MAAS AND MERSEY: CONFORMITY OR CONTROVERSY?

A comparative case study of the integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam

Master thesis

Student: E.D. Jongsma - 381084

Supervisor: Dr. P.W.A. Scholten

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Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Homes to a river each, with accompanied ports of industry, Liverpool and Rotterdam are cities of immigrants. Low-skilled immigrants looking for work, refugees, family reunifications, permanent or temporary, alone or accompanied. Whatever the intentions of migrants coming to either of the two cities, some form of socio-cultural integration is often seen necessary for successful participation in the cities of the Maas and Mersey. Both the cities are secondary cities in their nation. Liverpool is one of the many secondary cities whilst London is the primary city of the United Kingdom. Rotterdam is the second city (in terms of size and number of residents) of the Netherlands, only preceded by Amsterdam. Being a second city means for the city itself that it has to deal with many different cultures being present, since these kinds of cities are seen as the cultural capitals of the nations (Hodos, 2011). The high-skill financial and economic main industries are not focussed in these cities, but they attract many low-skilled workers, often from abroad, to work in the low-paid sectors present in the cities. Inherently connected to this diversity in cities, integration policy has been formed in both Liverpool and Rotterdam. This thesis looks at how these second cities deal with the integration of the migrants in their city, as the native residents can see integration as a prerequisite for participation in society.

In this thesis, the focus will be on the policies on socio-cultural integration. This means that there is an emphasis on factors such as the influence of supposed norms and values, language education, et cetera. This also means that there is no focus on more statistically measurable concepts such as labour market participation or grades in high school. This focus has been chosen since an important factor of the notion of second cities by Hodos is that these cities are culturally diverse and actively work with this. Even though global cities, such as London and Amsterdam, are culturally diverse as well, second cities host different groups of migrants. Second cities are said to receive a "more selective and narrower range of international migrants than global cities" (Hodos, 2011, p. 75). This results in an insider-outsider dichotomy within the second cities, which results in a "rather slow process of recognition and inclusion in comparison with the political incorporation process in global cities" (Hodos, 2011, p. 75). This makes researching the socio-cultural integration processes of second cities more interesting to look at than those of global (first) cities. The theory of Koopmans and Statham (2000) gives way to four different policy types that cities can implement to deal with migration and will be elaborated on the second chapter. The initial interest

for Rotterdam came because I have been living there since the start of my studies, and I read a lot about the policies in place, which often came back during the past academic year. To get a more meaningful outcome, it is important to look at what the municipality of Rotterdam does in comparison with another comparable city. Therefore, I chose Liverpool as my second case study.

Integration policy is for both cities made by the city council. In Liverpool, the labour party oversees the city council (Liverpool City Council, 2017), whilst in Rotterdam the right-wing party Leefbaar Rotterdam oversees the committee of labour and income, participation and public health (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.d). Differences and similarities in all kinds of aspects of the city councils can lead to differences and similarities in policy as well. The issue of socio-cultural integration leads to the following kinds of questions: are the migrants supposed to pay for their integration themselves, or does the municipality help with this? What kind of underlying objectives does the municipality hold for their integration policy? Are these policy ideas shared throughout the city council or does one party have more power over others? These questions make it interesting to not just look at the effects of policies, but also how policies are formed. Therefore, the focus in this thesis is on the policymaking process of integration-policies, not just on the outcomes of these processes. These processes are reflected in the use of the four perspectives on policy making by Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (forthcoming). Since the title of the master specialization is *Governance of Migration and Diversity*, the focus in analysis lays on the governance aspects of integration policies. This means that throughout this thesis, interactions between parties and actors are analysed in the field of integration policy.

1.1 Aims and questions of the thesis

The aim of this master thesis is to find out what the differences and similarities are in the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam, and why the approaches are different in some and similar in other aspects. Meanwhile, this is constantly connected to Hodos' (2011) notion of second cities. The focus lies on the underlying decision-making and policy-making processes, not just on the outcomes. Also, the governance perspective is of great importance; who work together, how do they complement each other (and how not)? To reach this goal, this thesis aims to answer the following question; *what are the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam, and why are these present?*

This overarching question is divided into the following sub questions, to make the answer to the main question more valuable and in-depth:

> *What are the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam?*
> *What are the differences and similarities in their decision-making processes?*
> *Why are these differences and similarities in place?*

Through these three questions the policies of the cities of Liverpool and Rotterdam on socio-cultural integration of migrants will be analysed, considering multiple theories and a governance perspective. Three separate questions are asked to answer parts of the story if there is not one unified answer.

1.2 Relevance of research

This research socially relevant since it aims to inform citizens of the two cities on how policy is formed in their cities, and thus who has the most power in city council. Also, it is interesting for citizens to see what is done with their votes for city council and ultimately what the city council does. In the context of the topic at hand it means that citizens of Liverpool and Rotterdam get to see what kinds of underlying motives the city council has for the policies they pursue in the field of socio-cultural integration of migrants. This thesis might also be helpful for the city councils of both cities; they might be able to learn from each other on handling problems. In the scientific realm, this thesis is more exploratory, since not enough comparative research between the cities has been done, not taking into account the work of Paul van de Laar. The cities are highly interesting to compare; both are port cities, have struggled with post-industrialisation and are secondary cities in their greater nation. I believe that this thesis, although the size and scope may be limited, can be a good addition to the societal and scientific realm due to its exploratory nature. Besides the case study being explorative, testing the theoretical framework of the four perspectives on policy-making by Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (forthcoming) in practice is exploratory as well. Furthermore, case studies are seen by a large part of the academic world as not able to "contribute to scientific development" (Flyvbjerg, 2006, 219). But, as Kuhn (1987, as described in Flyvbjerg, 2006) points out, "a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one" (p. 242). This kind

of exploratory case study research is assumed to be valuable since it can open new doors to other research and inspire policy.

1.3 Layout of the thesis

In chapter 2, the theoretical basis of this research will be laid out. The theory of second cities (Hodos, 2011) explains why it is relevant and interesting to not just focus on capital cities of countries, and why second cities are interesting cases. The theories of Berry (2011) and Koopmans and Statham (2000) illustrate the underpinnings of socio-cultural integration, while the literature of Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (forthcoming) provides us with insights in the four perspectives of public policy making. Chapter 3, on methodology, gives information about the research design and the methods of the research conducted for this thesis. This thesis will use document analysis of the integration documents and semi-structured interviews to gather empirical data on the topic. Chapter 4 is about the context of the two cities; their migration history from 1945 onwards, their current integration policy and the current migration and integration situation. Chapters 5 and 6 illustrate the case studies of Liverpool and Rotterdam, in which the policies and policy formations on integration of migrants will be discussed separately, also considering the actors at work here. In chapter 7 the analysis will be laid out, comparing the two cities per variable and clearly pointing out which of the four perspectives of Bekkers et al. (fc) has most explanatory value, but also showing how the two cities differ from each other on the different elements tested, connecting the dots between the theory and the cases. The final chapter contains the conclusion and points out the implications and limitations of this thesis.

Chapter 2. Theory

2.1 Second cities

Important for understanding the reasoning behind choosing the cases of Liverpool and Rotterdam is the theory on second cities, initiated by Jerome Hodos (2011). The author defines Manchester and Philadelphia as second cities as "places that people used to call provincial capitals" (Hodos, 2011, 5). These cities are mainly categorized as different from global cities by not having an elaborate financial sector or market, having good infrastructure and having a "second city identity through giant cultural planning projects" (Hodos, 2011, 6). The reason why Liverpool is chosen over Manchester here is that the latter city already has been extensively researched by Hodos. The large cultural aspect makes it that this thesis looks at socio-cultural integration of the migrants, so not structural integration factors such as position on the labour market. The migration patterns of second cities are typified as having received "large numbers of foreign immigrants from only a handful of nationalities, and those nationalities were often middle class or class-diverse rather than predominantly working class or poor [...] this pattern of migrant receipt has its roots both in the cities' distinctive economic structure and in their historical lack of "gateway" status" (Hodos, 2011, 75).

According to Hodos (2011, 76), "globalization is a deeply racialized process", with issues of inequality and racism being a major factor in this. The attitudes of the *native* residents of a city towards newcomers are seen by the author as competitive, making it harder for these migrants to integrate than it is in global cities. This can be linked to the sentiments of right-wing populist parties, which will come back later in this thesis. As will be demonstrated in the section on context, the Afrikaanderwijk-riots in Rotterdam and the Toxteth-riots in Liverpool demonstrate the negative attitudes all too well. Second cities have always been in the shadows of the global, capital cities of the nations; in this case London and Amsterdam. However, as will be demonstrated in the section on context, both Liverpool and Rotterdam are said to be forerunners on the celebration of cultural diversity, which is inherently linked to processes of socio-cultural integration. Up until here, processes of socio-cultural integration and the policies surrounding this have been broadly conceptualized. To conceptualize socio-cultural integration more structured, we now turn to theories and models on this.

2.2 Socio-cultural integration

A theory well known within scholarship on integration is Berry's (2011) theory on *intercultural strategies*. He argues that there are two scales on which both the ethno-cultural groups themselves and the larger society hold positions, these are "a relative preference for maintaining one's heritage culture and identity, and a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups" (Berry, 2011, 2.5).
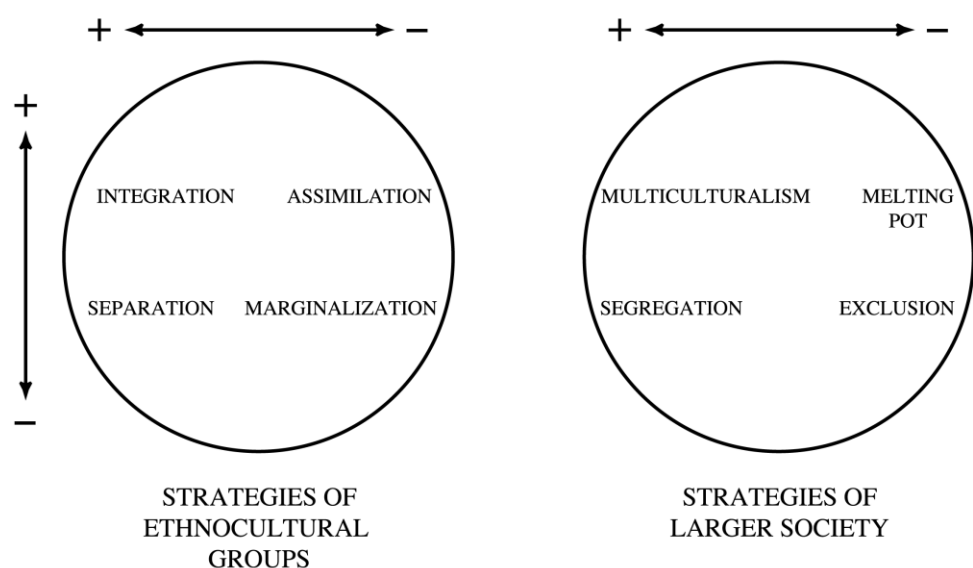
Figure 1. Intercultural Strategies of Ethnocultural Groups and the Larger Society. Copied from *Papers on Social Representations* (2.5) by J. Berry, 2011.

These two dimensions are displayed in figure 1, in which it is visible that there are four basic attitudes towards ethnocultural *newcomers* of the larger society. In this thesis, the focus is on the larger society, and not on the attitudes of the migrant groups. Therefore, the focus here also lies on the strategies of the larger society. However, these different strategies cannot illustrate much in terms of the strategies taken up by the local governments. The local governments are in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands the entities that formulate and implement integration policy, and thus are the actors one should focus on when assessing the integration policies of cities. Therefore, we now turn to Koopman and Statham's theory on integration policies (2000). These authors rest their typology on citizenship; policy can either enhance

holding multiple cultural identities or not and policy also can differentiate between territorial or cultural formal citizenship. This is illustrated in figure 2.
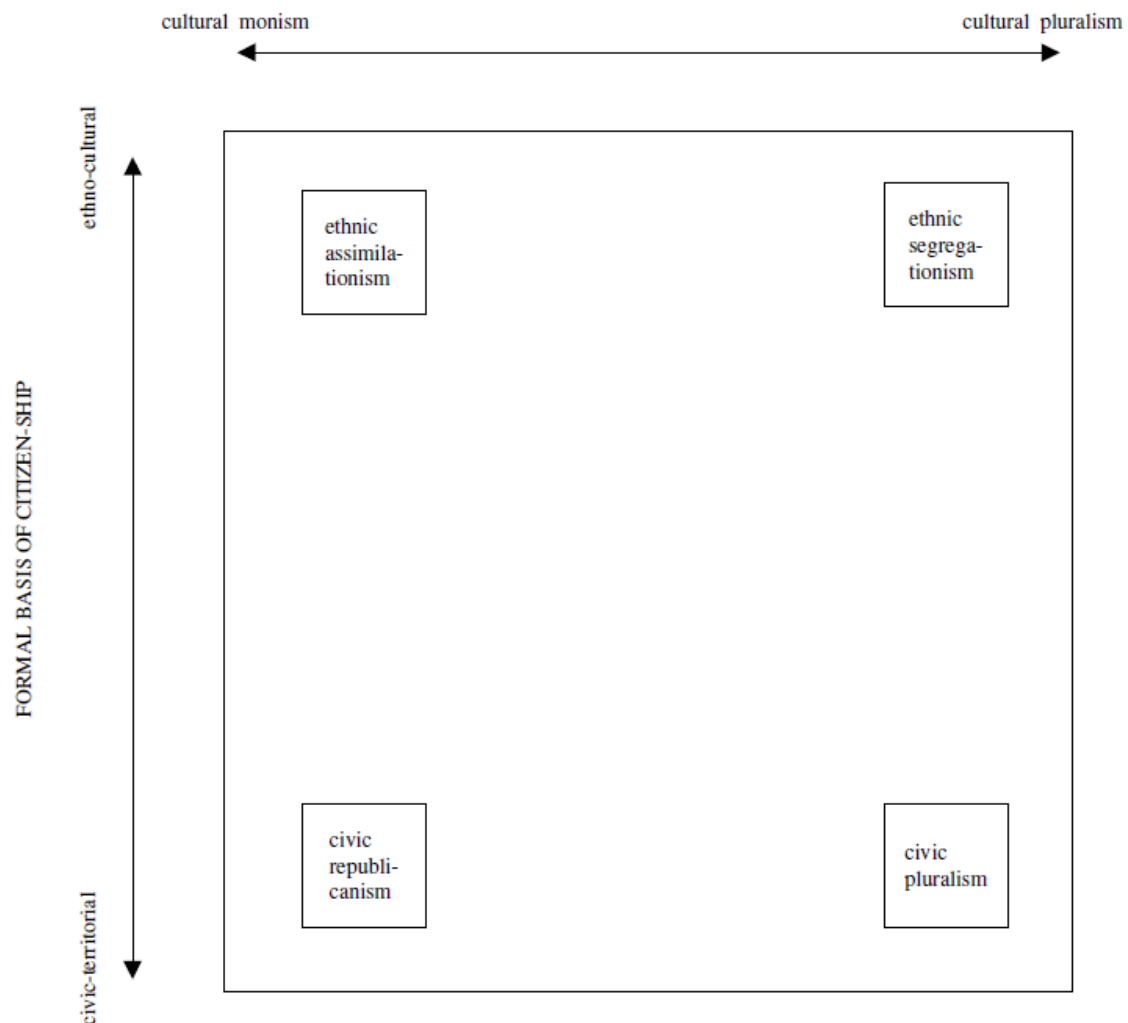
Figure 2. A two-dimensional space for situation conceptions of citizenship. Copied from *Migration and Ethnic Relations as a Field of Political Contention* (p. 32), by R. Koopmans and P. Statham, 2000, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The vertical axis runs from civic-territorial to ethno-cultural bases of citizenship, with the former being the typical right of soil (jus soli) and the latter containing legislation differentiation based on cultural groups. The horizontal axis runs from cultural monism to cultural pluralism, where monism holds "conceptions of citizenship that insist on conformity to a single cultural model that is to be shared by all citizens" (Koopmans & Statham, 2000, 33) and pluralism entails that everyone is free to belong to any cultural identity they wish to. Multiple times the authors stress that the four models following from the combinations of the vertical and horizontal axes are just ideal types, but in the context of this research they are useful, since these are models that can be tested.

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The first model, *ethnic assimilationism* holds that there is only one culture for the natives of a country. At the same time, people are allowed to get the status of citizen. This means that migrants in that case must adapt to the norms and values that are set by the native people, and absorb into that culture. The second model, *ethnic segregationism* is defined by exclusion from the political community of migrant newcomers who do not share the ethno-cultural background of the majority society. At the same time, migrants are not forced to give up their own cultures, and the state may even actively promote such "cultures and disencourage assimilation to the majority culture" (Koopmans & Statham, 2000, 34), the migrants are expected to be the same as the *native* people, or to live parallel lives. According to the authors, "this comes close to the typical "guest workers" approach" (Koopmans & Statham, 2000, 34). The third model, *civic republicanism*, focuses on a civic-territorial basis of citizenship combined with cultural monism in terms of obligations. In more practical terms, this means that people can only hold one cultural identity, and that is the one from the country they are born in. This leads to "discrimination and racism" (Koopmans & Statham, 2000, 39). This type of citizenship model is often supported by far-right parties, such as Front National in France. The last model, *civic pluralism*, also focuses on a civic-territorial basis on citizenship, but supports pluralism in cultural obligations. This model embraces the typical idea of multiculturalism; people with different cultural identities sharing one nationality.

As mentioned above, these four models are only meant as ideal-types and are not expected to come forward so strongly in actual policy. However, these models provide good guidelines for the analysis in this thesis. These models are interesting in the process of analysing policy; they can identify underlying motives clearly. These models are only applicable for actual policy documents, and not for the analysis of the process in which this document was formed. Therefore, in the next section another piece of the puzzle is introduced; perspectives on policy making.

2.3 Four perspectives on public policy

Bekkers et al. (fc) describe the four perspectives on public policy in clear detail. In this section of the theory, all four perspectives will be exemplified and paired with other theories from different scholars.

2.3.1 Rationalist perspective

In the rationalist perspective actors base their actions on rational cost-benefit analyses, the term used for the underlying mechanism is *goal rationality* (Bekkers et al., fc). A human being in this line of reasoning is a *homo economicus* who chooses the most 'rational' option, with the least costs and the most benefits. Simon (1961, as described in Bekkers et al., fc) states that actors are only *boundedly rational*, because they only have limited time, limited information and limited capacities to process information. This means that it is not possible for people to make truly rational decisions. In this perspective, the actor in public policy is the government as a whole. In this government, all the actors within the government work together as a "organic body" (Bekkers et al., fc, xx). The whole would not work if part(s) of the body does not function.

The policies created through the rational perspective are based on *evidence-based knowledge,* which chooses its practices from a selection of practices in the past proven to be effective. According to Sanderson (2002), evidence-based knowledge is important for the "evaluation of public policies and programmes" (p. 3). Plewis (2000, as described in Sanderson, 2002) defined the concept of evidence-based policy making as "policy initiatives are to be supported by research evidence and [...] policies introduced on a trial basis are to be evaluated in as rigorous a way as possible" (p. 4). In practice, this means that often "it calls for randomised experiments or similar research designs" (van Twist, Rouw & van der Steen, 2015, 17). Therefore, evidence-based knowledge and the use of it in policy-making is inherently rational, also in its views on evaluation of existing policy. For policy-making on socio-cultural integration this might lead to certain types of policy being implemented that in the past have been regarded successful. The last years the governments of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have been implementing austerity measures, which often has a desire for efficiency and effectivity as a result. To be more efficient and effective, governments often use statistics to prove their point and further their policies. The city councils of Liverpool and Rotterdam have been struggling with austerity measures and therefore they are expected to be more focussed on rational evidence-based knowledge in the

processes of policy formulation. For the case studies of this thesis, the following hypothesis is formed:

H1: The integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam are largely based on evidence-based knowledge.

2.3.2 Political perspective

According to Bekkers et al. (fc), the focus of the political perspective lies in the struggle over power. The process of policy decision-making is done by powerful people, who are named *stakeholders*. These stakeholders want to influence policy to further their own interests, or of the group they represent, and they use knowledge that is reflective and in support of their own interests. Sabatier (1998) introduced a theory on the workings of powerful groups of people in his theory on *advocacy coalition framework* (further ACF). These advocacy coalitions are coalitions of 'belief systems' and are organized into three levels. At the broadest level, there is the *deep core*, which hold the "basic ontological and normative beliefs" (Sabatier, 1998, 103); the fundamental values of the advocacy coalition are reflected here. This core is not likely to change at any time and an example of such a core can be liberalism or conservatism. On the second level, the *policy core* level, the "basic normative commitments and causal perceptions across an entire policy domain or subsystem" (Sabatier, 1998, 103) are represented. The policy core holds the ideas that an advocacy coalition has on the seriousness of the problem and how it in general should be dealt with, in this case the problem of integration. The last level of advocacy coalitions is that of the *secondary aspects*. These are the specific ways in which the advocacy coalition wants to address the problem and which instruments are needed for this. When it comes to policy learning and change, Sabatier (1998) argues that this will not happen on the deep core or policy core level, since the stances that these people hold on these levels are too *hard* to get altered. However, learning and change can take place on the level of secondary aspects.

Within this thesis, the ACF is of significance since it addresses the political interplays that are apparent in policy making. The ACF reveals how actors can work together towards a common goal, which can for example involve pushing policy to be more open to the cultural heritage of migrants. The use of evidence in the political perspective is somewhat arbitrary, since coalitions often "cherry-pick" from available research (Kleinhans, 2012). This notion entails that policy makers only use certain

results of research which are in support of their claims and therefore they leave out other, sometimes vital, research findings. Taking the knowledge on the ACF into account and considering the contexts of Liverpool and Rotterdam, I hypothesize the following:

> H2: The formulation of the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam were dominated by the main political party in charge.

2.3.3 Constructivist perspective

Bekkers et al. (fc) call the third perspective the *culturalist perspective*, which stems from the ideas of social-constructivism, therefore it will be named constructivist perspective here, since not the entire lens is focussed on culture alone. The constructivist perspective holds that there is no objective reality, only interpretations of it, *social constructs*. These individual perceptions of reality are constructed through interaction with others, and here the role of "language, symbols and metaphors is very important" (Bekkers et al., fc, xx). Mostly, the formation of such social constructs through language are made unconsciously, however people can also form social constructs on purpose. Hajer (1993) introduces the term *discourse coalition*, which is "the ensemble of a set of story lines, the actors utter these story lines, and the practices that conform to these story lines, all organized around a discourse" (p. 47). A discourse coalition is "a group of actors who share a social construct" (Hajer, 1993, 45) and these actors try to persuade or even manipulate other actors into sharing their views of reality. These discourse coalitions can be powerful in politics and can dominate the society-broad view of a certain problem or phenomenon.

As Hajer (1993) puts it, "social constructs […] can be seen as a way to give meaning to ambiguous social circumstances". An example of this can be the construction and use of the terms allochthonous and autochthonous in the Netherlands; these terms were introduced for policy purposes but are now more often seen as curse words, which can be seen as failing to achieve the presupposed purposes. However, if the purpose of the implementation of these words would have been to create a larger divide amongst the population in the Netherlands, the implementation can be seen as rather successful. I expect to find discourses that are more right-leaning in the policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam. This leads to the formulation of the following hypothesis:

H3: The integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam are dominated by the constructs of a right-wing oriented discourse coalition.

2.3.4 Institutionalist perspective

Institutions guide people in daily life and guide policy makers in the process of policy development. Institutions are patterns of values that are so embedded in society that you most often do not even notice they are present. An example of this is the institution of marriage. In the past everyone was so used to the idea that everyone was married when they were older than 25 years old, that you were an outsider when you were still single by that age. According to Bekkers et al. (fc) "the institutions determine the course and content of policy processes to a large extent" (p. xx). This means that the institutions embedded in society determine the options available for actors to use whilst forming policy. These institutions make it easier to make certain decisions and harder to make others.

True, Jones & Baumgartner (2007) elaborate on the *punctuated-equilibrium theory* earlier developed and argue that governmental policy processes are generally focussed on incrementalism. This is the process of making small changes over time, but these processes are only on rare occasions faced with a real burst-through of new ideas and policies. These outbursts are thus the punctuation of the equilibrium. Incrementalism is 'the science of muddling through' and favours the status quo; policy makers can most often not make big changes to policy. The theory of incrementalism is in line with the notion of *path dependence*, which is defined as "once a country or region has started down a track, the costs of reversal are very high. There will often be other choice points, but the entrenchments of certain institutional arrangements obstruct an easy reversal of the initial choice" (Levi, 1997, 28, as described in Pierson, 2000, 252). Little change happens when there is *negative feedback*, meaning that the government or authority handling does not want to change the implemented policy, which in turn can be due to path dependency. However, when there is *positive feedback* there is a change that "causes future changes to be amplified" (True et al, 2007, 9), meaning that once a change is made to a policy, this might signal more changes in the future.

As Streeck and Thelen (2001) show, most of the policy changes do not happen at the snap of a finger, but take some time to take effect. The authors describe five models of change, which I will discuss here shortly. Firstly, *displacement* is rather

straightforward; new institutions drive out the old. Second, *layering* holds that old institutions disappear since increasing amounts of new institutions are being put on top of it, making it lose its initial power. The third model of change, *drift*, entails that institutions are no longer in place since they are outdated. In contrast, *conversion* holds that the institution changes according to societal wide changes and thus can continue to exist. The last model of change, *exhaustion*, describes the situation where the effect of the institution is over- or underestimated, and the institution and accompanying policy is not beneficial enough anymore for those people keeping it in place. Given the fact that both Liverpool and Rotterdam have developed throughout the years in terms of size and importance, whilst having a strong body of government, the following hypothesis is formed:

> H_4: The integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam are influenced by path dependency stemming from before the 2000s, resulting in incrementalism.

The theory to guide the analysis of this thesis is based on different theories which fit together to analyse. The theories on socio-cultural integration by Berry (2011) and Koopmans and Statham (2000) indicate which type of integration policy different types of parties would wish to pursue. To get into more depth about the way these parties do this, the four perspectives on policy making by Bekkers et al. (fc) are used. These theories together will lay out how different parties have influenced the policy making process on integration policy for Liverpool and Rotterdam. Figure 3 shows the conceptual model designed for this thesis. The goal of the thesis is to identify differences and similarities between the socio-cultural integration processes of Liverpool and Rotterdam. These are expected to be dependent on the status and consequences of being a second city, and of the four perspectives on policy making by Bekkers et al. (fc). To analyse this, methods have to be laid out more carefully, which brings us to the following chapter.
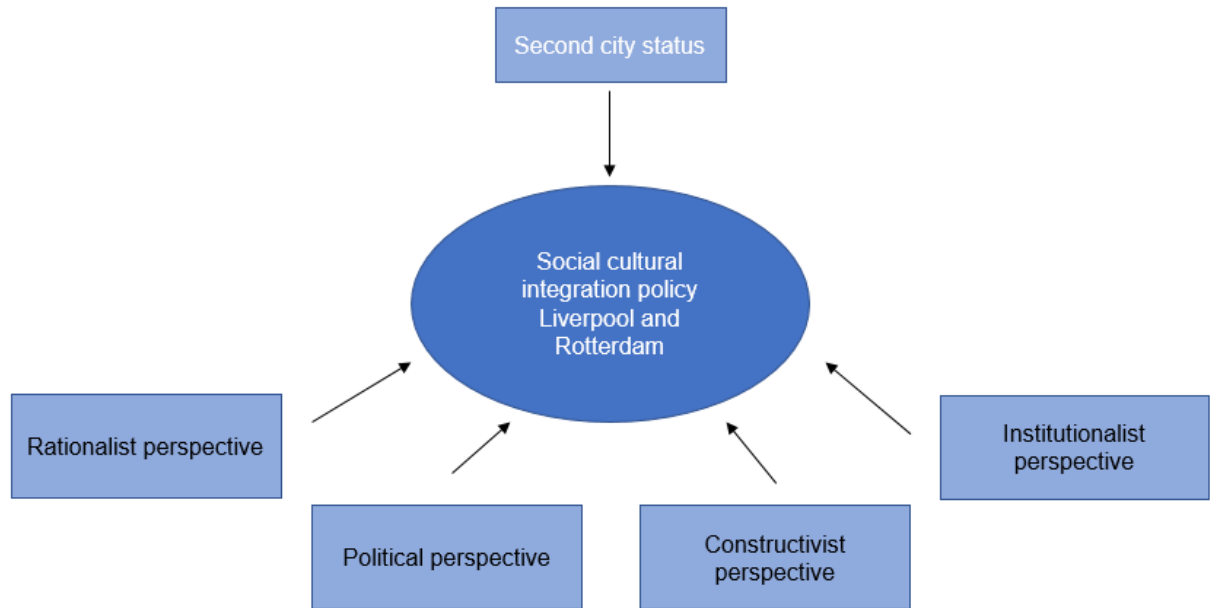
Figure 3. Conceptual model

Chapter 3. Methodology

In this section, the methodology of the research will be outlined. In chapter 3.1, the research design will be discussed, concerning the case studies and the supposed relations between them. The methods will be described in chapter 3.2, which are the kind of research done and the reasons for these methods.

3.1 Research Design

In her study on comparative research in policy, Gupta (2012) advocates for combining multiple research designs into a more meaningful new design. She argues that, broadly speaking, there are three categories in scholarship on comparing policy for research. In the first category, the research looks at policy in different countries and questions how and why these countries do or do not differ in their policies. This type of research has a rich history. Gupta (2012) also names a few reasons why this type of research is useful; it explains policy choices, sets the initial step to theorizing and "makes it possible to identify major outliers and interesting anomalies" (p. 14). The second category of policy research is described as an 'emerging trend' and compares institutional settings, to define which settings facilitate the implementation of certain types of policies and which do not. This category is more focussed on "employing theories of the public policy process" (Gupta, 2012, 17). The last category of comparative research into policy according to Gupta (2012) is also emerging, and looks at which theories explain the implementation of policy best and how these theories can explain the policy process. This way of research stems from the idea that there is too much theory (Meier, 2009, as described in Gupta, 2012), and there are two ways to solve this problem. One can either "compare theories in a relatively abstract theoretical way" (Gupta, 2012, 18), or "compare them to one another when answering a specific question" (Gupta, 2012, 18) The author states that the former solution stays too abstract, and therefore the latter solution is more useful in practice.

In this thesis, I combine the three categories of comparative research of Gupta (2012) into policymaking. For the first category, I look at the convergence and divergence, and the reasoning behind this, of the policies in Liverpool and Rotterdam, which are situated in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The institutional settings are compared since the structure of council will be considered, but also path dependency and possibilities for institutional change. Gupta's (2012) third category will be used in the way that in this thesis different perspectives on public policy are

used to answer the research question. It is therefore one of the aims of this thesis to combine these types of comparative research in a right and balanced way, so that it is in line with Gupta's (2012) call for this type of research.

Howlett, Ramesh and Perl (2009) give a multitude of reasons to study public policy and in chapter one of their book 'Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems', they also give apt explanations what public policy entails. The most important aspect in the study is that they define that scholars must research three dimensions of public policy to study it correctly: the policy actors, the institutions and the ideas. The policy actors are the people that "determine the content and process of public policy-making" (Howlett et al., 2009, 2). This is a multitude of actors with different interests at heart, striving after their ideals. The institutions are said to "serve to constrain and influence these actors' efforts" (Howlett et al., 2009, 2). For example, the institutions in place can enhance path dependency through constraints in what the actors can and cannot do. The last dimension, the set of ideas, "inform their deliberations and actions" (Howlett et al., 2009, 2). This again concerns the policy actors and what they will and will not do; this is the knowledge that the actors possess of the matter at hand. This can be linked to the concept of bounded rationality in the sense that no one can know everything, and thus people are restricted to their knowledge of themselves and the people around them. When one wants to understand public policy correctly, one must look at this interplay of factors; the governance of the issue. An issue cannot be looked at in isolation, because it becomes meaningless when it is stripped bare of the circumstances. This concept of Howlett et al. (2009) is vital to study the issues of governance, therefore also for this thesis.

The question now remains why the decision to choose Liverpool and Rotterdam as the two case studies. Both cities are of origin port cities (van de Laar, 2016), and especially during the nineteenth century grew due to the growing business of water transport and other port activities. Both cities have hosted increasing numbers of labour migrants since the Second World War due to lack of native labourers. This comparison will be elaborated further upon in the section on context. Even though the two cities differ significantly in their number of inhabitants, Rotterdam had 629.606 residents in 2016 (Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst Rotterdam, 2016), whilst Liverpool had 465.700 (Liverpool, n.d.b), it is assumed that this will not stand in the

way of a significant analysis on their policy on integration. Both cities have in the past dealt with and are currently dealing with migrants and their integration and are therefore interesting objects of study. Even though most research is focussing on dissimilar case studies, this research focusses on a (largely) similar case study. This is done for the simple reason of looking how different outcomes can be when many preconditions are the same. Rotterdam is known for its cultural diversity and the supposed celebration of this, but the presence of the right-wing populist party Leefbaar Rotterdam has often been seen as a reason why this diversity is not celebrated. For Liverpool, the background information and knowledge prior to the research was minimal, but was gained through the course of the research. One thing was clear from the start. The cities are similar in their development through the ages when it comes to their attractiveness to immigrants, making it an interesting similar case study to consider in more detail.

One of the many similarities in history are the riots in the Afrikaanderwijk in Rotterdam and in Toxteth in Liverpool. Both cities are rather free to formulate their own integration agenda and are thus partly independent actors. Most importantly, Liverpool and Rotterdam are culturally diverse cities, and actively celebrate this, but also have difficulties with integrating migrants. However, there are also many differences between the two cities when it comes to their integration policy and the processes around this. The fact that these two cities are both second cities makes this case study relevant, therefore I look at how these second cities deal with difficulties of integration policy. More importantly, how is this integration policy formed and why specifically in this way? By comparing the two cities, more can be said about both; they mean more in relation to each other than separately. Taking the four perspectives of Bekkers et al. (fc) as one of the starting points in comparing, the integration policies of second cities Liverpool and Rotterdam can be compared.

3.2 Methods

To answer the research questions of this thesis effectively, a combination of methods was used. Firstly, the current integration policies of both cities were analysed, and secondly, there were semi-structured in-depth interviews with people from both municipalities. Besides these interviews, two respondents were interviewed for the aims of the context parts.

3.2.1 Document analysis

It is necessary to schematize the policy documents according to a few categories to analyse correctly. First, it is important to identify the actors who have worked and are working on certain issues. Second, after the former identification, it is necessary to determine to which party, and thus underlying paradigm, these actors belong to. These paradigms then can be linked back to the literature. This is the reason for using a data-matrix in this research; to group quotes in connection to the theory. For the analyses of both cities, the documents were searched for on the website of the city council. For Liverpool, the website is https://liverpool.gov.uk/council/ and for Rotterdam the website is https://www.rotterdam.nl/gemeenteraad/.

For Liverpool, the focus lies on the Equality and Diversity Policy Statement (Liverpool City Council, 2016) and the Liverpool City Council Equality Objectives 2016-2020 Action Plan 2016/17 (Liverpool City Council, n.d.c). The policy document in place on integration in Rotterdam is the nota *integratie 010* (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.e), with an accompanied action plan. These documents were analysed thoroughly by reading them carefully, highlighting interesting and important passages which could be directly linked to either the models of integration, policy making or to certain parties. This lead to the data-matrixes in appendix V and VI, which in turn lead to the questions for the interviews.

3.2.2 Interviews

For the section on context, two experts on the two local contexts were interviewed: Dr. Alex Balch for the context of Liverpool and Prof. Dr. Paul van de Laar for the context of Rotterdam. These interviews were helpful in giving more background to the two case studies, but also linking them together. Both Dr. Balch and Prof. Dr. van de Laar were asked about the integration policy of the city of expertise in the past, present, and their views on the future. These views can be found back in the sections on context. For the content analysis, four people from the municipality of Rotterdam and one person from the municipality of Liverpool were interviewed. For Liverpool, this was an employee who works in connection to equality in Liverpool: Frank Prendergast. It was my intention to interview at least three people from the municipality of Liverpool, but after many tries there was still zero response from everyone I contacted, except for Mr. Prendergast. Three of the people from Rotterdam's municipality that were interviewed were members of the committee *Werk en Inkomen, Participatie en*

Volksgezondheid (WIPV): Setkin Sies, Peggy Wijntuin and Michel van Elck. Setkin Sies is the representative of the Christian party (ChristenUnie-SGP), Peggy Wijntuin is a representative of the Labour party (Partij van de Arbeid) and Michel van Elck is a representative for Leefbaar Rotterdam, which is a local political party. Jeroen Schilder was not a member of this committee but was interesting to interview since he is the strategic advisor for NIDA. This is a local party with an Islamic background which views are contrasting those of Leefbaar Rotterdam.

Respondent	City	Function
Dr. Balch	Liverpool	Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at University of Liverpool
Prof. Dr. van de Laar	Rotterdam	Associate Professor at Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication
F. Prendergast	Liverpool	Councillor for the Labour Party in Liverpool City Council
S. Sies	Rotterdam	Chairman for ChristenUnie-SGP in Rotterdam City Council, member of the committee WIPV
P. Wijntuin	Rotterdam	Member of City council for Partij van de Arbeid, member of the committee WIPV
M. van Elck	Rotterdam	Member of City Council for Leefbaar Rotterdam, member of the committee WIPV
J. Schilder	Rotterdam	Strategic advisor for NIDA

Table 1. Respondents and their functions within the cities

The interviews were all semi-structured, working with some basic questions which were elaborated upon further. For the different questions asked per interview, see appendix VIII. This type of interview was chosen because it left enough room for discussion or elaboration on certain points. The questions for the employees of the municipalities started very basic about the opinions of the respondents on the current integration policy and if they saw their party's view reflected in this; a question already linked to the political perspective of Bekkers et al. (fc). Further, the respondents were asked about whether they thought the current integration policies were reflecting

knowledge, whether they experience it to be dependent on the national discourse and the policy history.

Chapter 4. Context

In this section, the contexts of Liverpool and Rotterdam will be discussed. A basic history of both the cities will be given in terms of their integration of migrants from the end of the Second World War (1945) onwards. After this, the current (policy) situation will be described. The interviews with Dr. Alex Balch and Prof. Dr. van der Laar have helped me to construct the contexts of both cities.

4.1 Liverpool

Compared to the nation's capital city London, Liverpool seems a small city. Whereas London had 7.4 million inhabitants in 2011 (London Datastore, 2016), Liverpool had 465.700 (Liverpool, n.d.b). However, compared to other major cities in the country (Liverpool, n.d.b), Liverpool is one of the larger cities. From the 2011 census data it follows that 86.3 per cent of its population is "White British & Irish" (Liverpool, n.d.b, see graph 1, Appendix I), so only 13.7% of its population is not originating from the British Isles. Liverpool's population has been growing in the last decade, with 3.38 per cent between 2010 and 2015 in total (Liverpool City Council, n.d.b). However, there is no data since 2011 on the ethnic demographics of the population. According to Belchem (2010), Liverpool was a hub in the diaspora of the Irish migrants, since its seaport was relatively easy to reach for these migrants, for example the Irish. The seaports used to hold a large share of jobs in industry, mainly low-paid and for the low-educated. The city is considered as one of the nine second-order cities, next to Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Bristol, Sheffield, Nottingham and Leicester (Champion, Coombes & Gordon, 2014), fitting in line with Hodos' notion of second cities.

As the aforementioned demographics illustrate, a large share of Liverpool's migration history has been in connection to the Irish migrants coming during the 19th century. After the Second World War there were too little labourers available amongst the Liverpudlians to fill the spots in the harbours. According to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC, n.d.) most of the labour migrants who were coming were originating from the Commonwealth countries. In August 1948 this led to riots throughout the country, starting in Liverpool (BBC, n.d.). These riots were started by "right-wing pro-white groups, building on ill-feeling at competition for housing and jobs" (BBC, n.d., xx), which is comparable to Rotterdam's Afrikaanderwijk riots. In 1965, the *Race*

Relations Act was implemented, which was "the first piece of legislation in the UK to address the prohibition of racial discrimination and followed previously unsuccessful bills" (United Kingdom Parliament, n.d., xx). This act only banned discrimination in public spaces, and therefore discrimination in the work field was not yet addressed. This changed by the implementation of the 1968 Race Relations Act, "which made unlawful acts of discrimination within employment housing and advertising" (United Kingdom Parliament, n.d., xx). Since Kenya used to be a part of the British Empire before its independence in 1963, many people still held onto their passports for Great Britain. A ban on people holding on to such a passport led to the migration of many Kenyans to Britain (BBC, n.d.). With still more migrants coming in, mainly from former colonies other than Kenya, right-wing British had enough and in 1972 immigration restrictions meant that "British passport holders born oversees can only settle in Britain if they have a work permit and a parent or grandparent born in the UK" (BBC, n.d., xx). The aforementioned race relations acts of 1965 and 1968 were in 1976 replaced by the *Commission for Racial Equality*, extending the previous acts with equality on religious grounds. In 1981, riots broke out in Toxteth (a borough in the city centre of Liverpool), which according to Dr. Balch was due to "the Black community that felt very vulnerable and persecuted" (interview, 13 June 2017). These events happened in Britain while a large share of Europe was still in the grip of the *Iron Curtain*, but with the fall of it in 1989, a lot of people from Kosovo applied for asylum in the UK (BBC, n.d.). Policy was not so much concerned with the integration of migrants, but more with equal treatment for all.

The interview with Alex Balch on June 13th, 2017 taught me more about the broader context of the integration policy in the United Kingdom and Liverpool. The United Kingdom always had a laissez-faire approach to integration, "particularly in the early post-war years, because Britain didn't see itself as a country of immigration" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017). Only in the 1960's did Britain start to realize that they were in fact a country of immigration and that they might have to work with it in some way. Roy Hattersley famously said, "immigration without integration is indefensible, but integration without hard controls is impossible" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017), and this idea really stuck with the English people. In Britain, it would be unthinkable to give more government money to Liverpool because it had more immigrants than other cities. However, "there was a brief moment under New Labour in early 21st century where they talked about an impacts fund", (Dr. Balch, interview,

13 June 2017). This was washed away when the Conservatives regained power. Overall, "in the 70's, 80's and 90's, Britain's policy was no migration" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017). This means that the policy that was in place was only about reducing the numbers of immigrants coming in, but not about how to deal with problems that followed when immigrants were already in Britain. On the local level, when a British city such as Liverpool has to deal with the reality of migrants being present who might need help, they usually have ad hoc arrangements and help goes more through welfare systems than linking it to integration (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017). Even though migrants make a nation a lot of money, Britain is unwilling to spend money on their immigrants, meaning that when there would be "an integration policy with money attached to it, it is money for immigrants" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017), which is not something the public nor the politics would accept in Britain. However, "the only way you can politically spend that kind of money is by talking about security" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017), which is often influenced by the media. Even though Britain still seems to be in denial of being a country of immigration, Liverpool has the advantage that "they've got an identity that it's international, it can draw on that and celebrate diversity […] which is one of the key techniques for social cohesion in the city" (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017).

Before 2004, every EU-citizen had to hold a work permit before they could work in a different EU country than their own. This has changed since 2004, when multiple countries, under which the United Kingdom, "opened up their labour markets to citizens of the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)" (Engbersen, Snel & de Boom, 2010). For Romania and Bulgaria, a transitional period was installed, but labourers descending from these countries are free to work in the United Kingdom since 2014 (BBC, n.d.).

Great Britain has implemented a localist policy, because the national government thinks that "cities themselves should have a strong say over how mayors can help their city thrive" (Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, Department for Communities and Local Government & Clark, 2011, xx). Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger and Scholten (2015) describe localism as there being differences between local contexts, and thus there being a need for different local policies in different local contexts. This means not mainstreaming national policy, but allowing local governments to decide for themselves what kind of policy they formulate. However, according to Dr. Balch "the

context is reducing autonomy, funding is being sucked into the centre" (interview, 13 June 2017). This means that even though the national government claims that they have implemented localist policy, they have not done so.

Since 1998, the city council of Liverpool has been dominated by the Labour party, even though currently the national government is dominated by the Conservatives. In Liverpool, the policy documents closest connected to integration of migrants that are in place now are the Equality and Diversity Policy Statement of 2016 and the action plan for 2016/2017 for the equality objectives. The former is a general outline about the plans for the upcoming year about equality and diversity in general. The latter is a 16-page document which focuses on 34 priorities, each accompanied by one or multiple key actions and expected outcomes. Besides, each priority relates to whom takes the lead in this, and what kind of timeframe this priority has. Both these documents were published by the city council and are thus expected to be reflective of the city councils' preferences, which is a Labour perspective. The city council works together with a multitude of actors, such as schools, businesses, religious organisations, et cetera.

4.2 Rotterdam

Rotterdam is Netherland's second biggest city (see graph 2, Appendix II), only preceded by Amsterdam, leaving The Hague and Utrecht behind it. As graph three (Appendix III) shows us, 50.1 per cent of Rotterdam's population is of Dutch descent, which contrasts with Liverpool's 86.3 per cent native residents. According to this data from the Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst (2017), the largest group of residents with a migrant background are those with a non-Western background, those with a Turkish background and those with a Moroccan background.

In the Second World War, the city of Rotterdam was bombarded, on May 14th, 1940 (van de Laar, 2009). In this bombing, most of the inner city was destroyed, but also about 42 per cent of the port's wharf (van de Laar, 2009, 464). In 1950, the port had as much ships coming in as in 1938, it was still under construction to develop further (van de Laar, 2009, 465), and in the period 1960-1973 the economy in the Netherlands had some "golden years" (van de Laar, 2009, 485). However, the oil crisis of 1973 put an end to this. In February 1963, Rotterdam's port had become the largest one in the world (van de Laar, 2009, 512). Companies in the seaport of Rotterdam were struggling with finding labourers when their business started expanding, and this

led them to recruit foreign workers for their low-paid jobs in the middle of the 1950s, mostly from the Mediterranean area (van de Laar, 2009, 526). As table four shows (Appendix IV), in 1961 most of the foreign labours were of Italian descent, but in 1975 most were of Turkish descent. However, according to Engbersen et al. (2010) "policymakers embraced the myth that guest workers from Mediterranean countries would return to their countries of origin once the jobs they came for were finished". After the Second World War, no integration policy was implemented, simply due to politicians and city council thinking that the migrant workers would return home after their work contracts had ended.

After riots in the borough *Afrikaanderwijk* in 1972, the municipality implemented rules to make sure that not too many labour migrants stayed in the same parts of the city (van de Laar, 2009, 532). In the interview with Prof. Dr. van de Laar, he told me that these riots were seen as the first race riots in the Netherlands, even though these riots were about migrant workers who were unsatisfied with their living arrangements. The integration policies developed in the period 1945-1975 were not elaborative enough, due to the myth of return still being present within the city council and politics in general. Engbersen et al. (2010) claim that besides the recruited labour migrants, two other groups of migrants came to the Netherlands in the period 1950-1990; post-colonial migrants from Surinam and Indonesia. Surinam became independent in 1975 and the Dutch part of Indonesia in 1949. In the late 1970s, more family members of the, supposed short-term, guest workers started to migrate to the Netherlands, causing another large inflow of 'foreigners' into Rotterdam.

Engbersen et al. (2010) frame the migration patterns from 1990 onwards to be *superdiverse*, in line with Vertovec's (2007, as described in Engbersen et al., 2010) work on superdiversity. The authors state that there are new geographical patterns (migrants coming from further distance) and "new types of immigrants with weak or no residence status (asylum seekers, temporary labour migrants and illegal migrants)" (Engbersen et al., 2010, 117). However, as Prof. Dr. van de Laar pointed out to me, one can identify a population as super-diverse, but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make integration policy for such a group. With approximately 170 different nationalities present in Rotterdam today (Rotterdam partners, n.d.), mainstreaming of policy is undoable, but targeted policy is even more unthinkable. According to Prof. Dr. van de Laar, the integration policies of Rotterdam have always been reactive, and not proactive, as they should be according to him. The policies are reactive in the sense

that the policies are mostly *ad hoc* and deals with problems of integration. If the policies would be more proactive, there would be more investment into breaking down language and culture barriers from a young age. However, as migrants coming to the Netherlands must fund their own integration courses and language courses (Rijksoverheid, n.d.), this hardly seems possible.

The largest share part of the contemporary labour migrants are people coming from Western countries. In contrast to the myth of return, Engbersen et al. (2010) claim that there is a new social myth; "that a substantial number of labour migrants will stay in the Netherlands. However, as experience in the UK and Ireland has shown, many labour migrants do return" (p. 118). The labour migrants, mainly from Central- and Eastern European (CEE) countries, work in Rotterdam mainly based on temporal or seasonal basis; for example, working in fruit and vegetable production (Engbersen et al., 2010). Even though the refugee crisis has been going on intensively for the past few years, with the Netherlands taking in substantial numbers of refugees, Rotterdam has opened its first asylum seeker centre in 2016, holding places for a maximum of 400 people (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.a). Therefore, the largest share of immigrants arriving in Rotterdam are still labour migrants.

The integration nota currently in place in Rotterdam is called *integratie 010* (010 being the phone prefix of the city). This policy document is signed by the major Ahmed Aboutaleb and the alderman for the city's development and integration (*Wethouder Stedelijke Ontwikkeling en Integratie*) Ronald Schneider. The major, Aboutaleb is a member of the *Partij van de Arbeid* (PvdA), which is the a social-democratic labour party, whilst Schneider is a member of *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (LR), which is a right-wing party, initiated by Pim Fortuyn. Aboutaleb has been the major of Rotterdam since 2009, and will remain the major until 2021 (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.b), Schneider has been an alderman since 2014 (Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.f). The *Integratie 010*-nota is accompanied with an implementation agenda integration 2015-2018, which shows which concrete measures will be taken in that period to improve the integration of migrants. This agenda also addressed the many partners that the municipality works with; educational institutions, non- governmental organisations such as *Vluchtelingenwerk Nederland*, media, entrepreneurs and so forth. The committee responsible for integration within the municipality is the committee *Work and Income, Participation and Public Health* (*Werk en Inkomen, Participatie en Volksgezondheid*)

(Gemeente Rotterdam, n.d.c.). Three members of this committee have been interviewed for this thesis.

4.3 Renewed hypotheses

Considering the context of both Liverpool and Rotterdam, the hypotheses formulated in chapter 2 will be revised. This means that the hypotheses can be made more specific and concrete. The hypothesis on the rational perspective remains the following:

> H_1: The integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam are largely based on evidence-based knowledge

This continuity in the hypothesis is because of the presumed influences of austerity measures from both national governments of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Due to austerity measures, it is expected that the city councils must watch their funding closer and are therefore more focussed on the effectiveness and efficiency of their policies.

The hypothesis on the political perspective on policy making has been changed to the following:

> H_2: The formulation of the social-cultural integration policies of Liverpool were dominated by the Labour party and for Rotterdam this was done by Leefbaar Rotterdam.

This change has been made because the dominant political parties have been identified. Making the second hypothesis more concrete makes the analysis more precise and therefore the findings more valuable.

A similar change has been made in the third hypothesis, on the constructivist perspective. Since it has been identified which parties are dominant in city council, the hypothesis is now the following:

> H_3: The integration policies of Liverpool were dominated by constructs of the discourse coalition of the Labour party and in Rotterdam this was done by the discourse coalition of Leefbaar Rotterdam, D66 and CDA.

The fourth hypothesis has also been adjusted to the following:

> H4: The integration policy of Liverpool is under the influence of path dependency from the past, whilst the integration policy of Rotterdam shows a clear break from the past.

This change again has been made due to the findings in this chapter on context, making the hypothesis more concrete and applicable.

These hypotheses will be tested in the following chapters, which are the case studies of Liverpool and Rotterdam and the comparative analysis of the two. From the analysis of the context it can be said that even though the histories of both cities are comparable, in the last decades large disparities in policy have developed. This is assumed to be a result of the austerity measures of both national governments, the upcoming dominance of the right-wing party Leefbaar Rotterdam in Rotterdam and the differences in path dependency. In the next three chapters, this interim conclusion will be tested.

Chapter 5. Case study I: Liverpool

In this chapter, the analysis of the policy document of the city council of Liverpool will be discussed together with the results of the interview. This will be linked to Koopmans and Statham's theory and to the four perspectives of Bekkers et al.

5.1 Policy type

The theory of Koopmans and Statham (2000) provided an ideal-typical categorisation of four possible policy types on citizenship. After the analysis of the two policy documents and the interview with Mr. Prendergast, the conclusion is that the city council of Liverpool focuses on civic pluralism. Its views are mainstreamed with the credo "we want Liverpool to be a strong diverse city that is built on fairness" (policy statement, 2016, p. 3). Their focus is on creating equal opportunities for all their citizens, regardless of the nine characteristics that may cause unfairness in general; "age, disability, gender, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, and sexual orientation" (policy statement, 2016, p. 5). The city council recognises its past by stating "Liverpool is historically a diverse city and its population of 473,100 is becoming increasingly diverse giving our city a rich and varied culture which as a positive impact on the lives of our citizens and visitors making Liverpool an excellent place to live, work and visit" (policy statement, 2016, p. 3). They actively seek to "celebrate heritage and diversity and tackle the negative use of labels" (action plan, 2016, p. 12) and are therefore seen as being open to other cultural backgrounds, norms and values and traditions. This falls in line with Koopman and Statham's (2000) notion of civic pluralism in that the policy is in favour of cultural pluralism in obligations tied to citizenship and the basis of this citizenship is civic-territorial.

The current policy documents in place are preventive of nature according to Mr. Prendergast; "if you don't do it now, in 5-10 years, you've got a major problem and not the funding to tackle it" (interview, 12 June 2017). The only thing standing in the way of achieving their goals is the lack of funding from the national government; "there's less and less money being put in, so more and more people are being affected. So, it becomes harder to satisfy everybody" (interview, 12 June 2017). Even though the policy documents are focussed on creating equal opportunities for all citizens, there seems to be a lack of measures on the integration of immigrants; there is only one mention of translators being present at public services (policy statement, 2016, p. 18),

but no mention of language classes being provided for non-English speaking citizens. This is assumed to be due to the lack of funding from the government and the fact that immigrants must apply for a loan for their language classes. The policy type implemented by the municipality of Liverpool is one of civic pluralism and this policy is a more preventive one.

5.2 Four perspectives

5.2.1 Rational perspective

The objectives that the city council of Liverpool have set on creating equal opportunities are viewed as rational in the way that they do "as much as we can" (F. Prendergast, interview, 12 June 2017). The city council has been struggling with austerity measures from the national government and they try to work with what they have (F. Prendergast, interview, 12 June 2017). The objectives that they set are often not involving large amounts of money, but more focussed on what employees of the municipality can do to create more equal opportunities for their citizens. For example, one of their aims is to "ensure that our jobs are accessible to all people and that our workforce is diverse and representative of the local community" (policy statement, 2016, p. 5). The interventions they do pursue are creating opportunities for all their citizens with the goal of these interventions flowing "into different areas as well" (F. Prendergast, interview, 12 June 2017). Another factor which fits into the rationalist perspective is the willingness of the city council to monitor the actions of their employees and the outcomes of their actions. They have put three teams to work, the Management Team, Equality Champions and Staff Diversity Forum to make sure that their goals are being met (policy statement, 2016, p. 7). An example of the workings of this is "this policy will be monitored alongside the equality objectives and will be reviewed at least biannually" (policy statement, 2016, p. 12). The city council also wants to work effectively and are "constantly reviewing and adapting our policies and procedures and carrying out our duties under the law as it develops to stop discrimination and support equality and diversity" (policy statement, 2016, p. 13). This reviewing and analysing of their own actions and the effects is often repeated throughout both the policy statement and the action plan. Transparency and progress are seen as important within the rationale of the city council. This is regarded as vastly rational.

The notion of evidence-based policy making is hardly applicable to the plans of the city council of Liverpool. Their aims of transparency and progress are largely based on their willingness to improve the situation of their citizens, however they do not back this up with evidence from research or past evaluations. The city council does show the importance of their transparency by stating "we will continue to use the impact assessment process and equality analysis to support the development of inclusive and responsive policies, procedures and service provision" (policy statement, 2016, p. 8), signalling that these are the things that went wrong in the past. The municipality of Liverpool attempts to work rationally with the instruments they have available, but their policy lacks the use of evidence-based knowledge.

5.2.2 Political perspective

In Liverpool, the major and city council chairs are being held by the Labour Party (Liverpool City Council, 2017). Therefore, both the policy statement and action plan reflect the sentiments of this party. When asking Mr. Prendergast if he believed the action plan and policy statement to represent his party, he answered "the Action Plan is what we want to achieve, how we're going to do it. We've been working with the housing associations, church and community organisations to help them get more involved. Helping people to help themselves" (interview, 12 June 2017). This thus confirms that the Action Plan is in line with the sentiments of the Labour Party. Connecting this to Sabatier's theory on Advocacy Coalitions (1998), we can see that at the deep core, the Labour Party wants to create equal opportunities for all its citizens, regardless of the nine characteristics mentioned before. This is visible in the following: "We will put equality and fairness at the centre of everything we do and promote equal opportunities for our customers and staff, value the diversity of our communities by setting the highest service standards and seeking to continuously improve as both an employer and service provider" (policy statement, 2016, p. 3). Equal opportunities in their eyes therefore mean a holistic policy, which is meant for every citizen, not just for those who are struggling with certain problems. They also want to change the ways in which the city council and municipality as a whole work, this can be seen in the following; "the Council's equality objectives for 2016-2020 are: Listen, involve and respond to our communities; Strengthen our knowledge and understanding of our communities; Consultative and accountable leadership making fair and transparent decisions; A fair and inclusive employer; Good quality accessible services, buildings

and public spaces" (policy statement, 2016, p. 7). On the policy core level, the city council shows that they take the problems with equality in their municipality seriously; "we acknowledge that there are huge disparities across our city and within our communities and that communities suffer as a result of living in areas of deprivation" (policy statement, 2016, p. 23). The secondary aspects of the policy are however somewhat vaguer; the documents often describe what the problems are and what needs to be changed through policy, but not specifically how. Examples of this are "tackle discrimination on the basis of refugee, asylum and immigration status" (action plan, 2016, p. 2); "tackle poverty and mitigate the impacts of continuing reductions in public funding" (action plan, 2016, p. 10) and "we will gather a range of equality information and this will be used to inform our policies, decisions and work" (policy statement, 2016, p. 7). This lack of precise measures linked to the lack of funding by the national government. This lack of precise measures can also be linked to the ward-system in Liverpool, where different employees of the city council are responsible for different wards in the city, which all have their own problems. These differences in problems lead to the necessity of different policies and plans for the different wards. However, no documents could be found describing such policies or plans. Mr. Prendergast did point out that before the 1990's, there was no policy on equality; "that's why we set up equal opportunities subcommittee in the 1990's, we found that about 6.5 per cent of the population was ethnic minorities, but we only had about 1.5 per cent of the people working with the council" (interview, 12 June 2017), this signals that the policies in the past and present on equal opportunities are the work of the Labour Party. There is no found effect of cherry picking of data or research.

5.2.3 Constructivist perspective

The narrative that the city council brings across to its citizens is that of equal opportunities for everyone being of high importance. In the documents analysed, the words equal, equality and equal opportunities are used at a high rate (nearly 250 times). The way in which the city council puts forward the policy statement and the action plan makes it seem to the people that their intended actions are the only viable ones, fitting in line with Hajer's theory on discourse coalitions (1993). This is visible in a statement such as "good equality practice makes good business sense for private and for voluntary organisations. It makes the better employers, it proves their ability to meet the needs of potential customers and it can help them to be better placed to

deliver public services" (policy statement, 2016, p. 10). By statements like these, other options are made to seem unthinkable and therefore they are successful statements. All statements are clearly favouring the notion of civic pluralism and present a clear discourse.

Mr. Prendergast was asked about his perceived influence of media on how the objectives were formed and what the people think about the objectives and the policy statement. His answer was that he does not believe the media to have an impact, since they are "usually depressive and aggressive" (interview, 12 June 2017) and only highlight the bad things. Also, this can be linked again to the ward-system in place in Liverpool where the local councillors have personal contact with the citizens in their ward, and therefore they do not need the media to tell them what is happening in their ward. The dominant discourse of the policy of Liverpool is one of equality for all citizens. This discourse is represented in the policy in a clear manner, however has not been picked up by the media in that way.

5.2.4 Institutionalist perspective

In the theoretical framework, the notion of incrementalism was introduced; making small changes over time, due to dependency on the past. According to Mr. Prendergast, on the local level there have been incremental changes, an example of this is creating dropped curbs for disabled people getting around town, but just introducing these whenever there were road reconstructions. However, within policy it is visible that the city council wants to change things compared to what they used to be, they want to "improve the understanding of our diverse communities" (action plan, 2016, p. 11), improve the effectiveness of their policies and overall more actively help people in need. The city council therefore is willing to make large changes, but is often unable to do so, mostly due to lack of funds. They use the technique of *layering* to make smaller changer noticeable in the long run.

In line with the punctuated equilibrium theory of True et al. (2007), there has been a major shift in policy in Liverpool, this was in the 1990's when the local government changed from a conservative to a labour one (Dr. Balch, interview, 13 June 2017). However, as Mr. Prendergast pointed out, on the national level the conservatives are back in power and therefore it makes it hard for the local city council to pursue their interests. As mentioned multiple times before, there is a lack of funding for the plans of the labour-oriented city council of Liverpool, and it is hard for them to

achieve their goals and make a large change in the equal opportunities for their citizens. This lack of funding results in the lack of precise measures and therefore he plans of the city council of Liverpool stay rather broad. The technique of layering is used to be able to implement changes within policy, attempting to create impact on the short and long term.

The perspective with the most explanatory value for the municipality of Liverpool is the institutionalist. Even though the fact that the Labour Party is in charge determines the policy at hand, the institutionalist structure makes all the difference. What the municipality can implement in terms of changes is heavily dependent on the actions of the past, and the lack of funding from the government furthers this inability to implement large changes. Or as Mr. Prendergast put it "if you can prevent something that can get very bad, you can save a lot more money by tackling it now. But, they don't make that money available. We do our best and we know what the problems are" (interview, 12 June 2017).

Chapter 6. Case study II: Rotterdam

For the case study of Rotterdam, the interviews with Mr. Sies, Mr. Schilder, Mr. van Elck and Mrs. Wijntuin were used, together with the policy document 'integratie 010' and the accompanied action plan. Since this document was written in Dutch and the interviews were held in Dutch, all the citations used in this section are my own translations. However, I did try to stay as close to the initial citations as possible.

6.1 Policy type

The following quote neatly describes the policy type of the municipality of Rotterdam: "The integration process is like joining traffic on the highway. On the highway, the Netherlands is driving. In the slip road, there's the migrant who wants to join. In first instance, it is the person who wants to join who has to do the work and show initiative. From the drivers on the road we expect to give space where necessary to make this possible" (integratie 010, p. 5-6). This citation shows that the municipality of Rotterdam wants migrants to do the work to integrate, and that they are only willing to help when necessary. This points to Koopmans and Statham's policy type of ethnic assimilationism; the municipality only has place for the native culture. Or, as Mr. van Elck put it, these people must adapt to the "norms, values, laws and freedoms" (interview, 22 June 2017) of the Dutch people. The other three respondents, Mr. Sies, Mr. Schilder and Mrs. Wijntuin support the notion that the policy of Rotterdam on integration is a policy of assimilation. The prerequisite for becoming a genuine citizen of Rotterdam is "to adopt the Dutch language and norms" (integratie 010, p. 5), which clearly fits into the model of ethnic assimilationism by Koopmans and Statham.

The current integration policy of Rotterdam is also seen by the respondents as a more reactive type of policy; in the past years, the city council has done too little in terms of integration of migrants and the current council is trying to compensate for that. This will be discussed more elaborately in the section on the institutionalist perspective. The integration policy of the municipality of Rotterdam is reflecting ethnic assimilationism and this policy is a reactive one.

6.2 Four perspectives

6.2.1 Rational perspective

When asked whether the current integration policy was based on knowledge, none of the respondents answered with a clear yes. Both Mr. Sies and Mr. Schilder addressed that they experienced it more to be based on a gut feeling and political bases than on objective knowledge. In the policy itself, there are a few mentions of data. For example, on page 7, there is data on the stream of labour migrants coming in from the Middle, East, and Southern regions of Europe. According to Mr. Schilder, "since the 1960's we [the Netherlands] have become increasingly dependent on labourers outside of the Netherlands to fill the lower socio-economic classes" (interview, 7 June 2017). The writers of the integration policy make it seem like immigrants cause many problems, but do not seem to realise that a large share of the economy in Rotterdam is based on immigrants. The municipality therefore picks and chooses numbers and figures which support their claims: "it goes more into a gut feeling" (Mr. Sies, interview, 6 June 2017).

Where Mr. van Elck from Leefbaar Rotterdam argued that "a first step has been made" (interview, 22 June 2017), Mrs. Wijntuin from the Labour party PvdA argues that the current council has been doing too little altogether; "I wonder what has been noticeable in the past three years for Rotterdammers on the 'most important document of this council'", and "on the field of integration, I see 0.0 [progress]" (interview, 15 June 2017). However, as Mr. Sies puts it, "it focusses on an x amount of problems that possibly come with integration" (interview, 6 June 2017), hinting at him finding it useful. But, he immediately argued that it is not useful as an integration programme "with these problems you can set up an action programme, but integration is broader than this [the current document]" (interview, 6 June 2017). The integratie 010-document signals a lack of objective knowledge about the problems migration might cause, and therefore there is a lack of evidence based policy. The evidence that is used is viewed as supporting claims from Leefbaar Rotterdam, and thus being 'cherry picked' from the field of available data. The current integration policy of the municipality of Rotterdam lacks objective rationality and evidence-based knowledge.

6.2.2 Political perspective

As noted in the context of Rotterdam, most of the seats in city council are being held by people from the party Leefbaar Rotterdam and the alderman responsible for integration, Mr. Schneider, is also a member of this party. This party is known for its

right-wing populist views (van Ostaaijen, 2011), and their dominance in the policy field of integration is clearly visible: "mono-ethnic/cultural organisation with internally aimed activities do not improve the interaction. Municipal subsidies to these organisations are undesirable in our view" (integratie 010, p. 7). Mostly less explicit, the policy document on integration is filled with the sentiments of the party Leefbaar Rotterdam. All respondents are supportive of this claim, and Mrs. Wijntuin, Mr. Sies and Mr. Schilder saw their own parties' sentiments underrepresented. The party Mr. Schilder is a part of, NIDA, even wrote their own alternative to this integration nota, the *stadsgenota*, in which they look for "the harmony between commonality and diversity" (interview, 7 June 2017). The PvdA also attempts to work around Leefbaar Rotterdam in some ways, for example by bringing out the initiative *Samen leven in Rotterdam*, which is an alternative paper to integratie 010.

To consider the three-layered concept of the Advocacy Coalitions (Sabatier, 1998), the deep core of Leefbaar Rotterdam was viewed by Mr. Schilder as trying to make all people in Rotterdam similar (Dutch: eenheidsworst). If you are not the same as 'the Rotterdammer', you are not welcome; these are basic right-wing populist views. This is visible in statements such as "if you choose for Rotterdam, you learn the Dutch language and you respect the guiding norms of our society" (integratie 010, p. 2). This however is problematic according to Mr. Sies, Mr. Schilder and Mrs. Wijntuin, since many people that are viewed as *allochtonuous* by Leefbaar Rotterdam are nowadays often people who were born and raised in Rotterdam. The policy core of this integration policy is that there should be one-sided adaption by the migrants to 'the Dutch society', and that these migrants are responsible for their own progress (integratie 010, p. 2). The policy states that the city council is willing to help when necessary, but the fact remains that migrants must work and pay for their own integration process, this fits in line with Leefbaar Rotterdam's view of many migrants coming to Rotterdam for facilities (Mr. van Elck, interview, 22 June 2017). The secondary aspects of this advocacy coalition's policy are multiple broad projects, one of which is the 'integratietour' (integration tour), in which a team goes around the city to talk to different groups of people, e.g. students. All respondents but Mr. van Elck, and more passionately Mrs. Wijntuin, showed their displeasure with the actions of the current council, especially with their poster campaign "in the Netherlands, you choose your own partner". This campaign caused quite some upheaval, and in the eyes of Mr. Sies it only confirmed prejudice from two sides; the native that thinks that the Muslim

community is old-fashioned, and the Muslim-community that once again gets the feeling that natives think of them as old-fashioned (interview, 6 June 2017). The actions of the current council are aimed solely on what the migrants (sometimes even second- or third generation) should change to fit in 'the Dutch society'. The integration policy of the municipality of Rotterdam reflects the sentiments of the right-wing party of Leefbaar Rotterdam.

6.2.3 Constructivist perspective

The integration nota and accompanied action plan note on several occasions that there are "Dutch norms and values" (integratie 010, p. 2+8). However, nowhere do they indicate what this set of Dutch norms and values are; they are assumed to be known to every native person, and every foreign person is supposed to be able to learn them. A second construct the writers of the policy make is coupling the integration policy to terrorist attacks in Paris (integratie 010, p. 4). Good integration is supposedly preventive of terrorist attacks happening, but it also shows that the council, or more Leefbaar Rotterdam, associates immigrants with Muslims, and Muslims with terrorism. The third construct apparent in this policy document is that people "do not feel at home anymore" (integratie 010, p. 7). Whereas the mixing of different cultural and social groups seems a logical consequence of migration, the writers of this policy construct it as a vast problem. Another construct found in the policy document is the creation of target groups on page 8 "in our approach we differentiate between them who do not know, who do not want, who cannot and who are not allowed to"; the municipality hereby assumes that the population of immigrants is so homogeneous that it is dividable in four groups.

The presence of social constructs, initiated by Leefbaar Rotterdam, also came back in the interviews, with the basic sentiment being "but for the people who are here, who do not want anything and have nothing in coming with our Dutch society, they just should not be here. Then you should just go back and you have nothing to look for here" (Mr. van Elck, 22 June 2017). As Mr. Sies puts it "it is a lot of us-them thinking. It is a pretty complex piece for policy makers; you see that your city is changing, and not everybody is equally enthusiastic about this" (interview, 6 June 2017). Since most of the city council is not enthusiastic about the city changing, they try to hold it back through integration policy and a large share of us-them thinking. Overall, diversity is being problematised by Leefbaar Rotterdam (Mr. Schilder, 7 June 2017) and the policy

even addresses so-called second and third generation migrants on the need for them to integrate (Mrs. Wijntuin, 15 June 2017). As biased as this policy document is to Mr. Sies, Mrs. Wijntuin and Mr. Schilder, Mr. van Elck calls it a "logical compromise from the coalition" (interview, 22 June 2017), reinforcing the position of the discourse coalition within the field. The influence of media on the field of social construction of the population of migrants is experienced by the respondents to be meagre. The construct used in the policy documents of the municipality of Rotterdam reflect a discourse coalition dominated of expected assimilation from migrants.

6.2.4 Institutionalist perspective

The current city council has been in place since 2014 and the integration policy since 2015. Before that, the Labour party PvdA held majority for many years, therefore this change can be seen as a punctuated equilibrium. Mr. Sies calls the current integration policy "a clear break from the tea drinking of the PvdA, saying it in the words of the spokesman of Leefbaar Rotterdam" (interview, 6 June 2017), regarding it as reactive policy. However, Mrs. Wijntuin and Mr. Schilder state that little change has been made. Mrs. Wijntuin does not see clear effects of what the current city council is doing, and sees little progress. Mr. Schilder states that there has always been assimilation policy in Rotterdam, therefore no large change was made compared to before. In comparison with the national level, the respondents experience there to be little difference between the national and local level, even though the municipality creates its own policy.

The policy document states that "with this agenda we reflect on existing structures. What has been done in the past is not necessarily part of our agenda. If it can be more effective and efficient to do things differently, we will" (integratie 010, p. 9). The policy does not state which old structures they demolish and for what reasons. Mrs. Wijntuin calls attention to the disappearance of houses where women could come to talk about their problems, and which would help them get better integrated. Therefore, the city council of Rotterdam uses practices of *displacement* when there are old institutions in place which they do not approve of. In terms of who is in power, there is a punctuated equilibrium, since there was a switch from a dominance of PvdA to Leefbaar Rotterdam, but in actions implemented there is not yet a clear punctuation.

The policy perspective with the most explanatory value for the municipality of Rotterdam is the political. The fact that this subject is dominated by the right-wing party of Leefbaar Rotterdam is so influential in all other perspectives that when looking at the other perspectives, one automatically comes back to the political perspective.

Chapter 7. Analysis

In this chapter, the case studies from chapters 5 and 6 will be analysed comparatively. This analysis will be done per variable, meaning that first the convergence and divergence on the different policy types will be discussed, followed by the comparison of the four perspectives of policy making. For the four perspectives, the hypotheses formed in chapter four will be discussed and either approved or rejected.

7.1 Policy type

Whereas Liverpool's policy points towards a civic pluralism model, Rotterdam's policy is directed at ethnic assimilationism of migrants. Their goals for the integration of migrants are largely different, resulting in these different types of policy. Liverpool's policy is mostly focussed on the equal treatment of all their citizens, hence not focussing much on specific integration plans for migrants. In comparison, Rotterdam's policy is focussed on the differences between the native residents of Rotterdam and the immigrants; "it focusses on an x number of problems and puts the responsibility almost single-sided in the hands of the newcomers" (Mr. Sies, interview, 6 June 2017). Rotterdam does not celebrate the cultural diversity of its citizens, Liverpool does do this, by for example producing "a Diversity Calendar with information about cultural/significant festivals, events and celebrations and a promotion leaflet with 'did you knows' about Liverpool communities" (action plan, 2016, p. 7).

7.2 Four perspectives
7.2.1 Rational perspective

When comparing the actions of the city councils on the rationality, one must conclude that the city council of Liverpool is less partisan in their work than Rotterdam. The policy documents of Liverpool often stress the need for monitoring and reflecting their actions. Even though the city council of Liverpool does not have all the funds they would like to have, due to austerity measures from the national government, they use the funds they do have consciously. The city council has a clear view in their mind; the equal treatment of all citizens, they do all they can to achieve this goal and they have the knowledge and evidence to back up their actions. In contrast, the city council of Rotterdam is found to be hardly rational; both Mr. Schilder and Mr. Sies stated that the policy is hardly based on evidence-based knowledge, and that it is mostly based on a gut feeling of Leefbaar Rotterdam. The city council of Rotterdam does sometimes use

numbers and figures in their policy, but this is only used to bring their own political preferences forward. The hypothesis on this variable was the following:

H$_1$: The integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam are largely based on evidence-based knowledge

This hypothesis is rejected, since Liverpool's actions in their integration policy is largely based on evidence-based knowledge, but for Rotterdam this is not the case.

7.2.2 Political perspective

Throughout the policy, the political colours of both city councils were vastly visible, this also came forward in the interviews. When considering the theory of Sabatier's Advocacy Coalitions (1998), the two cities are differing on all levels. On the first level, the deep core, the city council of Liverpool is focussed on creating equality for all its citizens, whilst Rotterdam is focused on making every migrant like 'the native population' through assimilation. These fundamental differences in the deep core between the two city councils lead to differences in the two other levels of the advocacy coalitions as well. On the policy core level, the city council of Liverpool takes the problem of inequality seriously and is focussed on tackling this problem. Rotterdam on the other hand wants to tackle problems with the integration of immigrants, seeing this because of them being different than the native population. On the secondary aspects, both city councils are vaguer; Liverpool lacks specific plans on certain problems identified in their policy. This is according Mr. Prendergast however due to the lack of funds for these purposes (interview, 12 June 2017). The city council of Rotterdam does have some concrete projects, such as the integration tour and the poster campaign, but the expected outcomes of these are unclear. Where the city council of Liverpool has clear objectives and goals with little concrete plans, the actions of the city council of Rotterdam are the reverse of this; they lack intended outcomes but do have concrete plans. Both cities have solid political bases, but their execution is different. When looking into the dominance of certain political parties in the integration policy of both cities, the finding is that the following hypothesis can be accepted:

H$_2$: The formulation of the social-cultural integration policies of Liverpool were dominated by the Labour party and for Rotterdam this was done by Leefbaar Rotterdam.

7.2.3 Constructivist perspective

In the analysis of the constructivist perspective, the focus was on which dominant discourse was present in both cities. The integration policies of Liverpool were indeed dominated by the discourse coalition of the Labour party, this is a discourse of equality, creating equal opportunities for all the citizens of Liverpool. Throughout the policy documents this discourse was omnipresent and in the interview with Mr. Prendergast this came forward clearly. The dominant discourse coalition in Rotterdam was not the coalition of Leefbaar Rotterdam, D66 and CDA, but was just seen as one of just Leefbaar Rotterdam. This is a discourse of othering, or as Mr. Sies put it "us-them thinking" (interview, 6 June 2017). Both Mr. Schilder and Mr. Sies indicated that D66 and CDA only cut of the sharp edges of the policy on integration, but besides that it was all Leefbaar Rotterdam's work. In general, the documents of the city council of Liverpool were more explicit and clear in stating their views in policy than Rotterdam was, but this is assumed to be due to the influence of the D66 and CDA in Rotterdam. The city council of Rotterdam uses more imagery and constructs than the more straight-forward city council of Liverpool. Even though both city councils put forward a clear discourse, there are sharp differences between the cores of the discourses and the articulation of these. This is due to the different parties overseeing the city councils of both cities; a Labour party council in Liverpool and a right-wing coalition in Rotterdam. The hypothesis for the constructivist perspective was:

> H_3: The integration policies of Liverpool were dominated by the discourse coalition of the Labour party and in Rotterdam this was done by the discourse coalition of Leefbaar Rotterdam, D66 and CDA.

This hypothesis can only be accepted partially, since in Rotterdam it was not the coalitions views that was most articulate but those of Leefbaar Rotterdam. The hypothesis on the constructivist perspective is thus rejected.

7.2.4 Institutionalist perspective

The city council of Liverpool witnessed an equilibrium-punctuation in 1998, when the Labour party regained the majority. However, the nation's government has a conservative majority, which stands in the way of the Labour party pursuing their plans. The city council is also largely dependent on past decisions, again linked to their lack of funds and therefore their inability to pursue large changes. The changes they can make and the policies they implemented are focussed on incremental changes,

making a difference one step at a time. Where the city council of Liverpool is suffering from path dependency, the city council of Rotterdam went in a new direction since the city council elections in 2014. Before the election there had been a long reign of the Labour party PvdA, but after the election the majority of city council was dominated by Leefbaar Rotterdam. Even though much policy has changed and the city council promised that integration would be their number one priority during their period as city council (Mrs. Wijntuin, interview, 15 June 2017), not much clear effect is visible yet. This is assumed to be due to the policies only being in place for about two years now. Where the city council of Liverpool used the method of layering due to the path dependency, the city council of Rotterdam used displacement because of the punctuated equilibrium. Where the city council of Liverpool is vastly influenced by path dependency, the city council of Rotterdam is not. This leads to different modes of change within the policy field of socio-cultural integration. The hypothesis that was formulated is accepted. This hypothesis was the following:

> H4: The integration policy of Liverpool is under the influence of path dependency from the past, whilst the integration policy of Rotterdam shows a clear break from the past.

Chapter 8. Conclusion

For this master thesis, I focussed on the integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam as a comparative case study. At the start of the research many similarities were found between the two cities, especially in terms of history. Through analysis of policy documents on integration and interviews with experts in the field, similarities and differences were found. This qualitative method led to the ability to answer the question *what are the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam, and why are these present?* This question was divided into three sub questions which will be dealt with in this final chapter. Besides this, it will also be implicated what these findings mean in practice and for the academic field and which limitations this thesis has.

The first sub question was w*hat are the differences and similarities in the socio-cultural integration policies of Liverpool and Rotterdam?* In short, the socio-cultural integration policy of Liverpool focuses on civic pluralism whilst mainstreaming its policy. The policy of Rotterdam focuses on ethnic assimilationism whilst targeting policy to specific groups. These differences in policy stem from the differences in political background; for Liverpool this is a Labour background whilst the policy of Rotterdam has a right-wing background. The fundaments of the policies of the two cities are essentially different and therefore it is hard to identify similarities in their policies. The actions of the city council of Rotterdam thus are more in line with Hodos' (2011) theory on second cities and accompanied othering than those of the city council of Liverpool.

The second guiding sub question throughout this thesis was *what are the differences and similarities in their decision-making processes?* Even though both national governments have been dealing with austerity measures for the last years, the effects on the local level were more visible in the actions of the city council of Liverpool than in those of the city council of Rotterdam. These actions were in Liverpool far more often focussed on increasing the effectivity and efficiency of the council's action and the way funding was spent than was visible in the plans of the city council of Rotterdam. A second difference between the decision-making processes between the two cities was that in Liverpool the city council consists nearly completely out of members of the Labour party, making their decision-making process run more smoothly, whilst in Rotterdam the city council is based on a coalition of the right-wing party Leefbaar Rotterdam, the social-liberal party D66 and the Christian-Democrat party CDA. Even though there is a coalition within the city council, the chair on

integration is being held by a member of Leefbaar Rotterdam, making it more of a one-party deal than initially thought and more similar to the structure of Liverpool's decision-making process. However, initiatives from other parties in Rotterdam's city council show that there is far less consensus within the council than that of Liverpool.

The last sub question was *why are these differences and similarities in place?* This question is mostly answered by the four perspectives on policy making by Bekkers, Fenger and Scholten (forthcoming), connected to other theories (Sanderson, 2002; Sabatier 1998; Hajer, 1993, True et al., 2007, Pierson, 2000; Streeck & Thelen, 2001). The elaboration on each perspective can be found in chapters 5-7 and will not be repeated here. Even though all four perspectives were valuable for the analysis of the two cases, the political and institutionalist perspectives had the most explanatory value. For Liverpool, the institutional perspective had the most explanatory value, since the actions that the municipality could undertake were much constrained by structures laid out in the past. For Rotterdam, the political perspective was most influential, since the dominance of Leefbaar Rotterdam explained the policy studied. This dominance was so heavily entrenched that when one wants to look at other perspective, the political perspective kept coming up as influential.

The implications of these findings are threefold and will be discussed in this section. Firstly, the notion of second cities by Hodos (2011) has been proven to be less valuable to this case study than expected beforehand. Even though it was well applicable while discussing the context and history of the two cases at hand, it did not give the expected explanatory factor for the analysis. This is because even though second cities may be very similar in their history, the consequences of this in integration policy are different, due to the influence of many different factors. These can for example be the austerity measures implemented by a national government, the influence of populist parties, and so forth. In this thesis, it was found that the four perspectives of Bekkers et al. (fc) were of more explanatory value that the notion of second cities by Hodos (2011). Hodos' theory on second cities argues that migration patterns in second cities result in us-them thinking. Whereas this was the case for Rotterdam, this study found that this is not the case for Liverpool. This does not mean that Hodos' theory is useless or inapplicable in general, but it does not cover the entire essence of integration policy, at least not for the case study at hand. The second implication was just pinpointed; the applicability of the four perspectives of Bekkers et

al. (fc) in practice. The four perspectives turned out to be helpful and relevant for dismantling integration policy and policy processes, especially in combination with the theories of Sabatier (1998), Hajer (1993) and others. If one looks at the policy making processes, numerous factors are influential. Applying the theoretical framework of Bekkers et al. (fc) makes analysing policy making processes more structured and meaningful and is therefore useful in the research field of public administration in general. This theory gives clear useful handles on how to analyse policy in place by dividing the process of policy making and implementation into four perspectives. The perspectives help to divide the statements in policy into different segment and this in turns makes uncovering the underlying ideas and sentiments of different actors clear. So, even though the theory of Hodos (2011) on second cities was useful in examining policy history, the theory by Bekkers et al. (fc) was found more useful in analysing the current integration policy. The final implication of this thesis is that the municipalities could learn from each other how to handle integration of immigrants, since the cities are much alike in history. This links back to the similarities between Liverpool and Rotterdam in being second cities. However, it is to be expected that the municipalities will not take up each other's practices, since the political bases are too different.

Every study has its limitations, and so does this thesis. From the start, there was a lack of background information on the case of Liverpool. Dr. Balch helped me greatly by getting a broader view of the context, but there were not enough other sources found on this. The lack of information about Liverpool was unfortunately extended by little response from Liverpool's city council for interviews. Even though my interview with Mr. Prendergast was of great importance, this thesis would have been more valid if more people would have been willing to be interviewed. These two matters together make that in my view the analysis on Rotterdam has more depth and accuracy compared to the analysis of Liverpool. This gap in the thesis does lead to a possibility for further research; gaining more in-depth information on the case of Liverpool, and creating a more elaborative comparison between the cities.

This thesis focussed on finding similarities and differences between two cases. Through extensive analysis it was found that the cities have less in common than initially expected; besides a comparable history of migration and connected problems in the past, the current approaches are different in focus and intended effects. This is

mainly due to differing political bases and institutional background. In conclusion, the anthem of Liverpool F.C. and Feyenoord, "you'll never walk alone", seems to be more applicable to the city of the Mersey than to that of the Maas.

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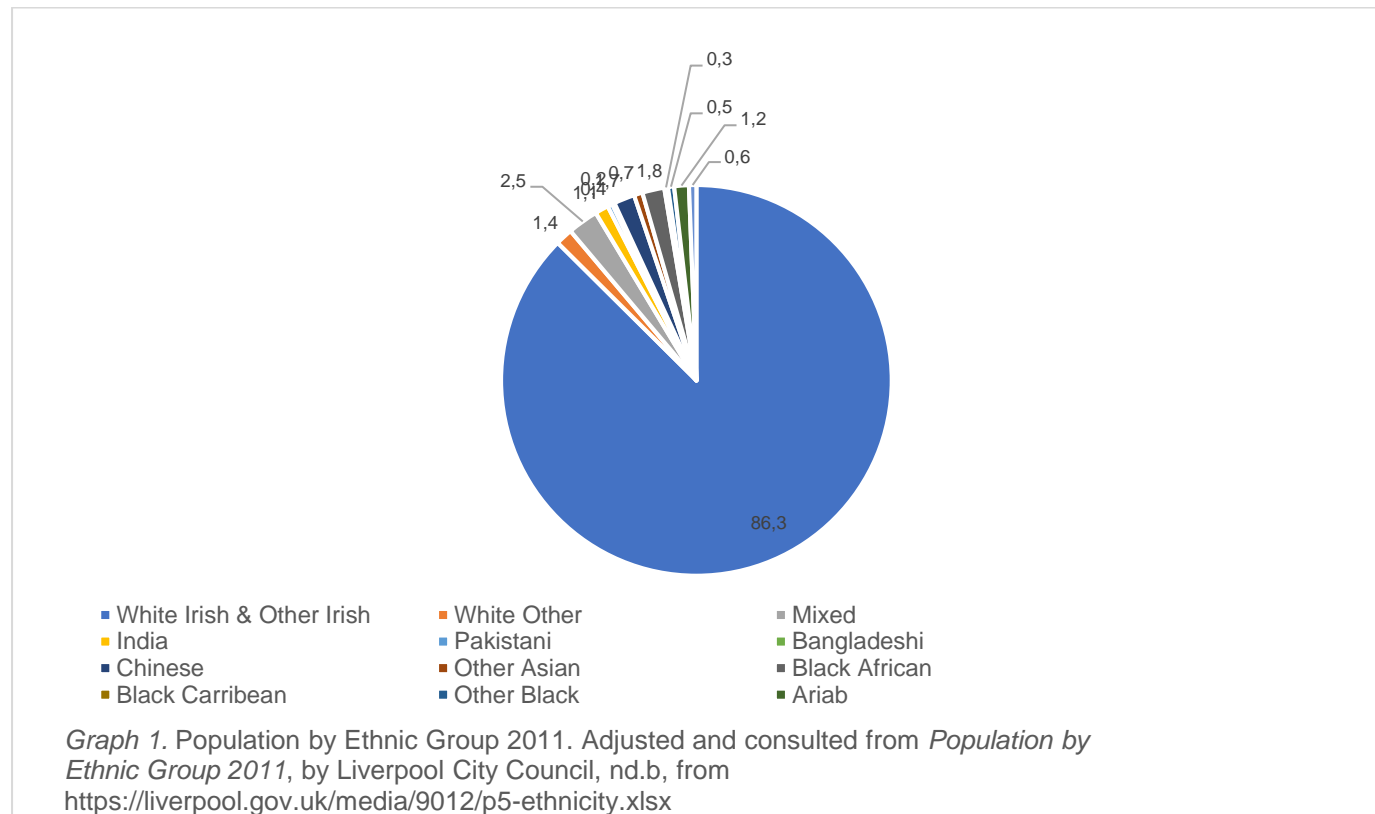Gemeente Rotterdam (2015). *Integratie 010*. Rotterdam: gemeente Rotterdam.

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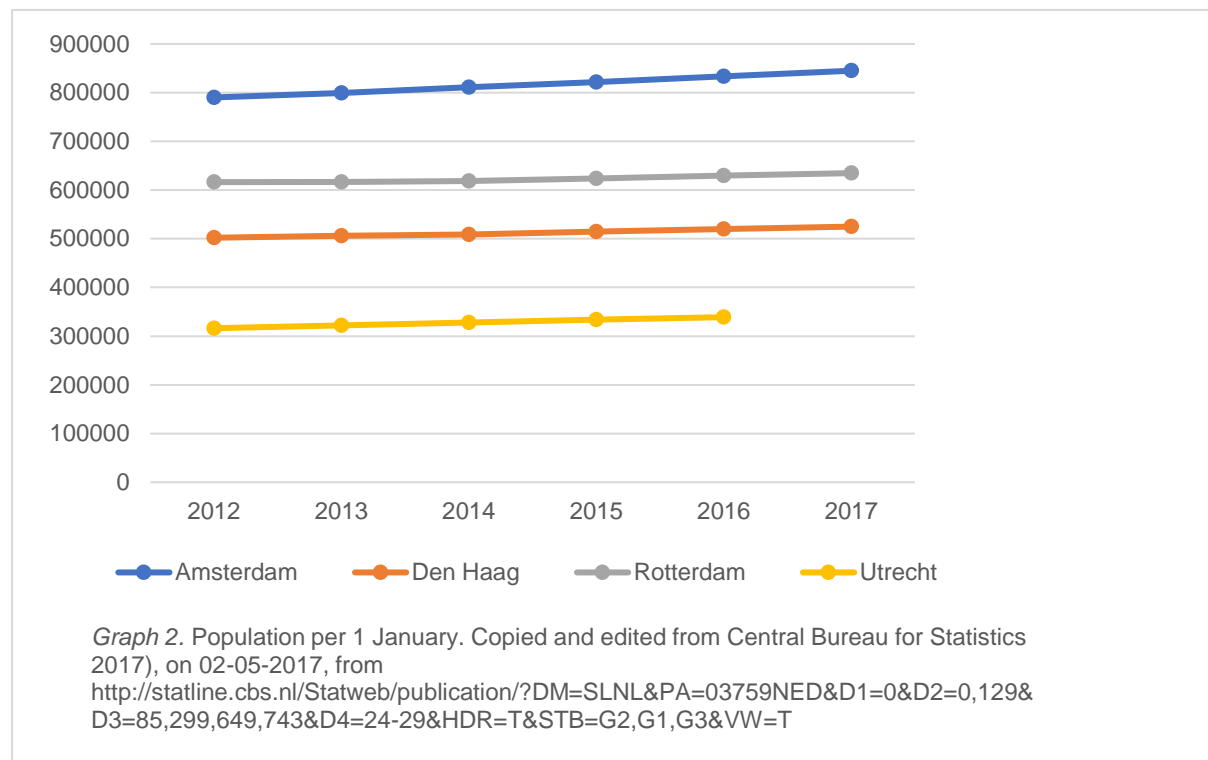
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Appendix I

Graph 1. Population by Ethnic Group 2011. Adjusted and consulted from *Population by Ethnic Group 2011*, by Liverpool City Council, nd.b, from https://liverpool.gov.uk/media/9012/p5-ethnicity.xlsx

Graph 2. Population per 1 January. Copied and edited from Central Bureau for Statistics 2017), on 02-05-2017, from
http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=03759NED&D1=0&D2=0,129& D3=85,299,649,743&D4=24-29&HDR=T&STB=G2,G1,G3&VW=T

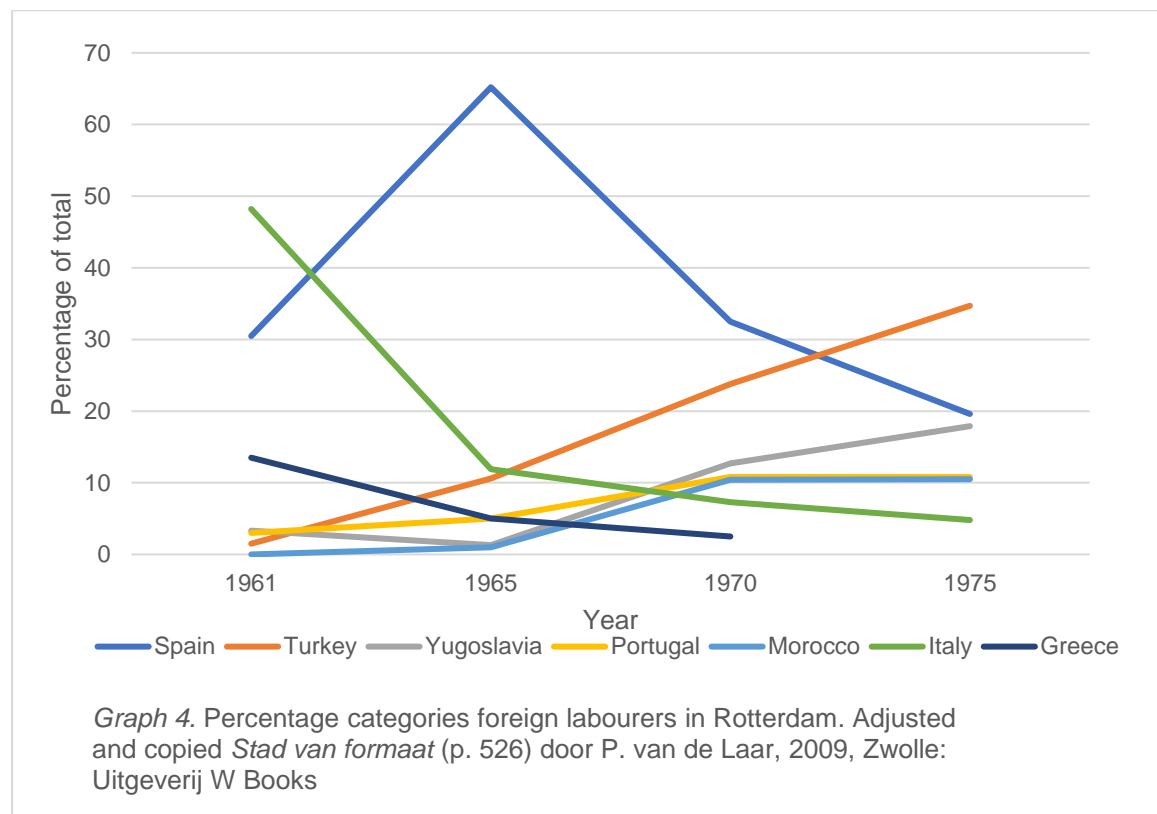*Graph 3.* Number of residents country of residence 2016. Adjusted and copied from Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst Rotterdam, on 04-05-2017, from https://ggd-rotterdam.buurtmonitor.nl/admin/jive?presel_code=pgdgchfjhNZViha

Graph 4. Percentage categories foreign labourers in Rotterdam. Adjusted and copied *Stad van formaat* (p. 526) door P. van de Laar, 2009, Zwolle: Uitgeverij W Books

Document	Page	Quote	Connected to
Policy statement	3	Liverpool is historically a diverse city and its population of 473,100 is becoming increasingly diverse giving our city a rich and varied culture which as a positive impact on the lives of our citizens and visitors making Liverpool an excellent place to live, work and visit.	Very positive attitude towards different cultures being present
Policy statement	3	We will put equality and fairness at the centre of everything we do and promote equal opportunities for our customers and staff, value the diversity of our communities by setting the highest service standards and seeking to continuously improve as both an employer and service provider	Political persuasion and rational statements
Policy statement	3	We want Liverpool to be **a strong diverse city that is built on fairness**	Slogan
Policy statement	4	1. Eliminate unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation and other conduct prohibited by the Act. 2. Advance equality of opportunity between people who share a protected characteristic and those who do not. 3. Foster good relations between people who share a protected characteristic and those who do not.	Measures
Policy statement	4	1. Publish information to demonstrate compliance with the general equality duty by 31 January 2012 and at least annually thereafter. This must include information relating to people who share a protected characteristic who are: ☐ its employees, and ☐ people affected by its policies and practices. 2. Prepare and publish one or more objectives that it thinks it needs to achieve to further any of the aims of the general equality duty. This needed to be done for the first time by 6 April 2012 and at least every four years thereafter. The objectives must be specific and measurable.	Rationalist perspective; effectivity
Policy statement	5	Liverpool City Council is committed to promoting equality of opportunity, celebrating and valuing diversity, eliminating unlawful discrimination, harassment and victimisation, including cyber or e-bullying and harassment, and promoting good relations. We are	ACF + Discourse coalition

		committed to achieving equality for all by reducing discrimination in employment and service delivery on the grounds of age, disability, gender, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, and sexual orientation. Furthermore, we will also strive to ensure that people are not discriminated against due to their socio economic status (poverty) or because they are care leavers, carers, armed force veterans and/or people with an offending history.	
Policy statement	5+6	Through service delivery, the procurement of goods and services, our workforce and our relationships with partners and stakeholders we will strive to: - Meet all legal equality duties, exceeding them where we can, and follow guidance published by the Equality and Human Rights Commission. - Carry out equality analysis of all new or changing policies, plans, practices and procedures. - Set, publish and monitor our equality objectives and review them at least every four years. - Monitor and evaluate the impacts and outcomes of this policy and take action on findings accordingly. - Publish information to demonstrate our compliance with the equality duty at least annually including information relating to employees and others affected by our policies and practices. - Ensure that the allocation of financial resources takes into account equality and diversity considerations. - Integrate equality considerations into all relevant areas of mainstream service planning, development, management and delivery and improve awareness and understanding of the needs of diverse groups in the city through inclusive, effective community profiling, consultation, liaison and involvement. - Reflect equality of opportunity in our commissioning, purchasing and grant giving policies and procedures and make sure others providing services on our behalf comply with our equality and diversity commitments. - Ensure that our jobs are accessible to all people and that our workforce is diverse and representative of the local community.	Rational perspective;political perspective

		- Treat our staff equitably in all areas of employment, including career development, pay, training and promotion, and continually review human resource policies to assess their impact on the groups covered by this policy, including monitoring recruitment, promotion, retention, training opportunities and take-up, grievances, disciplinary procedures and exit from employment. - Tackle harassment and bullying in the workplace. - Improve consultation with staff. - Engage people/groups from all communities to help shape our services and develop our equality objectives. - Make our services inclusive and accessible, delivered appropriately and sensitively in order to ensure equality of treatment and improve the monitoring of service take up and use. - Offer information about services in appropriate formats and languages. - Improve community relations and promote diversity through events, publicity, educational programmes and other initiatives and continue encouraging participation in local democracy and representation on public and voluntary bodies that can link in and feed in information or suggestions as it relates to the equality policy. - Tackle all forms of hate crime and harassment and promote safety and security. - Uphold the right of all staff and service users to be treated with dignity and respect by fostering an environment free from ridicule, bullying, intimidation and victimisation. - Train staff and Elected Members so they are aware of this policy and related good practice and are able to apply it to their own area of work.	
Policy statement	7	We will gather a range of equality information and this will be used to inform our policies, decisions and work. Data, policies, strategies, reports and useful links will be published on the equality pages on our website and equality analysis will be used to develop our equality impact assessments and consultations.	Public accessibility
Policy statement	7	We will publish equality information on our employees annually and this will include a Staff Profile, Schools Workforce Census analysis and information on Recruitment, Selection, Learning, Development, Disciplinary and Grievance. These reports will provide important intelligence for the organisation and our partners. They will be considered by our	Rational perspective

		Management Team, Equality Champions and Staff Diversity Forum and will be made available to staff on the intranet and the public on our website.	
Policy statement	7	We will ensure our objectives are specific, measureable and attainable and progress will be measured through annual action plans.	Rational perspective
Policy statement	7	The Council's equality objectives for 2016-2020 are: **Listen, involve and respond to our communities** **Strengthen our knowledge and understanding of our communities** **Consultative and accountable leadership making fair and transparent decisions** **A fair and inclusive employer** **Good quality accessible services, buildings and public spaces**	Inclusive + holistic approach
Policy statement	8	We will continue to use the impact assessment process and equality analysis to support the development of inclusive and responsive policies, procedures and service provision.	Use of past research
Policy statement	8	To support this all staff, including senior managers, are required to undertake compulsory equality and diversity training when they join the organisation and are encouraged to continue to undertake training as part of their on-going development in the organisation	Very concrete measure
Policy statement	10	Good equality practice makes good business sense for private and for voluntary organisations. It makes them better employers, it improves their ability to meet the needs of potential customers, and it can help them to be better placed to deliver public services.	Makes it seem like the only logical outcome; ACF
Policy statement	12	This policy will be monitored alongside the equality objectives and will be reviewed at least biannually.	Rational perspective
Policy statement	13	Constantly reviewing and adapting our policies and procedures and carrying out our duties under the law as it develops to stop discrimination and support equality and diversity.	Rational perspective; effectivity
Policy statement	18	**In addition to the overarching commitments on page 13, we will work to meet the specific needs of all our communities by:** - Improving the achievement of underachieving children from minority groups. - Encouraging and creating an environment in which its workforce and citizens can feel confident in reporting incidents of racial harassment and victimisation, in full knowledge that any such incidents will be addressed fully and effectively in accordance with City Council procedures and legislation.	Policy measures for people of different racial background

		- Ensuring transparency and communications which are accessible to all people by providing translation and interpreting facilities, producing key communications in community languages when appropriate and by providing access to services in community locations using its One Stop Shop network, on street information kiosks and other electronic opportunities.	
Policy statement	19	Providing scope for prayer and reflection within our flexible working practices and reasonable unpaid time off for festivals that are a part of a person's religion or belief. - Not allowing religious harassment or discrimination and not permitting our staff to impose on others their religious, political or other views or philosophies whilst carrying out their employment. - Ensuring sensitivity and respect to service users' religion or belief and avoid service delivery that is offensive to people's beliefs. - Welcoming different forms of dress according to cultural and religious backgrounds balanced with the need to provide a safe and customer-focused place of work. - Promoting an inclusive working culture where people can practice their religion or belief safety and without fear of harassment and discrimination.	Shows respect for all cultures
Policy statement	23	Liverpool is the fourth most deprived local authority area in England with some of the most deprived communities in the UK and large areas of the city suffer high levels of deprivation in terms of education, employment, income, health and living environment. We acknowledge that there are huge disparities across our City and within our communities and that communities suffer as a result of living in areas of deprivation.	Rational perspective; use of numbers.
Action plan	1	Guidance on consultation best practice to be developed and made available to staff on the intranet	Rational perspective
Action plan	1	Sharing of best practice	Rational perspective
Action plan	2	Improved perception, customer information awareness and service improvements as a result of customer feedback	Rational perspective
Action plan	2	Organisations funded through community resource grant programme requested to carry out equality survey of staff, volunteers, trustees and users	
Action plan	2	Quarterly analysis of application and awards under the Liverpool Citizens Support Scheme and Discretionary Housing Payments	Rational perspective

Action plan	2	Produce a cumulative impact assessment of the impact of welfare reforms in the city	Rational perspective
Action plan	2	Tackle discrimination on the basis of refugee, asylum and immigration status	
Action plan	3	Analyse the needs of service users	Rational perspective
Action plan	4	Publish accessible information about our communities	Rational perspective
Action plan	6	Improved understanding of issues affecting refugees and asylum seekers and immigration issues.	Political perspective; constructivist perspective
Action plan	7	Produce a Diversity Calendar with information about cultural/significant festivals, events and celebrations and a promotion leaflet with 'did you knows' about Liverpool communities	Celebration of diversity
Action plan	8	Equality and Diversity considered through the decision making process	Political perspective
Action plan	10	Tackle poverty and mitigate the impacts of continuing reductions in public funding	Political perspective
Action plan	10	Promote fairness and tackle poverty and support citizens suffering from hardship in the current climate of austerity	Political perspective
Action plan	11	Improve the understanding of our diverse communities	Interaction between councillors
Action plan	11	Encourage and promote diversity in the workplace, including education, health and the private sector	Political perspective; constructivist perspective; multi-culturalism
Action plan	12	Celebrate heritage and diversity and tackle the negative use of labels	Constructivist perspective

Document	Page	Quote	Connected to
Integratie 010	2	Niet iedereen wil of kan de leidende principes aanvaarden waarop onze samenleving is gebouwd.	Constructivist perspective; assimilation
Integratie 010	2	Dat antwoord ligt in eerste instantie bij de mensen zelf. Als je kiest voor Rotterdam, leer je de Nederlandse taal en respecteer je de heersende normen van onze samenleving.	Constructivist perspective; assimilation
Integratie 010	2	Als zij daarbij hulp of bescherming nodig hebben, regelen we dat. We nemen hen echter niet bij de hand, zij zijn zelf verantwoordelijk voor hun eigen integratieproces. We lopen alleen een stukje mee als dat niet vanzelf gaat.	Constructivist perspective; assimilation
Integratie 010	2	Obstakels op de weg, zoals discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt, helpen we uit de weg te ruimen. Zo ontstaat een ruimhartige samenleving waar in beginsel plaats is voor iedereen. We stellen ook grenzen, daar waar de fundamenten van de samenleving ter discussie worden gesteld. Ruimte geven en grenzen stellen, dat is het leidend beginsel voor dit college.	Political perspective
Integratie 010	4	Ook de wijkgesprekken die het college naar aanleiding van de verschrikkelijke gebeurtenissen in Parijs heeft gehouden, en waar vele Rotterdammers aan hebben deelgenomen, hebben ons geholpen bij het schrijven van deze nota.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	4	Mensen zijn primair zelf verantwoordelijk voor en voeren zelf de regie over hun integratieproces. • De gemeente kan daarin waar nodig faciliteren en ondersteunen maar kan integratie slechts heel beperkt met wetgeving afdwingen. • Het beheersen van de Nederlandse taal is de belangrijkste voorwaarde voor een succesvol integratieproces. • Kennis, begrip over en naleven van de geldende normen in Nederland is nodig om succesvol te kunnen integreren. • Gelijke behandeling en gelijke kansen zijn uitgangspunt én voorwaarde voor integratie:discriminatie, met name op de arbeidsmarkt, dient te worden bestreden; bevorderen van gelijke positie tussen man en vrouw; acceptatie van andersdenkenden;	Constructivist perspective

		acceptatie van lesbiennes, homo's, biseksuelen en transgenders	
Integratie 010	4	Een betere integratie van migranten draagt bij aan een stad, aan wijken en buurten, waar het prettig samenleven is en waar iedereen zich gelijkwaardig en geaccepteerd voelt. Dit vraagt om een houding waarbij wij elkaar open tegemoet treden, de dialoog aangaan en durven te benoemen wat niet begrepen wordt of fout gaat. Hiervoor moet je open voor elkaar kunnen, willen en mogen staan, ondanks verschillen in leefstijl, denkwijzen en principes.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5	En daar is iedere inwoner in de eerste plaats zelf verantwoordelijk voor.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5	Aarden in Rotterdam en meedoen in de Rotterdamse samenleving begint bij het je eigen maken van de Nederlandse taal en de Nederlandse normen.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5	Onder integratie verstaan we: de inspanning die de migrant levert om sociaal en economisch deel te kunnen nemen aan de Rotterdamse samenleving door zich de Nederlandse taal eigen te maken en de gangbare normen te respecteren en na te leven.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5	Die diversiteit maakt het nodig dat we in onze uitvoeringsagenda bewust kiezen voor een duidelijk onderscheid in benadering en aanpak.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5	Veel migranten kennen geen problemen in hun integratieproces. Ze nemen zelf de verantwoordelijkheid om de taal te leren en bij te dragen aan de samenleving door te werken en/of vrijwilligerswerk te doen. Zij doen nauwelijks een beroep op sociale voorzieningen en voeden hun kinderen zo op dat zij een goede toekomst hebben in onze samenleving.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	5+6	Het integratieproces is te vergelijken met het invoegen op de snelweg. Op de snelweg rijdt Nederland. Op de invoegstrook de migrant die wil integreren. Het is in eerste instantie aan de invoeger om moeite te doen en initiatief te tonen om veilig in te kunnen voegen. Van de automobilisten op de doorgaande weg verwachten we waar nodig en mogelijk dat zij ruimte bieden om dit mogelijk te maken. Een kwestie van fatsoenlijk ritsen en van wederkerigheid.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	6	Ook landelijk staan integratie en immigratie weer prominent op de agenda. Zorgen over integratie staat op de derde plaats in de landelijke lijst met maatschappelijke vraagstukken (bron COB ; 4e kw 2014). Dit heeft	Cherry picking

		waarschijnlijk te maken met de spanningen elders in de wereld die zich op pijnlijke wijze steeds vaker verplaatsen naar Europa. Niet alleen de aanslagen in Parijs en Kopenhagen zijn hier een voorbeeld van, maar ook de permanente bewaking van Rotterdamse synagogen toont de ernst van dit probleem iedere dag opnieuw aan.	
Integratie 010	6	Uit het onlangs verschenen Jaarrapport Integratie blijkt opnieuw dat de jeugdwerkloosheid onder migrantenjongeren veel hoger is dan onder autochtone jongeren. Het percentage is bijna verdubbeld van 15% in 2013 naar 28% in 2014 (onder autochtonen van 8% naar 10%). Ook is een hoog percentage jonge vrouwen van Turkse en Marokkaanse afkomst niet economisch zelfstandig, ondanks hun goede opleiding. Ook de oververtegenwoordiging van kinderen (jongeren) van migranten van Marokkaanse of Antilliaanse afkomst in overlast en criminaliteit geeft aan dat er nog een stevige (integratie)opdracht ligt voor het hele stadsbestuur.	Rationalist perspective
Integratie 010	7	In de wijken waar veel migranten wonen, voelen de oorspronkelijke bewoners van de wijk zich niet meer thuis en hebben ook migranten steeds vaker het gevoel niet welkom te zijn.	Constructivist perspective
Integratie 010	7	Interngerichte voorzieningen op cultureel-religieuze grondslag, zoals Moskee-internaten, lijken deze gewenste interactie tussen groepen niet te bevorderen. Ook mono-etnische/culturele organisaties met intern gerichte activiteiten dragen in onze ogen niet bij aan deze interactie. Gemeentelijke subsidie aan deze organisaties vinden wij dan ook niet wenselijk.	Political perspective
Integratie 010	7	In Rotterdam, met haar culturele diversiteit, is de kans op taalachterstanden groter, ook bij kinderen. Daardoor is er in Rotterdam sprake van een hoge tussentijdse instroom van anderstalige leerlingen (jongeren met een taalachterstand) in alle onderwijssectoren. De diversiteit in de stad zorgt tegelijkertijd voor culturele verschillen die overbrugd moeten worden. De leefwereld van leerlingen thuis, op straat en in de school verschilt vaak sterk. Taalbarrières en culturele verschillen vragen om sterke leerkrachten die hiermee om kunnen gaan en de verbindende schakel tussen deze leefwerelden kunnen zijn. Rotterdam heeft onderwijs nodig dat alle kinderen ongeacht afkomst of achtergrond een vliegende start garandeert. Onderwijs dat naast	Political perspective

			kwaliteit en resultaat ook onmisbare waarden, gedeelde normen en vaardigheden overbrengt. En dat aandacht besteedt aan het ontwikkelen van eigen identiteit en wederzijds respect. Deze nota sluit dan ook naadloos aan op het nieuwe Rotterdams Onderwijsbeleid Leren Loont 2015 – 2018.	
Integratie 010	7	De laatste tien jaar heeft Rotterdam ook te maken met de instroom van een nieuwe groep migranten, hoofdzakelijk afkomstig uit Midden, Oost- en Zuid-Europa. Naar schatting verblijven momenteel tussen de 30.000 á 50.000 arbeidsmigranten (ze komen veelal voor laagbetaald, ongeschoold werk) in Rotterdam. Voor wat betreft de mate en wijze van integratie van deze groep is het nog lastig om algemene conclusies te trekken. Wel blijkt uit de cijfers dat ze zich met name in de zwakste wijken van Rotterdam vestigen. In deze wijken staat de sociale cohesie al onder druk en de instroom van deze groep migranten helpt niet deze druk te verminderen. Een onderzoek dat het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau in september 2014 publiceerde, waarschuwde dat kinderen van Midden- en Oost-Europese migranten in Nederland dreigen af te glijden, met ernstige gevolgen voor henzelf en voor de samenleving. Daarom komen we, in het verlengde van onze integratieagenda, voor de zomer met een nieuwe uitvoeringsagenda EU-migranten.	Rationalist perspective; cherry picing
Integratie 010	7	De dagelijkse Rotterdamse praktijk leert ons dat niet iedereen de verantwoordelijkheid om te integreren wil, kan of mag nemen. Migranten die niet willen en zich afkeren van de Nederlandse samenleving, bijvoorbeeld door te radicaliseren kiezen er bewust voor niet te integreren. Migranten die wel willen maar niet kunnen, omdat zij over onvoldoende capaciteiten beschikken om zelfstandig hun integratie op te pakken, bijvoorbeeld door een laag opleidingsniveau, kunnen rekenen op onze ondersteuning bij hun integratieproces. Tot slot zijn er migranten die niet mogen en zo beperkt worden in hun integratieproces, vanwege hun culturele/religieuze achtergrond en groepsdwang, zoals ongelijke positie tussen mannen en vrouwen, huwelijksdwang en het niet accepteren van seksuele diversiteit. De gemeente neemt hen in bescherming en helpt hen te integreren en te emanciperen.	Political perspective
Integratie 010	8	In onze aanpak maken we dus onderscheid tussen zij die niet weten, niet willen, niet kunnen en zij die niet mogen	Constructivist perspective

Integratie 010	8	Daarnaast zijn er gedeelde normen en verantwoordelijkheden op basis waarvan we met elkaar samenleven. Samen vormen zij het fundament onder onze vrijheid waardoor ieder individu in Nederland gelijkwaardig en volwaardig kan meedoen in de samenleving, ongeacht achtergrond, cultuur, religie, seksuele voorkeur of geslacht.	Constructivst perspective
Integratie 010	8	Allereerst zijn dit de vrijheden die de rechtsstaat ons biedt in onze Grondwet. Elke burger, ongeacht achtergrond of voorkeuren kan in vrijheid vorm geven aan zijn of haar leven. Iedere burger begrijpt, accepteert en respecteert dat deze vrijheden ook voor de ander gelden. Vanzelfsprekend geldt de Grondwet ook in Rotterdam. De spelregels in Nederland, het normenkader dat is gebaseerd op deze wet, zijn die van een grote stad waarin een grote diversiteit aan mensen met elkaar samen moet leven. We vinden het in Rotterdam belangrijk dat elke Rotterdammer meedoet (participeert), bijdraagt aan en verantwoordelijkheid neemt voor het samenleven (wederkerigheid), vrijheid ervaart en vrijheid toestaat en gelijkwaardig is. We verwachten concreet dat de Rotterdammer hiervoor het Nederlands als taal gebruikt, niet discrimineert, vrouwen en mannen gelijk behandelt, homoseksuelen en heteroseksuelen gelijk behandelt, (anders-)gelovigen, niet-gelovigen en andersdenkenden gelijk behandelt en zijn kinderen opvoedt tot volwaardig burger.	Constructivist perspective + political perspective
Integratie 010	8	Taal, burgerschapsvorming (het eigen maken het Nederlandse normenkader), emancipatie en het bestrijden van ongelijke behandeling staan aan de basis van het integratieproces. Maar integratie kan alleen plaatsvinden als de migrant sociaal en economisch deelneemt aan de samenleving. Hierin spelen het onderwijsbeleid, arbeidsmarktbeleid en welzijns- en zorgbeleid een belangrijke rol.	Institutional perspective
Integratie 010	8	Hierin ligt een rol voor het beleid gericht op stedelijke ontwikkeling, om te voorkomen dat er gesegregeerde wijken ontstaan en daarmee ook (de plaatsing van) gesegregeerde voorzieningen.	Institutional perspective
Integratie 010	9	We leveren daarbij de volgende inspanning: 1. informeren en uitdragen, gericht op de migranten die niet weten; 2. ondersteunen, gericht op migranten die niet kunnen; 3. beschermen, gericht op migranten die niet mogen;	Political perspective + constructivist perspective

		4. aanpakken, gericht op migranten die niet willen; 5. monitoren, gericht op het signaleren van mogelijke problemen.	
Integratie 010	9	Met de agenda bezinnen we ons ook op de bestaande structuren. Dat wat in het verleden is gedaan, maakt niet per definitie deel uit van onze agenda. Als het effectiever en efficiënter is om zaken anders in te richten, dan doen we dat. Hierbij denken wij onder andere aan het subsidiëren van maatschappelijke organisaties. Het college gelooft in de meerwaarde van het maatschappelijk middenveld in dit vraagstuk, maar vindt ook dat activiteiten van deze organisaties veelal zelfstandig en onafhankelijk van de overheid kunnen gebeuren. We zien dat creatieve en innovatieve initiatieven vanuit vrijwilligersorganisaties nieuwe energie geven en integratiebevorderend werken. Dit soort initiatieven juichen we van harte toe. We zien ook een rol weggelegd voor bedrijven en werkgevers bij de uitvoering van deze agenda, bijvoorbeeld als het gaat om de bestrijding van laaggeletterdheid en discriminatie op de werkvloer.	Rationalist perspective + institutional perspective
Uitvoerings-agenda	11	We kijken in eerste instantie naar wat er al is in Rotterdam en wat goed werkt.	Instituionalist perspective
Uitvoerings-agenda	11	De activiteiten zijn onderverdeeld naar de vier 'doelgroepen' die in de integratienota worden onderscheiden: 1. Niet-weters. 2. Niet-kunners. 3. Niet-mogers. 4. Niet-willers.	Constructivist perspective
Uitvoerings-agenda	12	De Nederlandse samenleving werkt zoals hij werkt doordat burgers zich houden aan de geschreven en ongeschreven regels van het samenleven; aan de rechten en plichten en de normen. Voor een prettig en goed functionerende samenleving is het noodzakelijk dat ook nieuwe burgers hiervan op de hoogte zijn en deze regels naleven.	Constructivist perspective

Uitvoerings-agenda	13	Vanaf 2016 is het zelfbewustzijn, cultureel bewustzijn en de identiteitsontwikkeling van leerlingen opgenomen in de onderwijsprogramma's van de Rotterdamse scholen. Dat houdt in: versterken van sociale vaardigheden van leerlingen, in de schoolontwikkelplannen moet dit concreet benoemd worden; aandacht voor identiteitsvorming; aandacht voor cultureel bewustzijn, onder andere door gemeentelijke programma's zoals Lekker Fit en IKEI (Ieder Kind Een Instrument); de onderwijscode, met als doel bewustwording van de op school geldende normen en waarden, beginnend vanuit een veilige omgeving; de leerlijn erfgoededucatie, deze wordt ontwikkeld door Erfgoedcoalitie, waarin aandacht wordt besteed aan de geschiedenis en de cultuur van Rotterdam.	Specific goal
Uitvoerings-agenda	14	Tussen taal en integratie bestaat dus een direct verband. Indirect draagt taal ook bij aan integratie via het bevorderen van welzijn van mensen. Gezonde, zelfredzame mensen participeren meer en leveren een grotere bijdrage.	Constructivist perspective
Uitvoerings-agenda	15	Dit sluit aan bij het initiatiefvoorstel gericht op het bestrijden van discriminatie op de arbeidsmarkt van de PvdA.	Political perspective
Uitvoerings-agenda	17	Door ook op deze onderwerpen dialogen te voeren met burgers en professionals dragen we tevens bij aan de uitvoering van het initiatiefvoorstel van de VVD 'Iedere vrouw in Rotterdam leeft in vrijheid'.	Political perspective

Prof. Dr. P. van de Laar

- Kunt u mij een algemeen beeld geven over het integratiebeleid van Rotterdam na de tweede wereldoorlog?
    - Hoe heeft dit zich ontwikkelt (tot 2000)
    - Hoe zou u in de periode 1945-2000 het beleid typeren?
    - Waarom denkt u dat het beleid zo was gevormd in die tijd?
- Vanaf 2000 is er een diversere groep migranten aanwezig in Rotterdam; heeft het integratiebeleid zich hier ook op aangepast volgens u?
- Hoe typeert u het huidige integratiebeleid?
    - Waarom denkt u dat het is zoals het nu is?

Dr. A. Balch

- Could you tell me something about the U.K.'s policy on socio-cultural integration after WWII?
    - How has this developed through time until the 2000s?
        - i. Why is/isn't there change?
    - How would you typify the policy?
    - Why do you think this policy was formed in this way?
        - i. Who had the most influence on this?
- How has the national integration policy changed since the 2000s?
    - And how since Brexit?
    - How would you typify it now?
        - i. Who has the most influence now?
- Is there much difference between the national discourse and local policy?
    - Why yes/no?

- What is your opinion on the equality objectives and the action plan of the city council?
    - o Do you see this as any specific type of policy?
    - o Do you feel that there is enough on integration of migrants in there?
    - o Do you think that this action plan will be effective?
- Do you experience a large role of objective knowledge within the construction of such integration policy?
- Do you feel that your party's preferences are well represented within the action plan?
    - o Which party/actor do you feel had the biggest influence in the formulation of the action plan?
- Do you feel the equality objectives to be dependent on the national discourse on the topic?
    - o Do you feel that austerity measures have held policy making back?
- Do you feel the equality objectives to be heavily influenced by policy in the past?
- Do you sense a celebration of diversity within Liverpool?
    - o Do you sense this within the action plan?

Setkin Sies

- Wat is uw mening over de huidige integratienota van Rotterdam (integratie 010)?
    - o Wat voor een *soort* beleid vindt u het?
        - i. Gaat het om participeren, welke sociaal-culturele processen
    - o Denkt u dat het beleid effectief is/zal zijn
- Hoe groot is de rol van kennis binnen het gevormde integratiebeleid?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat de belangen van uw partij in het beleid goed vertegenwoordigd worden?
    - o Welke partij denkt u dat de grootste invloed heeft gehad in het vormen van de integratienota? (cq. Machtsverhoudingen)
- Heeft u het gevoel dat Rotterdam haar diversiteit viert/er trots op is?
    - o Hoe ervaart u de beeldvorming rondom migratie en diversiteit?
- Denkt u dat het huidige integratiebeleid sterk afhankelijk is van de landelijke discours?

- o Invloed institutionele context
- Heeft u het gevoel dat het huidige integratiebeleid erg beïnvloed is door het integratiebeleid in het verleden?

Jeroen Schilder

- Wat is uw mening over de huidige integratienota van Rotterdam (integratie 010)?
  - o Wat voor een *soort* beleid vindt u het?
  - o Denkt u dat het beleid effectief is/zal zijn
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- Heeft u het gevoel dat Rotterdam haar diversiteit viert/er trots op is?

Peggy Wijntuin

- Wat is uw mening over de huidige integratienota van Rotterdam (integratie 010)?
  - o Wat voor een *soort* beleid vindt u het?
    - i. Gaat het om participeren, welke sociaal-culturele processen
  - o Denkt u dat het beleid effectief is/zal zijn
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- o Invloed institutionele context
- Heeft u het gevoel dat het huidige integratiebeleid erg beïnvloed is door het integratiebeleid in het verleden?

Michel van Elck

- Wat is uw mening over de huidige integratienota van Rotterdam (integratie 010)?
    - o Wat voor een *soort* beleid vindt u het?
    - o Denkt u dat het beleid effectief is/zal zijn
- Hoe groot is de rol van kennis binnen het gevormde integratiebeleid?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat de belangen van uw partij in het beleid goed vertegenwoordigd worden?
    - o Welke partij denkt u dat de grootste invloed heeft gehad in het vormen van de integratienota? (cq. Machtsverhoudingen)
- Heeft u het gevoel dat Rotterdam haar diversiteit viert/er trots op is?
    - o Hoe ervaart u de beeldvorming rondom migratie en diversiteit?
- Denkt u dat het huidige integratiebeleid sterk afhankelijk is van de landelijke discours?
- Heeft u het gevoel dat het huidige integratiebeleid erg beïnvloed is door het integratiebeleid in het verleden?
- Hoe groot schat u de invloed van media (zowel social media als traditionele media) op het integratiebeleid en het debat eromheen?