe in Gothenburg''. Launched in 2016, it targets neighbours facing segregation challenges where the inhabitants had the perception that crime rates had increased and the trust towards public authority was decreasing. The municipality and the local police co-ordinate efforts regarding security issues and violence prevention in these areas. The programme follows a community-based approach. In fact, it builds on (i) inquiries from inhabitants, (ii) input from the police (e.g. indicators on high crime rates in certain areas) and (iii) input from the municipality's social services (e.g. low educational attainment or unemployment rates in different neighbourhoods). Based on a collection of such information, common problems were predefined and addressed in a joint action plan. Several factors are key in implementing such a project. These include facilitation with different groups at community level, human resources dedicated to the project (municipal personnel, social workers and police officers) and specific funding to implement the measures identified.

- **Gothenburg:** Examples of the city's strategy for sustainability are the 30 proposals for "reducing inequality in living conditions and creating good opportunities in life for everyone". The strategy goes beyond integration to address the level of inequalities across different groups particularly in living conditions and health. This cross-sectoral strategy includes policy measures in four focal areas: (i) Give every child a good start in life, (ii) provide children with good conditions throughout their school years, (iii) preparing individual for accessing successfully the job market work and (iv) create sustainable environments and communities that promote health.

### 5. Set up integration service hubs/one-stop shops

Service hubs/one-stop shops can help migrants find their way through the myriad administrative offices and services. They can also support coherent public action at the local level insofar as they are effectively connected to the administrative "machine" and are able to ensure follow-up of the request across municipal services (see "Objective 4. Design integration policies that take time into account throughout migrants' lifetimes and evolution of residency status").

### 6. Communicate the local vision around how to integrate people with a migrant background

Strong communication campaigns could contribute to fighting prejudice, showing win-win results and bringing together the host community with newcomers and long-standing migrant communities. Clear communication in this area also benefits public servants who

engage with migrant communities, and has an impact in closing the policy gaps. Here are some examples of communication at local and national level:

- **Amsterdam:** The municipality established four communication points in town where citizens could ask for information on the criteria used to allocate social housing to refugees. The municipality decided to prioritise refugees for public housing, enabling them to skip a waiting list of, on average, 8.7 years.
- **Barcelona:** The city trained municipality staff and members of civil society in techniques to deter rumours on the negative effects of migrants' presence in the city (Anti-Rumour Policy). The module provides evidence to counter the most common stereotypes against migrants and the people trained become trainers themselves and can intervene in everyday life when these discussions arise. A network of 400 organisations has been trained and in turn organises training sessions on these topics.
- **Berlin:** Since the fall of the Wall in 1989, the municipality has built its image as a welcoming city and advertises its diversity as a point of attractiveness for tourists and for skilled migrants from all over the world. Recently the city developed a campaign to encourage foreign citizens (citizens-to-be) to undertake the necessary administrative steps to naturalise as German citizens.
- **Altena:** Local political authorities made a public commitment that migrant integration is a key priority and an opportunity for the city's economic and societal development. In 2016, city hall repeatedly encouraged all citizens to help integrate newcomers. Communication tools included speeches in local institutions (e.g. local kindergartens) as well as interviews in the local and national press. All public servants, including the mayor, are easily approachable by every citizen through phone calls or individual meetings to discuss issues related to migrants.
- **Paris:** The city has developed a campaign for "Must-Go" zones in reaction to press describing some peripheral areas as "Don't-Go" zones.
- **Canada:** The Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Ministry[5] regularly gathers and communicates evidence of immigrants' active contribution to Canada's economy and society. As an example in February 2018 a report[6] requested by the Ministry found that 36% of children of immigrants held university degrees compared to 24% of their peers with Canadian-born parents.

## Objective 3. Ensure access to, and effective use of, financial resources that are adapted to local responsibilities for migrant integration

### *Observations: Why it is important and what to avoid*

In general the "costs" of integration have to be covered up-front, at local level, by authorities providing local public services. Municipalities may recover costs when migrants become self-reliant and able to contribute to the local economy, in particular through taxes (OECD, 2016a). Particularly in times of increased influx of migrants, city services might be overburdened and require more financing than the ones allocated for the ongoing budget cycle. This calls for flexible mechanisms and possibly an emergency fund available to increase the resilience of local authorities. Potential mismatches between spending at local level on one side and local taxes and national grants on the other would need to be further assessed.

Although there is not an ideal level of available funding for integration policy at the local level, the survey's findings show that funding can work as strong leverage for

co-ordination in this area. Multi-year and flexible funds for integration purposes available at the local level can increase co-ordination across levels (i.e. regional, national, supranational) with the ultimate goal of aligning integration objectives. More autonomy in financing 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.

Some 80% of the cities in the sample of 72 cities estimated that the funding gap is "highly present", "important" or "relevant" with regards to integration policies. The gap is expressed as the "city's budget for migrant policies, whether through local taxes or national budget provisions, might be uncertain and/or insufficient". To the question "which competence would you like to reallocate at city level with regard to migrant integration?" most of the time cities mentioned they would like to directly manage the budget for integration activities.

**Figure 3.5. Ranking funding gap**
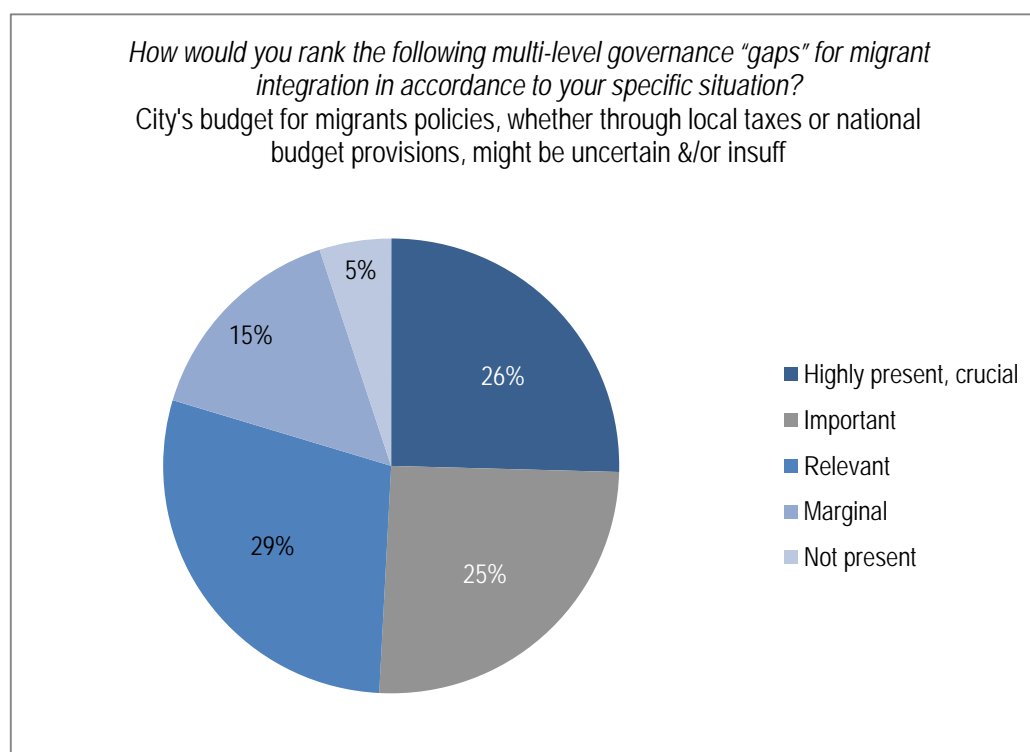


*Note*: Multi-level governance gaps stem from asymmetries that arise across levels of government and public actors at all levels as one level depends on the other for information, skills, resources, or competences (Charbit and Michalun, 2009[2]). The funding gap is defined as, unstable or insufficient revenues undermining effective implementation of (i) integration polices at the subnational level, (ii) cross-sectoral policies, and (iii) instruments requested.
*Source*: Authors' elaboration, based on Case-Studies and ad hoc questionnaire.

Funding capacities for integration policy at the subnational level depend on the one hand on the level of the responsibilities and associated budget of the local level for integration-related policies (education, health, housing, etc.). On the other hand, they depend on the level of national transfers (with more or less strings attached to grants), supranational funding or local revenues that municipalities collect. The combination of these sources

will define the liberty in designing place-based integration policies and the stability of the funding with implications for third-party implementers operating in this field (NGOs, third sector organisations, etc.). Adequate and long-term resources from national or supranational levels are crucial, especially for those cities that cannot count on significant local revenues. In the case of cities that are also *Länder* or Department or Province (meaning intermediary level between municipal and regional ones), they are often responsible for more social migration-related policy areas (and funding) and can maximise the complementarities across them. Previous OECD work observed that many transfers from central government to subnational governments explicitly include the number of immigrants and refugees living in a jurisdiction in the allocation formula. Other systems, especially in federal countries, rely on local tax-raising capacities (OECD, 2017b).

This study observed funding overlaps, i.e. when similar integration activities are funded on a same territory by different levels of government, targeting the same group without strategic co-ordination. For instance, in several cities, local authorities recognised that they were not aware of the entire offer of language courses available to newcomers provided by different public/private providers through national and supranational sources of funding.

The present study did not focus on calculating the costs of integration at local level; instead, it analyses available funding and their management across levels. Estimating integration costs at local level would have to take into account different strands of expenditures (Committee of the Regions, 2012): percentage of universal services (delegated by the national authorities) delivered to migrants, the cost of additional migration-sensitive measures undertaken at local level for mainstreaming universal services, and the cost of local measures that specifically target migrant groups (e.g. language classes in kindergartens for migrant children, etc.).

Interaction with non-state actors, including private citizens, charities and foundations is critical for strengthening cities' capacities to integrate newcomers. Business sector investments can advance the impact, effectiveness and scale of integration activities at local level. Although there is great potential, from the evidence gathered, the institutionalised business sector rarely contributes to municipal integration activities. It happens more on an occasional basis: specific projects directly financing schools or grassroots initiatives outside formal collaboration with local authorities.

Other sources of funding that local authorities can seek for integration policies are supranational funding, in particular EU funds for European countries. Most EU funds prioritise social inclusion among their objectives and therefore can be instrumental also for migration-related activities. However, only 35% of respondent cities estimated that the European Union increased the level of funding for integration available at local level. Almost 40% of the surveyed cities do not think that European funding provides incentives for co-ordination with higher levels of government and with NGOs. These findings confirm what previous work (Benton, 2017) had highlighted: with the exception of Erasmus+ and a percentage of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)[7] (Urban Innovative Actions), EU funds often don't directly target migration-related activities at municipal level.

---

**Box 3.1. The European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) and the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF)**

*Several EU funding streams – such as the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) either directly target migrants, or indirectly support their integration through social inclusion, education, labour market-related investments and other infrastructure investments.* Generally these funds are distributed to national authorities of member states. For instance, ESF regulation specifically targets migrants as one of the groups eligible for support. Under ESF, investment prioritises active inclusion or marginalised communities; some of the eligible activities include training for asylum seekers (e.g. language classes or family counselling), support for anti-discrimination campaigns, and administrative capacity building for public administrations and NGOs that help migrants, etc. (European Parliament, 2016). The AMIF is the only funding instrument targeting specifically third-country nationals. This instrument could be used for emergency actions as well as for funding long-term integration projects, awareness raising activities, language courses, training, etc.

In September 2015, Commissioner Cretu, from the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, encouraged Member States (MS) to re-programme funding under their ERDF operational programmes to address the needs and the integration of migrants. The MS, (EESC, 2015) argued that EU funding, including the ESF, should be adjusted according to the extent to which they must shoulder the responsibility and cost of integrating refugees. Also the CEMR (2015) and the Committee of the Regions regretted in their opinion in December 2015 that no specific resources were set aside to properly address the challenges at local and regional levels. These pushes call for including the integration of migrants among the targets of cohesion funds. According to the initial EU spending plans for the next budgetary period (2021-27) the integration of migrants will be taken into account when distributing development support. This would require a territorial integration methodology including: baseline analysis of characteristics and needs of migrant population, assessment of the division of power for the relevant policy sectors that would trigger integration at local level, setting priorities; implementing incentives for multi-level governance approaches and priority selections and developing mechanisms to monitor the performance.

*Source:* Author elaboration.

---

**Box 3.2. An example of ERDF re-programming to address refugee needs: Brussels-Capital Region**

In 2014 Brussels-Capital Region issues a call for proposal for projects funded through the ERDF (European Regional Development Fund). Médecins du Monde (MDM) an NGO specialised in health services, submitted a proposal to strengthen access to health for all vulnerable groups by setting up integrated health centres in the city. At that time, the proposal wasn't selected. In 2015, in light of the increased need (Brussels has been a key transit point for migrants) and in response to the DG Regio's appeal to all managing authorities to reorient ERDF funds to actions related to migrant and refugee integration, the Brussels-Capital Government decided to modify

---

in September 2015 the 2014-2020 ERDF Operational Programme.

Through this modification, MDM received a EUR 7.4 million grant to develop a health offer for migrants and refugees. Médecins du Monde transformed its original project proposal into one oriented towards newcomers and their specific health needs including psychological needs. The health offer funded through the grant includes a mobile outreach team that goes where newcomers gather in the city to respond to their most immediate health problems. It also includes the health services in two new integrated welcome centres expressly opened for migrants but accessible also to all the other groups. In these centres, migrants will find support for addressing specific health problems as well as guidance to solve their administrative situation. This timely grant was possible thanks to the prompt analysis of the local needs by the managing authority of the Brussels capital region and the support of the European Commission in amending the operating programme.

*Source*: Authors' elaboration from the information provided by the Brussels-Capital Region.

---

**Box 3.3. Toolkit on the use of EU funds for the integration of people with a migrant background (2018)**

The European Commission is continuing to look at practical ways to assist Member States when it comes to further integrating people with a migrant background. In this respect, Member States have several EU funds at their disposal.

Based on the operational lessons learnt in the past few years, the European Commission has published a "Toolkit on the use of EU funds for the integration of people with a migrant background". It aims to support national and regional funding authorities in reinforcing synergies between EU funds under shared management when implementing integration policies via those initiatives that place the needs of the end beneficiaries at the centre of the support.

To reinforce the efficiency of EU funds, the toolkit identifies a number of steps to be followed, including the alignment of EU funds with evidenced-based national/local strategic policy frameworks. The toolkit also identifies specific areas of intervention pertaining to employment, education, housing, reception and access to basic mainstream public services. The measures designed by the funding authorities, for instance in the programmes and calls for proposals, aiming at integrating people with a migrant background should take into account the following principles: non-discrimination, gender equality, individualising the response to needs, empowerment, integrated approach, long-term perspective, and contingency measures.

*Source*: EU Commission, Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy.

### *Which tools could work and what could be done better*

#### *1. Conduct local assessments of the costs of services and integration-related activities*

Conducting expenditure assessments to combine with improved data on the presence and characteristics of migrant populations would help cities have a clear dashboard of the areas of spending and estimate future needs at municipal level. On this basis, appropriate sources of funding could then be identified.

#### *2. Work more directly with key working groups/authorities managing funding (including EU funds) at central/federal/regional and local levels of government in order to receive contributions for cities' integration strategies*

These working groups are instrumental to consider potential complementarities and overlap among investments across areas touching on integration, social inclusion and the economy. Co-funding mechanisms would incentivise co-ordination. These working groups/authorities would be well placed to design bundled, un-earmarked and multi-year funding that municipalities can use for multiple social purposes, including for migration-related programmes.

- In west **Sweden**, the EU funds belong to the "Structural Fund Partnership" (SFP), which has its secretariat in the Västra Götaland region. The SFP decides on funding and co-ordinates calls for proposals based on specific regional needs or intentions. This key actor is composed of members from Västra Götaland as well as neighbouring Halland, the county government, the municipalities, labour market stakeholders, universities, the employment agency and civil society actors.
- **Paris:** The State (Ministry of Interior) and the Ville de Paris co-financed the Centre Humanitaire Paris-Nord (La Bulle) at Porte de la Chapelle, where newcomers are hosted for ten days (in principle) while filing their applications as asylum seekers. It is managed by the NGO EMMAÜS Solidarité but also involves other initiatives and NGOs providing public services.
- **Brno** (Czech Republic): The position of Migrant and Refugee Advisor was created in 2016. The advisor is responsible for designing projects according to the city plan of social inclusion and getting funding for them, mainly from the European Social Fund (ESF) and national funds.

#### *3. Encourage supranational and national levels of government to set enabling conditions for subnational governments to exploit their fundraising potential*

Initiatives of this type would help finance long-term integration strategies, i.e. by participating in co-financing arrangements with EU funds, by mobilising private sector investments, foundations, etc. Many of the cities participating in the study pleaded for financing mechanisms through which cities could directly access ERDF, ESF and AMIF, and potentially other blended funds, to implement activities and investments related to migrant and refugee inclusion at local level, considering also that managing authorities sometimes don't have the capacity to absorb all the funding allocated within the spending cycle (UNHCR and ECRE, 2018).

- The Partnership on the inclusion of migrants and refugees under the **Urban Agenda for the European Union**[8] provides cities with the opportunity to contribute to the EU integration agenda. The focus of the partnership is to

improve access to European funding, improve EU-regulations and promote knowledge exchange. One of the eight actions that the partnership developed as part of its Action Plan, is exploring possibilities to create financing facilities through which AMIF, ESF and potentially other EU funds could be blended with European Investment Bank (EIB) loans and thus made directly available to cities and financial intermediaries to implement investments in specified areas concerning migrant and refugee inclusion

- A proposal has been submitted to EU institutions (Platform, 2017) that asks for more funding for those localities that welcome refugees. The funds should cover the costs related to integration as well as increasing investments in the local infrastructure targeting all vulnerable groups.

- The city of **Vienna** will receive funding from the European Union under the aegis of the Urban Innovative Action Programme (ERDF) for supplementary infrastructure and strategies for integrating and empowering refugees.

- **Netherlands:** As a result of the Participation Law (Participatiewet) adopted in 2015 municipalities now receive bundled funding (BUIG) for multiple social welfare regulations. Surpluses can be allocated elsewhere, while shortages have to be supplemented by the municipality itself. In Amsterdam, this provided an incentive to reintegrate people as soon as possible, exceeding the target to drive 4 200 persons out of the benefit scheme and managing to achieve 6 000 persons in 2015.

## 4. Put co-financing schemes in place, not only across levels of government, but also between partner municipalities

This type of scheme would help to ensure commitment to a shared project and pool resources with neighbours.

- In the **Gothenburg** region, a coalition of 13 municipalities shares resources to increase the availability and quality of public services for refugees. In particular they have shared the provision of services targeting refugees in the area of housing, education, skills validation, etc.

- In the small municipality of **Altena**, sharing tasks with neighbouring municipalities has proven effective. For instance, the adult education centre in Lennetal, which provides language and vocational courses, is partly funded by the municipalities of Altena, Neuenrade, Plettenberg, Werdohl and Nachrodt.

## 5. Use funding from the non-state sector more strategically at local level, exchanging information on needs and innovative solutions

Municipalities 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 (EUROCITIES, 2009). In this sense, crowdfunding for local public goods can be effective (Charbit and Desmoulins, 2017). For instance, local authorities could use private sector investments to pilot initiatives that can have a leverage effect, attracting more long-term public and private investments. Such initiatives should be closely monitored to assess their impact and whether they can be applied in a different setting.

- **Amsterdam:** An agreement with 40 big private companies was implemented to support refugee access to the labour market (Refugee Talent Hub).[9]

- **Athens:** The Athens Partnership (AP) was launched in 2015 – with lead support from the Stavros Niarchos Foundation – to facilitate innovative public programmes in Athens, including the municipality, private sector partners and global philanthropic leaders. Among other initiatives, AP manages the implementation of the Migrant and Refugee Coordination Centre & Observatory (MRCC&O). This is a coordination mechanism that brings together the City of Athens and key stakeholders active in the provision of services to migrants and refugees (international and national NGOs, migrant and refugee fora and the private sector.
- **Paris:** Launched by a non-profit organisation aiming to empower refugees in France named "Singa", this online homestay network for refugees raised EUR 16 175 in November 2015 on the civic crowdfunding platform Co-city. People were able to either donate or host refugees. The non-profit organisation received around 10 000 responses from people willing to host refugees. Due to the humanitarian emergency, the platform also received additional private and public funding to manage this project.
- Further, the municipality of **Paris** started an innovative partnership with the non-profit civic crowdfunding platform Co-city (the same supporting SINGA fund-raising efforts described above) in September 2016 within the framework of the Participatory Budget of Paris. This experimental partnership aims at increasing the capacities of residents from working class neighbourhoods to get their projects financed through the participatory budget vote campaign. These projects will aim at reducing territorial inequalities in neighbourhoods often characterised by the presence of large migrant communities. In 2017 one of the projects voted through the Participatory budget (19 000 votes) will allocate EUR 500 000 to combat the exclusion of migrants and vulnerable people.[10]

Examples of **business sector initiatives** that aim to support refugees include:

- Open Homes, a partnership launched in June 2017 between Airbnb and the IRC (International Rescue Committee), to offer short-term stays to people in need: refugees, evacuees, and others in times of need, for free.[11]
- In January 2017, MasterCard and the Open Society Foundation announced a plan to create a social enterprise to accelerate economic and social development for vulnerable communities around the world, especially refugees and migrants.[12]

*6. Explore possibilities with international financial institutions (IFIs), which have more and more expertise in layering financing at local level*

This funding source is particularly crucial for integration-related investments that cities might not have the capacity to undertake

## Block 1 Addendum. Shifts in the governance and funding of the policies for refugees and asylum seekers

The peak in arrivals of refugee and asylum seekers since 2015 had multiple repercussions in terms of multi-level governance of the policies relevant to address the needs of this group, in all the countries assessed through the case studies. This section screens reception and integration measures for these groups through the three dimensions of multi-level governance analysed above: multi-level co-ordination, policy coherence and funding mechanisms.

The magnitude of the 2015 arrivals and responses tested cities' resilience. Refugee-targeted approaches have been adopted throughout the cities responding to the survey, in order to address the arrival of this large group with similar needs and for whom protection is guaranteed by their status. It is important to emphasise that this approach is in contrast to migrant integration measures that are based on individual needs, which have been implemented in the majority of cities analysed. The target group based approach is intended in the majority of the cases as a bridge to a situation where refugees can achieve economic, social and political integration without relying on parallel services.

Reception and integration strategies implemented since 2015 have created new ways to cope with needs of vulnerable groups. It is important to assess the impact of the new actions undertaken and to use these lessons to shape future policies for social cohesion that cities may implement in favour of different vulnerable groups beyond refugee. The goal is to find ways to remove obstacles to access to universal services and thus ensure more equal societies. This report attempts to explore this question based on ongoing OECD work (OECD, forthcoming c).

### Trends in multi-level co-ordination of policies for asylum seekers and refugees

**Strategic use of targeted policies:** The research observed, across all levels of government, that specific policies have been formulated to address the needs of refugees and asylum seekers (e.g. housing, early capacity assessment, job coaching, administrative counselling, etc.), which stands in contrast to a trend favouring integration via universal policies.

**Shift in competences across levels of government:** Central governments took the decision to rebalance territorial competences with regard to integration and reception of these groups. This represents a disruption due to the peak in arrivals. In some cases this implied centralising powers; in other cases, decentralising them. For instance, Sweden issued the Reception for Settlement Act on 1 March 2016, centralising the power to decide how many recognised refugees (as well as resettled refugees) will be assigned to a municipality, which then has the obligation to receive and organise accommodation for them (for four years). This decision was taken to spread hosting responsibilities across the country more evenly. At the same time, the central level devolved competency for housing to the municipal level. Equally, in the Netherlands the responsibility for refugee housing has been devolved to the local level (see "Objective 10. Secure access to adequate housing").

**Dispersal policies as a multi-level governance mechanism:** Dispersal mechanisms for asylum seekers and – more rarely refugees – define a distribution method at national level for assigning persons in need of protection across the territory. Reception and integration facilities are made available at the local level to host the persons assigned. Multi-level co-ordination is needed at both stages: when the decision is made as to where refugees/asylum seekers will reside and then the organisation and preparation of facilities. Municipalities are either involved or asked to implement policies without being consulted. Non state actors play a key role in the implementation of these mechanisms in all the city analysed.

In general, most of the countries analysed already had dispersal mechanisms in place before 2015. In many cases they have been updated to face increased numbers. Three categories of dispersal mechanisms for asylum seekers and refugees can be distinguished across the sample, based on the distribution criteria that they adopted: 1) policies that apply a proportionality criteria for distribution (based on local gross domestic product [GDPs], population, presence of previous applications, etc.), 2) policies that distribute

asylum seekers according to availability of places in the reception centres, 3) more complex dispersal mechanisms, introduced to match newcomers (in this case, recognised refugees) with the labour needs of the location where they will be hosted. So far, the Netherlands and Sweden have applied these mechanisms matching characteristics of the territories with the characteristics of individuals (selected examples of dispersal policies are explained in Box 3.4). Further analysis is needed to estimate the impact in terms of newcomers' employability in the local market, thus avoiding second movements. Also, as previous OECD work has observed, employment-related dispersal may entail upfront costs, particularly if new housing needs to be provided in designated areas (OECD, 2016b). A further distinction is made between first and second reception mechanisms (see "Objective 10. Secure access to adequate housing"), the first referring to the allocation and reception of asylum seekers during the time their asylum claim is being assessed, and the second to the allocation and reception of recognised refugees.

One example of multi-level co-ordination of asylum seekers and refugees dispersal is the Protection System for Asylum and Refugees (SPRAR) system adopted in 2002 in **Italy**. This integrated dispersal and reception model goes beyond providing emergency assistance, and is aimed at achieving socio-economic integration. It consists of a network of local authorities, civil society organisations (CSOs), third sector entities and associations that design and run integrated reception projects at local level. The local level gathers the projects that the different actors propose and, after assessment, submits the selected ones to the national level, establishing the number of asylum seekers and refugees that the city can receive. The Ministry of the Interior allocates a quota of newcomers to the candidate city and provides funding accordingly. The system has buckled under the weight of the rise in arrivals and most of the newcomers are received through the emergency reception centres (CAS) that are directly set up and managed by the central government through prefectures (deconcentrated services of the central government).

**Reception-related Multi-level dialogue mechanisms:** In some cases the peak in refugee and asylum seekers arrivals created opportunities to improve multi-level dialogue. In the **Netherlands** a specific taskforce – known as the joint Refugee Work and Integration Task Force (RWITF) - was established to co-ordinate major stakeholders and define the responsibilities in refugee and asylum seekers reception and integration. The parties regularly cooperating, under this umbrella taskforce, include all relevant ministries and agencies, the association of municipalities (VNG), the G4 coalition of four large cities (Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht )  as well as social partners and key NGOs. The work of the RWITF supports the website[14] that provides information about legislation, policy, support options, and best practices. The target audience of the website are employers, educational institutions, and social organisations. In **Paris**, the municipality has set up a multi-stakeholder steering committee (Comité de Pilotage Porte de la Chapelle) involving NGOs like EMMAÜS Solidarité, national agencies responsible for asylum (Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration [OFII], etc.) and the Prefecture (representing the state) to co-ordinate all actions needed to enrol applicants who arrive in Paris in the national asylum system. Between autumn 2016 and March 2018 newcomers were hosted for ten days (in principle) in a temporary reception hub co-funded by the city and the Ministry of Interior. In Portugal a multi-institutional working group was created in 2015, consisting of different ministries (Foreign Affairs, Immigration and Borders Service, Social Security, Employment, Health, Education) as well as municipalities and NGOs aiming at harmonizing actions and strategies undertaken by different actors with regard to refugees' reception and integration.

**Box 3.4. Impact of dispersal policies on integration perspectives for asylum seekers and refugees**

There is considerable debate in the literature about how dispersal mechanisms impact the integration outcomes of refugees. For the most part, evidence does not include arrivals since 2015, although a few studies that draw on more recent data have been published recently. In general, the literature finds mixed evidence on the impact of dispersal mechanisms. While some scholars emphasise the positive potential of dispersal in terms of avoiding residential segregation of newcomers in cities (Andersson et al., 2010 and European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2007), others point to the negative effect of fragmentation on their earnings as a consequence of creating distance from newcomers' ethnic networks (Damm, 2009) and from attractive labour markets (Zimmermann, 2016). Beside labour market integration, dispersion seems to have negative effects also on mental health (Bakker et al., 2016) and education quality, as children in less ethnically diverse schools outside major urban centres might face more racism and discrimination (Bloch and Hirsch, 2017). Evidence also points to the need for an integrated approach, in order to favour the long-term stay of newcomers in the city where they have been assigned. It is important to integrate all family and not just the parent(s) who might be working; in this respect, providing education for migrants' children and jobs for their spouses is crucial (Harbo et al., 2017).

This mixed evidence suggests that the integration of individuals who arrived in a place as the result of dispersal mechanisms might be more complex as compared to the ones who arrived spontaneously. This reinforces the starting point of this report: there is no single 'golden rule' for effective integration, and dispersal mechanisms are not the 'perfect solution' to avoid concentration of newcomers in urban areas and lower well-being outcomes. Future studies should examine in greater depth the push and pull factors that engender continuous migration within the EU. This includes, for example, migrants who settle in more remote or smaller communities and then move to metropolitan areas because their needs are not being met in the smaller communities. Indeed, they may be seeking support from urban communities with the same ethno-cultural background.

One hypothesis is that localities willing to attract migrants, as an opportunity for their development, may influence their decision to stay through placed-based policies for integration. In this sense, local policies can better prepare the ground for receiving newcomers and make integration more effective, including in smaller sized municipalities and rural places. This will imply, for instance, preparing housing solutions, matching information about newcomers' profiles and job market needs, as well as other measures analysed in the checklist.

*Source:* Piccinni, A. and P. Proietti (forthcoming), OECD Working Paper: "Multi-level governance of humanitarian migrants dispersal: from reception mechanisms to local integration policies".

**Box 3.5. Selected examples of policies for dispersing asylum seekers and refugees across national territories**

In **Austria**, the federal government and the regional governments share the responsibility to distribute asylum seekers across the regions. A specific type of legally binding agreement between the federal government and the regional governments is in place in all areas of shared responsibility. Asylum seekers are distributed across all federal regions according to the size of the population in the region (Source: Ministry of Interior [Bundesminister für Inneres]).

In **Germany**, asylum-seekers are received in the closest reception facility of the Federal Land in which they arrive. Such a facility may be responsible for temporary as well as longer-term accommodation. Allocation to a specific reception facility is based on current capacities. It also makes a difference in which branch of the Federal Office or in which arrival centre the asylum-seeker is processed, as well as the the respective country of origin.

Depending on the country of origin, asylum-seekers can be accommodated in reception facilities for up to six months, or until a decision is taken on the application. The distribution takes place according to quotas using the so-called "Königstein Key". The Königstein Key is based on current tax revenues (weighted 2/3) and the number of inhabitants (weighted 1/3) in each Länder. The distribution quota is calculated on an annual basis by the Federation-*Länder* Commission and determines which share of asylum-seekers is received by each Federal Land. As for costs, *Länder* are in general obliged to fully cover costs for basic sustenance of asylum seekers. However, due to acute financial pressure from the increasing volume of asylum seekers, the federal government agreed to provide block grants for accommodation and social benefits for the period 2016-2018.

Then, within some *Länder*, there is also a second, regulated dispersal, across municipalities. In this case, dispersal is based on municipalities' population and area and costs are both paid by the *Länder* and the municipality (implementation of the national rule vis-à-vis the *Länder*).

The management of the hosting in Germany is mostly outsourced, locally, to NGOs, welfare organisations and private actors. Until 2015 the private component was substantial, yet a debate about privatisation begun; as a result, public tendering schemes started being more transparent and in some *Länder* (e.g. Berlin) it was decided to establish a state-owned company to complement the private component of receiving asylum seekers.

In 2016 the new integration law ("Integrationsgesetz") came into effect. It includes a condition of fixed residence ("Wohnsitzauflage") obliging persons with recognised protection status to stay in the Land in which they have applied for asylum for three years. Within the *Länder*, dispersal is again regulated by the *Länder* government and can include the requirement to reside in a particular municipality. Exempt are people who have found a job that makes social security contributions or who are in vocational training in another place. Further, hardship cases (e.g. family reunification) can lead to an exemption.

In the **Netherlands**, people requesting asylum apply at the Immigration and Naturalisation Service (IND) Application Centre. The Central Agency for the

Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA) then receives them at the central reception location in Ter Apel (Province of Groningen) for registration and identity control. The Municipal Health Services carry out the mandatory tuberculosis (TB) screening. After these inspections, asylum seekers have at least six days to rest and prepare for the request for asylum. After the TB screening the asylum seekers move to one of the process reception locations where they continue the preparations for their request for asylum. These process reception locations are always close to the Immigration and Naturalisation Service's Application Centres, where the asylum seekers filed their requests for asylum. The first part of the asylum procedure is the General Asylum Procedure. At the end of this procedure the Immigration and Naturalisation Service informs asylum seekers whether their request has been granted or refused, or whether a further investigation is necessary. If their request has been accepted, asylum seekers move from the process reception location to an asylum seekers' centre, where the next phase of the asylum procedure begins. If the asylum seeker has been granted a protection status and a residence permit, COA links the status holder to a municipality near the asylum seekers' centre. Every six months, the central government decides how many asylum residence permit holders each municipality must house. Larger municipalities have to take in more asylum residence permit holders than smaller ones (Government of the Netherlands). The former asylum seekers stay at the asylum seekers' centre until they can move into their self-contained home. If the Immigration and Naturalisation Service needs more time to decide on the request for asylum, asylum seekers begin the Extended Asylum Procedure and stay at the asylum seekers' centre until the procedure is completed. Finally, if the asylum seekers have been refused a residence permit, they may stay at the asylum seekers' centre for a maximum of four weeks. They can use this time to prepare for their departure from the Netherlands (Source: COA).

*Source:* Proietti P. and P. Veneri (forthcoming), "Localisation of asylum seekers at subnational level", OECD Working Paper, OECD Publishing, Paris.

### *Policy coherence in addressing asylum seekers and refugee reception and integration*

**City reception strategies and communication plans:** In parallel, or sometimes in the absence of, national reception and integration strategies, some cities developed or updated their own response to refugee arrivals. These mechanisms seek cross-sectoral co-operation and often involve civil society organisations in charge of organising accommodation and early integration activities. As mentioned, responses to refugee arrivals represent a shift, at all levels of government, from universal approaches to targeted ones. Often cities based these specific responses on the lessons learnt from the past. Acknowledging the long time that refugees take before integrating the job market, cities started to provide integration measures (e.g. language courses, skills assessment, etc.) as early as possible. The mechanisms will be described in detail in Objective 4. Design integration policies that take time into account throughout migrants' lifetimes and evolution of residency status. This shift towards early tailored policies for refugees, recognising their specific needs in terms of labour and social integration, has to be monitored and closely evaluated. The results of such an evaluation will influence the future approaches to integration at local level and estimate the sustainability of including

migrants and non-migrant groups with similar needs in the specific measures for integration of refugees.

One example of a municipal reception and integration strategy is the Paris 18-point plan launched for reception in October 2015 ("Plan de mobilisation de la communauté de Paris pour l'accueil des réfugiés") and the Paris Strategy for refugee reception and integration drafted in November 2017. Both initiatives were launched by the deputy mayor in charge of solidarity, fight against exclusion, refugee reception and child protection. Co-ordination for these strategies was sought internally and externally. Several departments of the city are represented in the platform (health, education, labour, culture, etc.) that monitors the 18-point plan under the co-ordination of the deputy mayor. Civil society organisations have been consulted during bi-annual meetings during the implementation of the 18-point plan and are currently involved in the formulation of the integration strategy. The integrated strategy focuses on four aspects including language and labour inclusion as well as social, cultural and inclusion through sports activity. Civil society organisations expressed the wish to make co-ordination more effective also at the implementation level, avoiding separate calls for proposals from different municipal departments. They also wish to set up thematic platforms to co-ordinate actors operating in favour of asylum seekers and refugees. Despite the efforts, reception mechanisms remain insufficient in Paris, which is confronted with very high numbers of asylum seekers, or persons that have been rejected asylum in other EU countries and who struggle to find space in the reception centres.

**Specific units or teams have been set up at municipal level to co-ordinate the arrival of refugee and asylum seekers.** Across almost all case studies, a specific entity has been put in place within the municipal administration to respond to the increased needs of receiving and integrating asylum seekers and refugees. In some cases, it is a political appointment (e.g. Deputy Mayor for Asylum Seekers and Refugees Co-ordination in **Athens**); in other cases, a team has been assigned tasks related to this group. An interesting case is the "chain" management model adopted to implement the "**Amsterdam approach**" (see "Objective 4. Design integration policies that take time into account throughout migrants' lifetimes and evolution of residency status"), which capitalises on the experiences in dealing with migrants of all relevant city departments, designing a project-management model where all sectors are represented.

---

**Box 3.6. Multi-disciplinary Steering Committee in Sarcelles, France**

In 2014, the municipality of Sarcelles (60 000 inhabitants), a city in the northern suburbs of Paris (Ile-de-France), characterised for receiving successive migration and refugee inflows since the 1960s, proactively offered to welcome Christians fleeing the violence in the areas of Mosul and Nineveh in Iraq when the French government decided to offer asylum to vulnerable minorities from this area. The national mechanism immediately granted refugee status to applicants in the Erbil consulate who could prove they had a host family in France. Given the large presence of the Chaldean Communities in Sarcelles 50 Iraqi families were offered refuge in the city. The mayor co-ordinated the process with host families, which was organised through local Assyro-Chaldean associations. The church liaised with national authorities to facilitate the reception of this group. The municipality set up a *Comité de Pilotage* – Steering Committee – to streamline the bureaucratic procedures of the 50 families. The Committee (multi-level and multi-stakeholder) met weekly and prioritised the

---

files of these 50 families in their respective services, which included the *Département* welfare allocation and social protection services, the national Foreigners (OFII) agency, the Chaldean associations and church, the social housing company OSICA, NGO France Terre d'Asile and relevant municipal departments (social services, housing, education, etc.).

The platform proved successful in co-ordinating the variety of actors involved in refugee settlement and integration by addressing simultaneously the multi-dimensional needs of this specific group on a case-by-case basis, starting with housing and access to social rights. In particular, the municipality made an agreement with the housing association to assign 50 housing units for this group from the city social housing stock. Further, the municipality hired a member of the Chaldean community to liaise daily between the families and the steering committee facilitating the transition and accompanying newcomers to the relevant services. The mayor communicated clearly to his citizens that the municipality was going to adopt a 'positive discrimination' policy to help this specific community settle into the city. The message was received well by the citizens, despite the city's low socio-economic outcomes and the long social housing waiting list. The sustainability of such 'positive discrimination' mechanisms, in the French context of universal access to public services for vulnerable populations, relies on a strong political will at local and national level.

### *Funding for the reception and integration of asylum seekers and refugees*

**The reception and integration mechanisms for these groups have been accompanied in most cases by resources** transferred to municipal level (by national or regional levels), either directly in relation to the number of asylum seekers and refugees received in the city, or to cover the costs of the competences that had been devolved.

Cities participating in the ad-hoc-questionnaire were asked if the influx of migrants in the past two years had led to additional public spending at local level. Results are limited due a low response rate for this question (57%) and difficulties in differentiating between costs for migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. The results indicate that: 57% of the cities experienced a small increase (0 to 5%) in public spending while 21% experienced a strong increase (over 30%). The expenditures that increased the most were in the areas of staff costs and social welfare as well as accommodation for asylum seekers and refugees. From the evidence collected, the municipalities often estimated that the contributions were insufficient.

Previous OECD work estimates that sub-national governments (SNGs) bear between 35% and 45% of refugee-related spending. However, there are large disparities across countries depending on their level of decentralisation and the organisation and history of humanitarian migration. In general, national governments hardly ever pay the full cost borne by SNGs' when it comes to migrant integration (OECD, 2017b). In some countries refugee-related grants are transferred to support municipalities in relevant sectors (e.g. social welfare benefits, integration programmes, language training, housing, etc.) when such competencies are part of the local remit. Some of these transfers have a limited duration, with costs being gradually transferred to local level (OECD, 2017b). This is, for example, the case in Sweden where transfers stops after two years at the conclusion of the Introduction Programme.

## Notes

1. www.bundesregierung.de/Content/Infomaterial/BPA/IB/2012-01-31-nap-gesamt-barrierefrei.html.

2. www.gov.uk/guidance/equality-act-2010-guidance.

3. The national Equality and Human Rights Commission is the statutory non-departmental body established in 2006 to help eliminate discrimination and reduce inequality.

4. www.gouvernement.fr/logement-des-refugies.

5. www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research.html.

6. www.thestar.com/news/immigration/2018/02/01/immigrants-are-largely-behind-canadas-status-as-one-of-the-best-educated-countries.html.

7. Since the funding period 2014-20 according to Article 7 of the ERDF regulation 5% of ERDF resources allocated at national level under the investment for jobs and growth goal must be earmarked for integrated actions for sustainable urban development. Urban authorities are responsible for tasks relating at least to the selection of operations, and may also undertake tasks concerning the management of integrated actions that tackle the economic, environmental, climate, demographic and social challenges affecting urban areas, thereby giving cities a greater say in the delivery of policies in areas such as the integration of migrants (European Parliament, 2016). A total of EUR 15 billion across the European Union was spent under Article 7 in 2016 (Cretu, 2016).

8. For more information, see https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/urban-agenda.

9. For more information see www.refugeetalenthub.com/nl/werknemers/content/.

10. For more information see: https://budgetparticipatif.paris.fr/bp/jsp/site/Portal.jsp?page=search-solr&conf=list_projects&sort_name=8762824987434693558_random&sort_order=asc.

11. For more information, see http://blog.atairbnb.com/opening-more-homes-to-people-in-need.

12. For more information, see https://newsroom.mastercard.com/press-releases/mastercard-and-george-soros-to-explore-private-sector-solutions-to-societal-challenges.

14. For more information, see www.werkwijzervluchelingen.nl.

## References

Andersson, R., Å. Bråmå and E. Holmqvist (2010), "Counteracting segregation: Swedish policies and experiences", *Housing Studies*, 25, 237-256.

Benton, B.S. (2017), *Strenghtening Local Education Systems for Newly Arrived Adults and Children*, Migration Policy Institute Europe.

Bakker, L., Cheung, S. Y. And Phillimore, J. (2016). The asylum-integration paradox: comparing the asylum support system and refugee integration in the Netherlands and the UK. International Migration, 54(4)

Bloch, A. and Hirsch (2017), "The educational experiences of the second generation from refugee backgrounds", In: *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40, 14, 2444-2462 19 p.

CEMR (Council of European Municipalities and Regions) (2015), "Refugee crisis for a common European asylum policy at all levels of government", CEMR resolution.

Charbit, C. and G. Desmoulins (2017), "Civic crowdfunding: A collective option for local public goods?", *OECD Regional Development Working Papers*, No. 2017/02, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/b3f7a1c5-en.

Charbit C., Michalun M. (2009), "Minds the gaps: managing mutual dependence in relations among levels of government", OECD Working Papers on Public Governance, N. 14, OECD Publishing.

Committee of the Regions (2012), "Division of power between the European Union, the member states and regional and local authorities", European Union.

Cretu, C. (2016), "Integrate migrants in cities: What cohesion policy can do", European Commission.

Damm, A.P (2009), "Ethnic enclaves and immigrant labour market outcomes: Quasi-experimental evidence", *Journal of Labour Economics*, 27(2).

EESC (European Economic and Social Committee) (2015), "A European agenda on migration", www.eesc.europa.eu/our-work/opinions-information-reports/opinions/european-agenda-migration-communication.

EUROCITIES (2009), "Benchmarking integration governance in Europe's cities".

European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (2007), "Housing and integration of migrants in Europe", No. 4, https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2007/quality-of-life-social-%20Damm%20policies/housing-and-integration-of-migrants-in-europe.

European Parliament (2016), "Cohesion policy and the integration of migrants in urban areas", European Parliamentary Research Service.

Harbo, L.G., T. Heleniak and A.S. Hilestrand (2017), "From migrants to workers: Regional and local practices on integration of labour migrants and refugees in rural areas in the Nordic countries", *Nordregio Working Paper 2017*, No. 5.

IOM-JMDI (International Organisation for Migration) (2015), "White paper: Mainstreaming migration into local development planning and beyond", International Organisation for Migration, United Nations Development Programme.

OECD (forthcoming a), "Working together for local integration of migrants and refugees – Case Study of Gothenburg", OECD.

OECD (forthcoming b), "Working together for local integration of migrants and refugees – Case Study of Amsterdam", OECD.

OECD (forthcoming c), *Multi-level approach for asylum seekers and refugeess: From reception mechanisms to local integration policies*.

OECD (2017a), *Enhancing Water Use Efficiency in Korea: Policy Issues and Recommendations*, OECD Studies on Water, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264281707-en.

OECD (2017b), *Who bears the cost of integrating refugees? Migration Policy Debates*, www.oecd.org/els/mig/migration-policy-debates-13.pdf.

OECD (2016a), *International Migration Outlook 2016*, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2016-en.

OECD (2016b), *Making Integration Work: Refugees and Others in Need of Protection*, OECD Publishing, Paris, http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264251236-en.

Piccinni, A. and P. Proietti (forthcoming), "Multi-level governance of humanitarian migrants reception and integration approach for asylum seekers and refugees: from reception mechanisms to local integration policies", OECD Working Paper, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Platform, H. (2017), *Relaunching Europe bottom-up*.

Proietti P. and P. Veneri (forthcoming), "Localisation of asylum seekers at subnational level", OECD Working Paper, OECD Publishing, Paris.

UNHCR and ECRE (2018), *Follow the Money. Assess the use of EU AMIF at the national level*, https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/follow-the-money_AMIF_UNHCR_ECRE_23-11-2018.pdf.

Wittebrood, K. and I. Andriessen (2014), Aan het werk vanuit een bjistands – of Imam in Amsterdam feth-westerse werkzoekenden in zes grote gemeenten, Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, The Hague.

Zimmermann, K.F. (2016), "Refugee and migrant labour market integration: Europe in need of a new policy agenda", unpublished manuscript, UNU-MERIT.
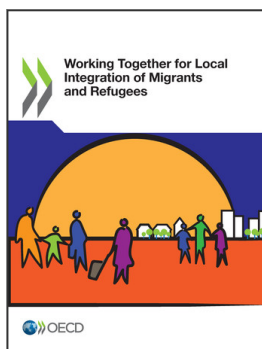
**From:**

## Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees

**Access the complete publication at:**
https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264085350-en