

## GOVERNANCE AND POLICIES IN MULTICULTURAL CITIES Papers Abstracts

### **Governing Immigration in Boston and Paris: A Comparative Perspective**

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My presentation project deals with a comparison of two institutional initiatives in direction to immigrants, one in a North-American city, the other in a French one. They are MONB, the Mayor's Office of New Bostonians (Boston, 1998) and CCPNC, Conseil de la Citoyenneté des Parisiens Non-Communautaires – Extra-European Parisians Citizenship Council – (Paris, 2001). In this context, through a comparative approach which is both international and local, are to be studied the political stakes linked to new immigration in North-American and French cities. In both multicultural cities, to justify the implementation of their politics, local leaders refer to participatory democracy as a way to facilitate the participation of immigrants into city policy-making. Beyond this rhetorical convergence, we find crucial divergences about their respective actual goals and method of functioning. Consequently, the experience is positive in Boston, whereas the Parisian one is a patent failure. What I seek here is to underline these differences notably by advancing the following hypothesis : local leaders of Boston implement a real partnership with civil society, particularly with community organizations, which is considered as a necessity; and is the object of the Mayor's Office of New Bostonians. On the contrary, CCPNC, as a consultative council, is part of the Socialist Party's policy of communication that is destined to its Green allies - at the origin of the creation of the Council too -, and to public opinion at large. Also, the method of functioning between the MONB and CCPNC is different ; because as an administrative department within Boston City Hall, MONB works directly with grassroots organizations – notably from different ethnic organizations such as The Chinese Progressive Association, The Brazilian Immigration Center, La Alianza Hispana, etc -; whereas the Mayor of Paris nominated individual Parisian immigrants after they had volunteered, to compose the CCPNC. In total, the Conseil de la Citoyenneté des Parisiens Non-Communautaires is « represented » by thirty-nine nationalities. The task of the nominated councillors is to make propositions that are to be debated and/or voted later during a session meeting of the Council of Paris. At the national level, the political culture of the decentralized United States has traditionally integrated governance tools, whether nationally or locally, such as the legitimization and acceptance of bottom-up knowledge and skills and transparency. On the contrary, centralized France has recently experienced political governance through a process of decentralization that dates back from the beginning of the 1980s up to the recent law *Démocratie de Proximité – Democracy of Proximity* -, voted in February 2002. The French top-down approach emerges at the level of the State and trickles down to the local level. French cities have experienced the creation of consultative bodies of and for immigrants, before CCPNC. This is the case of the cities of Strasbourg and Grenoble, for instance. These top-down consultative councils have not only proved to be limited but are fragile too. Indeed, the newly-created institutions depend solely on the intention of political leaders who have the choice to establish consultative bodies or not, they also depend on newly elected local and national officials.

### **Mind in Africa, Body in Europe: The struggle for maintaining and transforming cultural identity – A Note from the experience of Eritrean immigrants in Stockholm, Sweden**

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When individuals cross boundaries, they may make sense of their lives by re-constructing their identities - of the sense of who they are, and who they want to be, which is an ongoing process. The concept of identity and identity construction has become an important concept to deal with such demands for 'maintaining' and 'transforming' identities. The purpose of the paper is to describe how individuals and groups who have crossed 'physical, national boundaries', and who live in a different social context make sense of their lives. This is done by narrating the experiences of African men and women who live in Sweden and who struggle to both maintain their cultural identity and at the same time change aspects in their culture due to the context in which they find themselves. 'Maintaining cultural identity, on the one hand, and transforming aspects of that identity therefore constitutes the main thrust of the paper. In this paper, I will narrate how 'maintaining' cultural identity is understood and practiced by Eritrean immigrants in Stockholm, Sweden when they solemnly perform certain cultural rites in wedding. The rites are understood to be contributing to the cultural identity of the group but the values and norms that the rites aspire to ascribe to members may not easily be integrated with the Swedish context of equality of sexes and roles for males and females. Even though maintaining identity is encouraged in the Swedish social policy, transformation of that identity comes through demands that are widely accepted as 'modern' value such as egalitarianism, gender equality and individualism – lading to issues of diversity at different levels.

In the wider intended project, the construction of African identity in Sweden will be explored through participant observation where African immigrants are employed in several workplaces in two towns and the city of Stockholm. Understanding how - and to what extent - people construct their identities as individuals, and how the ethnic identity and gender identity interact to form into new identity that may or may not lead to integration into the society which often constitutes the context within which people make sense of 'who they are' and 'who they want to be', is itself a noble goal to investigate. This alludes to the fact that the institutionalised identities such as ethnicity and gender have important implications for people either by integrating with the larger societal demands and values (and hence integration) or struggling to make sense of their lives in isolated ways where different stories and processes of sense making lead constructing of multiple identities.

The implication of such investigation would be relevant for both for policymakers in their attempts to describe the process of integration or discrimination as a result of ethnicity and gender in the labour market. This is to study closely and describe how being 'African' and 'women' or 'men' affect them and their surrounding in the attempts to be integrated to the macro level – Swedish society – whether the labour market participation is part of the gendering system, or if it is one leading to emancipation and meaningful life experience.

Key Terms: Cultural diversity, equality, Eritrean immigrants, individualism, integration, rites of passage, Swedish social policy

## **Governance and Policies in Multicultural Cities**

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Until the mid-1980s very little was known about European Muslims as "religion" was not seen by either academics or policy makers as a significant identifier among settler populations. Nevertheless, Islam was recognised as a central mobilising socio-political and cultural force in several regions beyond Europe, where it was assumed secularism had yet to make any significant gains as it had in Europe. In this respect, the need to account for the salience of "religion" as a key organising principle for socio-political action derived almost entirely from events on the global scene, while it was accepted that settler communities within Europe would follow a course characterised by the privatisation of "religion". Thus, the emergence of "Muslim Voices" across the European Union by the mid-1990s, campaigning for equal access to services and political participation, both surprised and challenged academics and policy makers and these socio-cultural and political movements were quickly accounted for in terms of the pre-existing analytical frameworks that had derived from events elsewhere: radical fundamentalism and "Muslim threat". Of course the event of 9/11 intensified such interpretations and has since located "religion" as a central and urgent concern to be understood and accounted for on the European scholarly and political canvass. In this respect the primary objective of this paper is to go beyond such misconceptions by providing an analytical framework within which "religion" achieves a conceptual and theoretical status equal to those other primary characteristics such as class and gender in the social construction of identity and thus the politics of identity. Furthermore, the paper argues that "religion" does not belong solely to pre-modernity or reflects societies where secularism has failed to establish itself. Instead, the argument develops an account that derives from centrality and analytical significance of globalisation in order to suggest that "religion" is as much part of modernity and as such must be seen as one of the key analytical elements that contributes to the social construction of communities and helps determine their collectivity and identities. In fact, the paper argues that globalisation and the political economy of modernity challenge conventional paradigms which assume society is self-defined and instead raise questions of national and supra-national interests and alternative analytical accounts of how individuals, social groups and communities are integrated into the national or supra-national project: e.g. the new Europe.

Thus the paper concludes that globalisation with its rapid social change, the disruption of traditional political, cultural and societal allegiances and the changing form of governance and political participation must be a central concern to those responsible for constructing and maintaining political communities (national or supra-national). This is particularly the case as the changes have profound implications for such issues as the future of democracy, governance and civil liberties, citizenship and civil society.

## **Ethics and Enterprises : Bridging the Moral Divide**

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The directive role once played by national governments has been taken over by the rise of increasingly powerful corporations. At the same time, society's expectations over the responsibilities of business in areas previously seen

as domain of the state dramatically expanded. In this context corporate social responsibility emerged as tool corporations have, to fill the social vacuum created in the supply of public goods. Although things are not as easy as they seem, as transnational companies operate in a wide variety of locations in far-flung countries, where different cultures, traditions, habits, beliefs, employment conditions and practices exist. From conflict-prone countries such as the Sub Saharan, to complex societies such as India, businesspeople daily face unavoidable difficulties in dealing with different scenarios and moral values and in enforcing Csr at a global level.

What happens is that companies often fail to take sufficient account of the complexity of the local social and political situation they work in and on the pretence of doing good, impose a simplistic one-fits-for-all-approach to corporate responsibility, which is of questionable value and feasibility and paves the way to social irresponsible practices rather than responsible.

The main questions arising are what should managers, working abroad, do when they encounter business practices that seem unethical?

Two are the generally competitive approaches managers assume in dealing with ethical dilemmas abroad. The first, relativism, states a self-conscious adaptation to local habits, while according to universalism people should behave everywhere exactly as they do at home in name of universal principles. Representatives of these two approaches are the are the tragedy of Union Carbide in India and the Reebok corporate policy with sub contracted factories in Thailand.

As neither extreme seems to illuminate the real world of business decision making, the answer seems to lie somewhere in between the relative cultural inflexibility and ethical imperialism.

It happens that some activities seems to be neither black nor white but exists in a Moral Free Space, a neutral area where no tight prescriptions for a company's behaviour exists and moral options can be kept open until the full context and environment of a decision is confronted.

Managers should learn to navigate through this grey zone. It requires first of all, companies to be clear about their core values and codes of conduct. This is not enough to help managers to distinguish values in tension with theirs from intolerable practices. So managers personal skills are at stake and they should succeed in bridging the moral divide, voluntarily leaving their personal values behind, and join a unique set of ethical principles, shared by the rest of the company, aiming at the same goals and sensitive to local norms. In such a context the establishment of proper boundaries, especially for sensitive arguments such as child labour, should be in line with universal human values as they are stated in International documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In such a new perspective, corporate social responsibility loses its monolithic aspect, being no more a unique marble entity able to achieve results everywhere and turning to be a fluid entity, penetrating and adapting to different cultural, economic, political and religious scenarios.

### **Immigrants and Discrimination in the Cities**

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In recent years, a growing body of economic literature has focused on the spatial mismatch hypothesis first introduced by Kain (1968), who argued that the worst economic outcomes (in terms of labor market effects) for ethnic minorities are partially due to the spatial separation between their residences, often in the city centers, and the location of their jobs, often in the suburbs. Kain also argued that this situation is the result of the growing job decentralization in U.S. cities, combined with explicit or implicit constraints on the household choice of residence. Since the study by Kain (1968) appeared, a number of papers have focused on the empirical issues concerning the test of the spatial mismatch hypothesis. After decades, this concept seems still to be a Muse for contemporary researchers. But, despite the presence of a large number of empirical papers, it is only in recent years that the scholars have also focused on the theoretical issues. In particular, Brueckner and Martin (1997) provided the first model representation of the spatial mismatch by partially developing the theory of multicentric cities. According with the recent experience of European cities, the aim of this paper is to understand the relationship between the immigration decision and the racial segregation in the cities in the context of the spatial mismatch models. In fact the spatial mismatch meant to segregate minority and perhaps immigrated workers is an important issue in the most general context of policies for social inclusion. When people live far from work, perhaps because the suburbanization of employment has depleted their own neighborhoods of job opportunities, finding and keeping a job is bound to be difficult.

Using the new theory of multicentric cities and opening them to migration flows, I show that housing and labor market discrimination can lower the expected utility of mobility from rural areas. This result is found by assuming that the choice to migrate or not is made on the basis of the expected utility, directly affected by the level of

discriminations in the cities. The robustness of these findings is proved by analyzing both the case for exogenous and endogenous wages.

I also present some preliminary empirical evidence supporting these results by analyzing data for 350 American cities over a century. In addition, by using the basic findings of the model, an economic theoretic explanation of the Great Black Migration is proposed by proving that the function of expected utility of migration is not monotonic, so that it could be a locally increasing function of the level of segregation.

[The paper is already available upon request]

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## **Cultural Heritage And Social Cohesion In Contemporary Cities: Tools And Methodologies For Assessing Public Preferences**

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This paper discusses the role played by cultural heritage values in the sustainable development of contemporary cities. Cultural heritage goods bear symbolic values that help building common identities. A relationship among the level of economic welfare, social cohesion and the presence of cultural heritage seems to hold (Serageldin, 1996). Monuments and historic areas can be regarded as a stock of social values that need to be preserved and managed in order to increase the social capital of a specific society. Planning the sustainable development of today's European cities implies accounting for an adequate conservation of their heritage. However, different cultural minorities may perceive these symbolic values in diverse ways. They can even perceive them as a threat, as the symbol of their discrimination and cultural diversity.

This paper discusses ways of improving the management of cultural heritage sites and cities, focusing on new forms of involvement and public participation based on public preferences' elicitation. The problem of city governance and of the appropriate level of democratic participation needs an integrated approach, capable of bridging the practice of urban design, conservation of the built environment and decision-making support system. All urban policies related to cultural heritage, both mobile and immobile, have crucial impacts on the economic development of most world cities. In Europe, cultural tourism is one of the most important industries. Some management policies may cause distress to both residents and the cultural heritage itself. Many world heritage cities, to different extents and degrees, suffer because of congestion and the negative externalities caused by it. Therefore, it is important to develop new cultural heritage management tools that may account for urban changes and help decision makers to develop appropriate policies, accounting for people's preferences, considering minority and disadvantaged groups and their interests.

This paper reports results from a number of surveys using either contingent valuation method or conjoint choice approach questions to elicit people's preferences for urban regeneration projects and cultural heritage management strategies for some cultural sites, such as the Temples of Paestum, the cities of Venice and Naples. Economic valuation of non-market goods has represented an important step towards incorporating economic considerations in decision-making about natural resources, environmental quality, and the quality of life in urban areas. Attaching monetary values to intangible features, such as quality of natural beauty and built environments, helps accounting for them in benefit-cost analyses, and hence in decision making processes, especially those dealing with conservation issues. A change in the provision of a non-market commodity, such a transformation of the built environment caused by a regeneration project, has social and economic impacts and can be perceived either as a gain or as a loss by the affected population. Sometimes the loss is related to symbolic values that the public perceive as disregarded by the project, despite the overall improved conditions. Nonetheless, in practice the public's preferences for aesthetic and use attributes are rarely elicited, despite their potential importance in decision-making. This paper discusses ways of bridging this gap, and tackles some of the issues related to cultural heritage management.

**Key words:** cultural heritage sites, contingent valuation method, conjoint analysis, consumer's behavior, aesthetic values

## **Complexity and the Political Ecology of US-Mexican Border Twin Cities: A Few Reflections.**

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The serious economic crisis in economies like the Mexican has been accompanied by deterioration in social indicators and a raised awareness on the effects of decades of environmental neglect. Economic policies have searched for a solution in the application of neoclassical recipes: privatization, foreign investment attraction and emphasis on export products. Growth and affluence expected to take care of social and environmental problems. Among the main poles of application for this model have been the US-Mexico border's twin cities, which are true multicultural Diasporas.

The neoliberal economic discourse sustains that, in the aggregate, the gains from the changes brought about by free trade ideologies have benefited Mexico in general and specifically the border region cities. Sustainability indicators, including multicultural diversity and an examination of 'Gramscian' spaces such as the prevalence of informal economies may contradict this diagnosis. Yet, it is not until the researcher experiences "la frontera" that s/he realizes the complexity of the problem. It becomes obvious that the reductionist model of postindustrial growth may enter in conflict with the assumptions of multicultural globalization. Regardless of their interdependence, border cities show levels of social and environmental degradation correlative to economic growth and a clear inequality between the American and Mexican sides.

We propose a re-examination of the roots of U.S.-Mexican border city capitalism through a political-ecology approach. This approach seeks to overcome the boundaries of human systems in order to understand the ongoing interplay between political and economic forces and local cultural, demographic, and ecological factors. In this sense, traditional historical analysis is supplemented by understanding the limits that, through time, the natural world has set on what people can do. It is also expanded to understand the connections that those ecological imperatives have with events occurring beyond the strict geographical area of study. As it is also an exercise in critical economic analysis that goes back to the ethical roots of development problems, it is a political economic perspective. Further, the analysis is enriched with qualitative evidence gathered from field trips along the US-Mexican border. Specific cities included are: San Diego-Tijuana, San Luis Río Colorado-Yuma, Nogales Arizona/Sonora, Agua Prieta-Douglas and Ciudad Juarez-El Paso.

**Keywords:** Us-Mexico Border, Neoclassic development model, Political Ecology, Multicultural diversity.  
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## **Governing migration: immigrant groups' strategies in three Italian cities—Rome, Naples and Bari**

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Governance may be thought of as an open-ended process whose outcome is neither foreseen nor forced by governments, which use an implicitly top-down approach. Governance processes have been used for immigrants' integration in their host societies, and we discuss how this has taken place as a result of immigrants' own strategies instead of government-directed programs. There are roughly 2,395,000 regular immigrants in Italy, which is 4.2% of the population in Italy, only slightly below the European average. In the essay "The Italian Case, Employment, Under-employment, Self-employment: Patterns of Integration of Immigrant Workers in Italy", Mauro Magatti and Fabio Quassoli note the particular importance of immigrants own ethnic networks in economic integration strategies, particularly in the context of what they call rather negligent Italian institutions and private associations in immigrants' integration. This paper discusses and compares three ethnic groups in Italy that have been particularly successful in negotiating their presence in three Italian cities: Mauritians in Bari, Filipinos in Rome, and Chinese in Naples.

## **Categorization and citizenship. The politics of inclusion and exclusion**

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Categorization is a fundamental human cognitive act. Social categorization is at the same time the basis of human identity. In order to acquire knowledge about injustices and discrimination we need to analyse the situation of different social categories in society. However, the very act of employing social categories may serve to cement

stereotypes and ultimately the social differences we want to eradicate. Categorisation may thus serve both as an instrument of exclusion and inclusion. Citizenship is one of the most important social categorizations. Questions of citizenship are of crucial importance in a world of globalisation, international migration, transnational connections and 'new' multicultural societies that have formed on the foundation of nineteenth century Nation States. Who belongs to the State and who is excluded, and on what grounds? What is implied by concepts such as transnational citizenship, supranational citizenship, and regional citizenship? How do we deal with conceptions of dual or multiple citizenship? I will address questions about the rights of aliens, residential and/or regional citizenship and the acquisition of citizenship in an interdisciplinary perspective.