Local Ideas, Local Culture and Multilevel Strategies of Divergence

How have the local distinctive traits informed the local divergence from the national Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna?

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Epigraph

"La città non dice il suo passato, lo contiene come le linee d'una mano, scritto negli spigoli delle vie, nelle griglie delle finestre, negli scorrimano delle scale, nelle antenne dei parafulmini, nelle aste delle bandiere, ogni segmento rigato a sua volta di graffi, seghettature, intagli, svirgole."

"È inutile stabilire se Zenobia sia da classificare tra le città felici o tra quelle infelici. Non è in queste due specie che ha senso dividere le città, ma in altre due: quelle che continuano attraverso gli anni e le mutazioni a dare la loro forma ai desideri e quelle in cui i desideri o riescono a cancellare la città o ne sono cancellati."

Italo Calvino, Le città invisibili

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Abstract

In the field of the governance of displaced persons, the Italian municipalities of Pesaro and Bologna move within a similar legal framework and follow the same political orientation. Yet, their divergences from the national paradigm-shift in the management of asylum-seekers coming to town differed substantially. Whereas Pesaro integrally implemented the latest national policy – the Security Decree – in a vertical fashion, Bologna found innovative ways to 'derail' from the national rules. This discrepancy in the multilevel strategy of 'local-divergence' can be explained by looking at the 'distinctive traits of the cities': the local ideas and the local culture. The dissertation shows how local policymakers retain a great power in public-administration because through the filter of their ideas national laws become real daily practices. The policy-gap in Pesaro and Bologna is envisaged by looking at the 'clash of frames' between the national and local level within the context of an intractable policy-controversy. These incongruences of frames between levels of governance unveil the relation between interests, ideas and narratives, shedding a light on the triggers and outcomes of the 'multilevel local divergence' from the national Security Decree.

I.   Introduction

The Security Decree, throughout its "*urgent disposition in the field of international protection, immigration and public security* […]" (as reported in the title of the law no.113/ 2018) generated a paradigm-shift in the governance of displaced persons in Italy (Curi, 2019). Among the newly introduced security-driven regulations, the national law decreased the funds allocated to the SPRARs' projects (System of Protection for Asylum Seekers and Refugees); abolished the possibility of civil registration in the municipal registry-office for asylum seekers; and imposed the revocation of the Italian citizenship from those who commit crimes related to terrorism (Decreto-Legge 4 October 2018, n. 113, 2018). This came in October, alongside the disapproval for the UN-Global Compact and the perpetuation of the politics of "closed ports".

Whereas the Italian debate especially discussed the legal dimension of these policies – together with the series of constitutional infringements that they may include (see Curi, 2019) – few scholars have assumed a governance perspective in order to evaluate the local-implications. Nevertheless, asylum-seekers' integration de facto occurs at the city-level and, when it comes to the Italian municipalities, through the above mentioned SPRARs projects (Camparoni, 2016). Cities must deal with both the *governance dilemmas* and the *discourses* triggered by the abovementioned controversial national policies in the field of migration and security, while the link between migration and security becomes crystallized in the national debate. In this context, some cities such as Palermo or Naples refused to implement the Security Decree (Marrazzo, 2019), other have decided to legally counter the effects of the law (see Bologna), while the majority implemented them in an orderly fashion (see Pesaro). How this local differentiation can be explained?

This research stems from the urgency to address the consequences of the 'migration-security mantra', thereby the argument that "migration is now a part of security policies" (Faist, 2003 in Glick Schiller & Faist, 2010, pp.15) as well as from my curiosity to understand the dynamics of local policymaking in the context of the municipal governance of displaced persons. Whereas migration and diversity scholars have traditionally studied countries as the principal unit of analysis – usually comparing the national models of integration (Favell, 1998) - many recent literature revealed how local-realities are crucial in shaping the incorporation of migrants (Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Schiller, 2016) by formulating their own polices and models of accommodation of diversity or by adjusting their internal settings, rather than only implementing national policies in a vertical mode (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017, pp.242). The new wave of scholars on the 'local turn' unveiled how local policies depend on two-way interaction between the national and the local level

(Dekker et al., 2015) cities can also "decouple" from the national rail and 'models of integration' (Scholten, 2013). These models are criticized to exist merely at a theoretical level, while they lose explanatory power in empirical realities. Overall, these authors agree on the importance of assuming a localist-perspective to overcome the "methodological nationalism" – i.e. the tendency to take nation-states as the mere unit on analysis - featuring great parts of migration and diversity scholars (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller, 2002).

In addition, Italy compared to other European countries is particularly understudied in terms of governance of migration and diversity. The fact is explainable by considering that, albeit the Mediterranean peninsula experienced a high level of immigration in the last thirty years, it is still considered a new immigration country, lacking an appropriate and homogenous apparatus of reception or a unifying integration-policy in its territory (Caponio, 2015). Nonetheless, this specific non-presence of a coherent "national paradigm" makes the Italian local level an interesting case of analysis to study in the debate on the 'local turn'.

Finally, in terms of public policy literature, it is important to address this topic in this specific and short timeframe (October 2018-May 2019) considering that political decisions are often shaped by earlier policies (Howlett & Ramesh, 2013). Hence, scholars engaged with the Italian welcoming system for displaced persons are now facing the opportunity to address the inputs of local policymaking in its earlier stages as local responses to the "external system event" (Sabatier, 1998) such as the shift in national paradigm. Investigating the 'local divergences' - or the multilevel strategies (Scholten, 2013) that followed the approval of the law no.113/2018 - can shed a light on less explored angles of the relation between local and national level in policymaking. Again, studying how Pesaro and Bologna coped differently with the national pressure can provide scholars with new clues on the role of the 'distinctive traits of the city', such as 'the local culture' (Martinez et al., 2018). While embracing a 'cultural turn' in social sciences, academia already began looking at this notion: The 'city's spirit' (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011) or the 'city's character' (Molotch et al., 2000) are common terms used in urban sociology to describe the process of imagining the city to propose a holistic feeling of belonging (Healey, 2002). Yet, few literatures have sought to explain the effects of the cultural traits of a city in the local implementation. Here, instead, the city's cultural context is considered one of the dominant factors informing the local strategy of divergence from an "intractable policy controversy" (Rein and Schön, 1994, pp.4) such as the Security Decree.

Seeking to fill the above-mentioned gaps in the literature, I take on a "distinctiveness of cities approach" (Barbehön & Münch, 2016) to highlight the impact of local ideas and frames on the multilevel strategy of implementation of the national Security Decree. In doing so, this thesis aims at contributing to the broader debate on the 'local turn' by showing how the *cities' agency* is a

determinant factor shaping 'multilevel strategies of implementation'. The city agency is defined as the municipalities' ability to draw 'their own agenda, policy strategies and key questions/answers to challenges related to integration and diversity accommodation" (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017, pp.242). Seeking to address how incongruences in ideas and frames between national and local level affect the strategies of implementation of the national policy, I engage with the following research question: *how have local distinctive traits informed the local divergence from the Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna?*

The following structure will be pursued: First, the theoretical framework (chapter two) provides the reader with the 'toolkit of analysis'. I build on a combination of theories on multilevel governance, local culture and ideas in policymaking to conceptualize and clarify the meaning of the variables. Second, in the methodological section (chapter three), sub-questions are formulated together with the theory-driven expectations; sampling criteria are elucidated; the selection of methods is explicated including the data-collection, the data-analysis and the ethical considerations. Third, chapter four offers a scrupulous historical review of the Italian legal framework in the field of the governance of displaced persons, providing also the non-expert readers with the instruments to grasp the 'paradigm shift' introduced by the national policy. This focus gives also information about the context in which the interviews were conducted, by comparing to each other the case-examples and the key policymakers in order to reveal the city-legacies in the field of the governance of displaced persons. Finally, the collected data are analysed by applying the theories and by answering the sub-questions and the results are discussed and compared to the expectations.

Theoretical contributions

Recent literature failed to operationalize the 'effects' of the city culture (Martinez et al., 2018). In this thesis, I picked this challenge, while embedding the concept within the fil rouge linking actors' ideas, interests and frames. Unveiling the dynamics of this linkage requires a discursive perspective while tracing back the conscious reproduction of what is commonly referred to as the 'city soul'; the 'city character' or the 'city spirit' (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011; Molotch et al., 2000). Many scholars, indeed, felt the necessity to engage with the distinctiveness of the city-level in policymaking, while analysing it separately to the local-specific ideas. This thesis goes beyond this theoretical understanding by looking at the functions of the local culture in real circumstances. Thus, it highlights the peculiarities of this type of frame, while addressing it as a special ingredient of local policymaking. By coming to terms with the distinctive traits of the cities, this dissertation contributes to the understanding of the 'city-divergence' from an external threat (such as a national paradigm-shift) by arguing that cities can find reparation not only in the production of policies, but

also in the (re)production of their identities. Finally, the thesis sheds a light on the notion of 'city-agency' by attributing a crucial role to actors' ideas and discourses. In so doing, the thesis contributes to the understanding of the 'local turn' in migration scholars (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017) by revealing the potential role of local actors and their ideas in the dynamics of empowerment of migration and diversity policies, ongoing in the cities nowadays.

Societal relevance and policy recommendations

This study aims to create societal impact. This does not mean that it seeks to advocate for normative prescriptions or for specific political actions. Nonetheless, the thesis may disclose interesting aspects for local policymakers and thus retains an array of practical implications.

First, the dissertation shows how the local actors are not only passive reproducers of national models or pure administrators, rather they are important political agents, holding own interests, ideas and strategies, they can make their mark in accommodating diversity. Indeed, this study implies to think of local emancipation (from the national level) as a process primarily triggered by local actors' and cities' awareness of their actual power, instruments and responsibilities. From this consciousness, the "city agency" is enhanced.

Second, the results of this study suggest that the "local culture" is an essential ingredient of the governance of migration and diversity. Nowadays cities can hardly transcend from this second awareness in coping with the diversification of their societies. The ongoing (re)production of inclusionary and exclusionary narrative as well as the constant clash of frames in the politics of accommodation of diversity pushes actors to acknowledge the importance of establishing affirmative narratives in their attempts to enhance social cohesion among different groups. In other words, modern societies need cities and actors that are aware, self-reflective and thus 'able to react'.

Finally, this study recommends empowering the multilevel cooperation in the field of the Italian governance of displaced persons. The results, indeed, clearly indicate the urgency to re-establish dialogues and loyal collaboration between the local and national level.

II.   Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the main theories used for interpreting the data in the analysis-section (chapter 5). I build on a combination of theories on multilevel governance, local culture, and ideas in policy-implementation to explain the conceptual meaning of the variables. First, the 'local divergences' are conceptualized as multilevel strategies of local implementation of the Security Decree. Second, a literature review on the role of the local culture and the local ideas in policymaking is offered. Finally, the theory-driven expectations are formulated.

2.1 *Conceptualizing the local divergence*

In exploring how local ideas informed the local implementation of the national policy. It is firstly vital to conceptualize the 'local divergence' from the Security Decree within the broader debate on the relation between national and local level.

The concept of 'local divergence from a national policy' is one that touches upon many fields in the literature because cities can 'react' to the national level in various ways, for instance, by submitting judiciary appealing against government decisions or by not implementing national polices. Here, the local implementation of the national policy is investigated within a multilevel governance framework (herein referred to: MLG). MLG refers to the establishment of institutional governance arrangements or "modes of governance" (Kyaer, 2004) finalized at governing migration across various institutions. Hence, it relates to the attribution of competences and coordination among levels of governance. It is well known in academia that migration polices are nowadays multilevel topics because either the city-level, the regional-level or the EU-level became highly involved in the governance of migration and diversity (Scholten, 2016). The involvement of different levels through different 'modes' depends on the autonomy that the various levels retain. This attribution of competences between levels of governance is usually regulated by constitutional norms, yet it may also stem from more implicit routines and praxis (path-dependency) or by exceptional political power retained by one actor. To illustrate an example regarding the Italian system of protection for displaced persons, SPRAR (see chapter, 4.2), the attribution of competences among levels is regulated by the principle of subsidiarity, whereby the most functional level is usually in charge of the management (Camparoni, 2016). The principle of local self-government is also enshrined in the Italian Constitution (art.132\ Title V, 2001). Nonetheless, generally the coordination between levels in governing migration differs depending on the specific institution of governance, thus not only among regions but also from city to city.

Therefore, when one considers the phenomenon of 'local turn' (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017) in the governance of migration and diversity, it is important to assume a multilevel perspective. The 'local turn' relates to the autonomy that cities have acquired from the national level to accommodate newcomers' incorporation while formulating own polices and models, rather than only implementing them in a vertical way. Scholten's (2013) MLG framework distinguishes between four governance configurations: Vertical, Localist, Multilevel and Decoupling:

The vertical configuration is also called centralist-mode of governance because it features a top-down relation between levels. The central level retains the greatest power, while the local level implements the national policy following the national rules, usually imposed by the leading department or by a ministry. Unlike, the localist configuration is characterized by the principle of subsidiarity, thus local bottom-up experiences of policymaking are prioritized to central diktats. The rise of bottom-up initiatives occurs as a reaction to local-specific circumstances requiring local governments to formulate own polices while establishing local governance-networks to cope with the problem. Thirdly, the multilevel configuration does not comply with any specific hierarchy, rather polices are informed by a redistribution of competences among levels. This implies a certain level of coordination, dialogues and negotiations between the levels, where the outcome is not imposed by a central institution nor decided autonomously by the local level, rather stems from a multilevel negotiation. Particularly to the Italian case, scholars have recently discussed how crucial is the crucial impact of 'intergovernmental relation' among levels in the governance of migration and diversity (Caponio et al., 2018). Finally, 'decoupling' occurs when the vertical relations are absent or simply do not have a homogenous interpretation, rather they are in contradiction between levels and institutions of governance. The lack of shared rules on implementation or the unclear attribution of competences between levels can be the result of either a judiciary appealing or by a political dispute of power - where a multilevel clash of frames does not allow the implementation.

This study addresses how and why two Italian cities differently coped with the external pressure coming from the local implementation the Security Decree, which generated a paradigm shift in the governance of displaced persons. Rein and Schön (1994, pp.4) describe this type of polices as "intractable controversies" because they involve "multiple social realities". Therefore, actors across level retain different frames and ideas about the issue at stake, with the result that the coordination between levels becomes hardly sustainable (Scholten, 2013).

In this context, Scholten's typology of MLG particularly fits for this study because it clarifies the multilevel dynamics of the national-local relations in the specific policy domain of

migrants' incorporation (Scholten 2016). This MLG framework allow to position the local responses within a continuum of intensity of the reaction (see chapter, 2.3).

Indeed, the 'degree of local-divergence' from the national Security Decree becomes a clearer notion when one considers the four multilevel configurations as local coping-strategies, i.e. not as triggers of policymaking, but as outcomes per se:

First, the vertical implementation of the national Security Decree (no-divergence) implying that the cities implement the national policy in an orderly fashion by following the rules imposed by the central ministry of Home Affairs.

Second, the multilevel governance strategy (limited divergence) implies that the local government can meet the national, regional or European policymakers to negotiate the terms of the local implementation or to suggest corrections.

Third, the localist-strategy (high divergence) implies that the local implementation of the Security Decree is characterized by the formulation of local policies that make the effects of the national law not visible.

Finally, the decoupling strategy (radical divergence) implies that the local administration seeks to contest the national power recurring to some sort of, legal or illegal, 'venue shopping', for instance by appealing in a judiciary court against the government or by politically refusing to implement the national policy.

To conclude, in this thesis the 'local divergences' from the national decree refer to the multilevel-responses that the cities adopt in order to cope with the implementation of an 'intractable policy problem' (Rein and Schön, 1994). This section has showed how cities can react to the national paradigm-shift through four coping-strategies, which were positioned in a spectrum that goes from no-divergence to radical divergence. In the next sections, I will explore the factors informing on the intensity of the local divergence.

2.2   The Distinctive Traits of the City

Cities are places where people primarily cope with "the diversification of life worlds" (Schneider et al., 2012, pp.316); where thus diversity is internalized for the first time. Cities - unlikely countries - are the real places where we make sense of the reality by realizing what 'we are' and where 'we belong' (e.g. Law, 2013). Considering the distinctiveness of the city-level, thus, it seems crucial to address under which circumstances the local contexts can shape the degree of local divergence from the national level. The distinctive traits of the city are broadly defined as the combination of frames and ideas producing a shared understanding of migrants' integration at the urban level and enabling

the city to enhance its agency (e.g. Law 2013, e.g. Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017). This chapter will elaborate on this definition in order to understand the factors leading to strategies of local divergence from the Security Decree.

Likewise, Barbehön and Sybille Münch (2016, pp.38) took on an *Eigenlogik der Städte* (distinctiveness of city approach) to compare the dissimilarities in how the distinctive traits of the city are discursively constructed across cities in order to govern migration and diversity. This approach aims at highlighting cities unicity, because not only it acknowledges that 'integration takes place at the local level' (Penninx and Martiniello, 2004, pp.160), but also it focuses on the urban processes of "social interaction" and "identity formation" (Zimmermann 2012, pp. 299). Taking on an 'Eigenlogik' thus, the distinctive traits can be discussed through two directives:

First, by assuming a discursive perspective to look at how the *cultural context* affects the local implementation of a national policy controversy. This speaks to the literature on the 'local culture' (Low, 2013; Molotoch et al., 2000). According to it, the local policy development depends on the local-specific understanding of problems and solutions, rather than to the national framework (see also Dekker et al, 2015). This is reflected on the discourses about the 'local culture' pushed by actors while responding to the national policy (see below).

Second, by accounting for the *ideas* retained by local actors involved in the local implementation. These are policymakers' own beliefs and paradigms of integration. Indeed, studying the factors leading to local coping-strategies of divergence does not mean only analysing the narratives proposed by the municipalities (such as the local culture) while implementing the national policy, but also tracing back these frames to the ideas retained by local actors. Local ideas and local frames are thus addressed together as 'local distinctive traits' because combined they can shed a light on the production of local understanding of integration policies, i.e. on the triggers of 'local divergence' from the national level.

Finally, it is important to mention that 'the distinctive traits' are subjected to changes, especially provoked by the institutionalization of ideas, discourses or practices. In migration polices, policymakers from across the political spectrum build their frames in form of 'inclusive' or 'exclusive' narratives. In this thesis, the emphasis is put in the local implementation of the national security-immigration mantra, which is an exclusionary discourse. Thus, local actors seeking to 'diverge' would establish inclusionary narratives or what in migration scholars is known as "affirmative narrative of social cohesion" or "urban myths of conviviality" (see for instance Körs & Nagel, 2018).

2.2.1 The Local Culture

Academia has not produced a shared definition of local culture nor a theoretical framework enabling of empirically studying how the local culture informs the local implementation. Herein, the local culture is looked through a discursive perspective in order to understand how narratives affect the local implementation of the Security Decree. Particularly, the local culture is presented through a combination of literature on the 'implicit program' and on the 'policy legacies' (see below). Whereas the implicit program refers to the endogenous potential of each city (Low, 2013), the policy legacies represent the 'political settings' (Dekker et al, 2015), rooted in the political traditions of the city.

The implicit program & the policy legacies

The implicit program relates to the discourses legitimizing political strategies by referring to the implicit features and values of a city. Thus, it is a sort of hidden political manifesto inherently characterizing each city because it has given sense to the city's existence by differentiating it from the others (Calvino, 1975). In Italo Calvino's words (pp. 349-350):

> "A city can pass through catastrophes and middle-ages, can see a succession of diverse bloodlines and ethnicities in its houses, it can see its houses changing stone by stone, but when it comes the time, it must be able to, *under different shapes*, find again its gods"
> [meaning to identify the values of its foundation].

According to the author, despite the changes a city gets through, the 'implicit program' manifest itself in real terms in a combination of physical ("stones") and socio-cultural ("gods") elements implicitly generating political continuity since the dawn of time. In line with the *Eigenlogik der Städte*, thus, the implicit program embodies the unicity of each locality in the unquestioned way of participating in politics (Barbehön & Münch, 2016). In this way, the notion of local culture not only radically challenges the assumption that 'national models of integration' exist (see section 2.2.2), but also it diversifies integration policies from city to city. Here stands the importance of accounting for the implicit 'cultural context' in which local actors develop ideas and take decisions.

Nonetheless, the 'implicit program' cannot be treated as a stand-alone concept while addressing the local culture: whereas it allows to account for the endogenous potential of each city, the notion seems to exclude the actual 'system in place' as a relevant ingredient of local implementation.

In order to grasp the full potential of the concept of 'local culture', instead, one may include in this conceptualization the 'political settings' of the city (Dekker et al, 2015). The local culture as 'policy legacies' appears a less abstract notion: the city's implicit values become recognizable in

those discourses and practices that have historically characterized the political life of the city. Indeed, beside the implicit potential of the city, scholars of the 'cultural turn' believe that organizations must deal with their own past while building their identity-narrative (Hansen, 2012). This suggests that the use a city does of both its implicit elements and of its political legacies is functional to the activities of policymaking. Thus, cities coping with the implementation of an intractable policy controversy are expected to display their culture according to their policy-goals.

Thus, the local culture, rather than being the faithful representation of the city, is considered a frame showing a sort of temporal linearity between political interventions of the past and the present.

The combination of these theories presented the local culture as a narrative used by policymakers to push their strategies of divergence from the Security Decree. The assumption is that, city-brands not only serve as means for pushing power and interest, but also for discussing the self-determination of the city itself (Barbehön & Münch, 2016). Both the implicit program and the legacies of the city are regarded as key factors in the production of shared 'local-understanding' of migration polices because it is through a reproduction of routines, cultural traits and urban myths that each city find its culturally appropriate strategy of implementation (e.g. Molotoch et al., 2000). Thus, this broad conceptualization of the 'local culture' can grasp the full potential of the notion by considering both implicit and formal elements.

Assuming a discursive perspective

According to the literature on the 'cultural turn' (Booth et al., 2007), organizations can display their culture according to the three perspectives: Integrationism, Differentiationism, and Fragmentationism. "Integrationism" refers to those discourses establishing a consensual and unified culture: it implies the building up of a monolithic narrative, with the purpose of showing a homogenous linearity of values in the course of history. This narrative holds a heterogeneous group of people together and bonds them to a shared vision, which likely reflects the philosophy of the founders. To illustrate an example, the cities of the past used to evoke the 'god-founders' of the city to remind the homogenous values or 'the spirit' of the city (Calvino, 1975).

In contrast, the differentiation perspective not only acknowledges conflicts and cultural differentiation; it also goes to great lengths to differentiate itself from the integration perspective because it does not trace back its status to the founder-vision. On the contrary, differentiationism claims the co-existence of sub-cultures, also showing the complexity of it. An example of political utilization of the differentiation perspective may be seen in the narrative of the European Union - as

the motto "united in diversity" attests – or, one may argue, the narrative related to the Dutch 'multicultural model'. These discourses want to show the several sub-cultures embodied in the larger society, without omitting the complexity of the co-existence.

Finally, the fragmentationist perspective is a relativist strategy. It emphasizes ambiguity and the shifting multiplicity of cultures in organizations as well as the many possible ways of interpreting cultures since it argues that 'everything is relative'.

Booth and colleagues' (2007) theory can be applied to this study if one assumes that municipalities would behave as organizations, thus the 'use of the local culture' would be an essential trigger of the local divergence from the Security Decree. Liu and Hilton (2010, pp.537) argue that "a group's representation of its history will condition its sense of what it was, is, can and should be, and is thus central to the construction of its identity, norms, and values". Since 'legacies' are extremely various within the long and variegate history of a city, the selection of a specific historical event and policies seems a clear indicator of how the 'local culture' is reproduced in order to legitimize the local divergence from the national level (see table 2).

In conclusion, in this section I took on a discursive perspective to illustrate the first factor pushing policymakers' strategies of local divergence from the Security Decree. I focused on a specific type of frame: the local culture. It has been argued that the local implementation strictly depends on the peculiarity of the cultural context and thus, the local culture is a frame potentially able of destabilizing the proper multilevel functioning in the governance of displaced persons. Whether reproduced, it can create local divergence in the local implementation of an 'intractable policy controversy', especially in 'wicked policy problems' such as migrants' incorporation (Scholten, 2019). Indeed, while facing an external threat, cities would find reparation in the 'local way of doing things', thus, they would assume culture-appropriate strategies of local implementation. This is expected to create multilevel governance controversies (e.g. Scholten, 2013): the more policymakers reproduce the local culture of the city while implementing the national policy, the greater the intensity of the 'local divergences' from the national Security Decree (see E1, chapter 3.1).

2.2.2 Ideas, Beliefs and Paradigms of Integration

Analysing the distinctive traits of the local level one cannot shy away from discussing the role of local actors' beliefs and paradigms of integration because ideas are the essence of any political decision (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003): Ideas are the cognitive schemes through which we make sense of the reality while consciously and subconsciously channelling specific interests (e.g.

Sabatier, 1998). Thus, they precede the construction of the abovementioned narratives on the 'local culture' (see 2.2.1) and they are triggers of the 'local divergence' from the national policy (see 2.1). In this final section, both actors' own beliefs and paradigms of integration are considered as ideas that matter for the local implementation of the Security Decree. In line with the 'distinctiveness of city approach' (see 2.2.), ideas differ from city to city (Barbehön & Münch, 2016). Thus, it is possible to address them within the 'distinctive traits of the city'.

Principled Beliefs

Actors' ideas primary refers to the "principled beliefs" retained by the local policymakers (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Many scholars have addressed the role of principles: Goldstein and Keohone (1993) defined beliefs as "normative ideas that specify criteria for distinguishing right from wrong and just from unjust" (pp.9). Sabatier (1998) refers also to a well-articulated "system of beliefs" triggering policymaking.

In chapter 2.1 it has been discussed how cities can chose between four 'multilevel strategies of divergence' while implementing the national policy. Among the many beliefs that could play a role, one that matters for the outcome of the local implementation of a national policy is the 'Rule of Law'. The Rule of Law refers to "the ascendancy of law as such and of the institutions of the legal system in a system of governance" (Waldron, 2016). This belief is important for the local implementation of a 'intractable policy controversy', because the local actors *are forced* to implement a national policy with which they disagree about the very issue at stake (Scholten, 2013). Thus, different ideas on the just attribution of competences among levels of governance – i.e. ideas on the Rule of Law – are expected to enhance the intensity of the local divergences from the Security Decree (see E2, chapter 3.1).

Paradigms of Integration

In migration scholars, well-known examples of ideas are the 'paradigms of integration', such as 'assimilation', 'multiculturalism' or 'interculturalism'. These are products of the studies of integration polies, of which academia provided extensive comparative analysis, usually under form of national models of integration. These are defined as "nationally and historically rooted ways of framing immigrant integration" (Brubaker, 1992 in Bertossi et al., 2015, pp.59). To illustrate an example, the Netherlands is considered the clearest case of 'multiculturalism' because of its pillarization history. Here, the emancipation of national minorities as a mode of governing immigration - together with the reproduction of these governance configuration overtime - established a shared understanding of 'integration' as a process of cultural recognition and social

equality and participation (Vasta, 2007, in Schiller, 2015) realized through state-led programs of empowerment of ethnic communities. On the contrary, the French assimilationist model is addressed as a legacy of the French revolution, when the republican principles were forged to become the guiding principles of French policymaking. In few words, the 'republican model' differs from the 'multicultural model' due to its specific understanding of citizenship in conformity with the universal (or colour-blind) values and duties of the republic (Brubaker, 1992 in Bertossi et al., 2015).

The most recent modelling attempt was done by Zapata-Barrero (2017), preparing the ground for the theorization of a more complex model based on the previous elaboration and combined with Amartya Sen' approach of capabilities, the so-called 'intercultural model'. Rooted in a 'backlash against multiculturism' (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010), the intercultural paradigm acknowledges the strengths of the previous ideas, while going beyond their weaknesses in order to emphasize the importance of intercultural interactions among groups. Indeed, scholars have clearly assessed how multiculturalism led to crystallization of the cleavages between ethnic groups, and how assimilationism lead to phenomena of discrimination by not recognizing the existence of this diversity. Hence, the need for an intercultural model based on both maintenance of national values and importance of diversity. Incorporating the previous ideas, the interculturalist paradigm face the complexification of nowadays societies by seeking to foster the relations among people of different backgrounds (Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

Nonetheless, regarding the use that academia and politics should do of these paradigms, an established tradition of scholars assessed the actual inexistence of the national models showing how they cannot be taken for granted since they are not applied homogenously across time and space. Rather, they are co-produced in forms of narratives and practices by both politics and scholars as an attempt of simplification of complex realities (e.g. Bertossi et al., 2015). Again, Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009) speak about 'methodological nationalism' to refer to the widespread attitude migration scholars of taking nation-states models as the mere units on analysis in migration scholars.

Therefore, whereas the nation-states models surely represented the predominant unit for comparative analyses in migrations scholars (Favell, 1998), the recent local trends in migration literature – such as the 'distinctiveness of city approach' (Barbehön & Münch, 2016) and the theories on the 'local turn' (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017) - are inherently critical about the role of national paradigms of integration. Yet, this does not mean that the paradigms of integration are analytically useless when used in the local level's analysis. On the contrary, they can reveal the

distinctiveness of each city. Maria Schiller (2016) noted how local actors can appropriate of the national paradigms of integration, while adjusting them to the local-specific circumstances to cope with problems. Having to deal with practical issues, municipalities often assume solutions that are based on "paradigmatic pragmatism" (pp.1128). This notion implies that municipalities draw on different paradigms and pragmatically combine them according to their specific ideas and interest.

Departing from the distinctive way of framing migrants' integration from city to city, one may expect that municipality react to the national polices when paradigms of integration are incongruent among levels: The way in which municipalities combine paradigms of integration (assimilation, multiculturalism and interculturalism) differently from the national definition of integration (see chapter four) is expected to inform the intensity of the local divergence from the Security Decree because the 'clash of frames' (Bleich, 2002) between the levels complicates the modes of governance in a multilevel perspective (Scholten, 2013) (See E2, 3.1).

2.3   Synthetization: triggers and outcomes

In this comparative study two case examples are compared regarding their frames- and ideas-reproductions in order to shed a light on the factors informing the local implementation of the national Security Decree. The 'local divergences' from the national policy (dependent variable) were defined as the multilevel-responses that the cities adopt in order to cope with the implementation of an 'intractable policy problem'. The distinctive traits of the city (independent variable) refer, instead, to the combination of elements producing a shared understanding of migrants' integration at the urban level. These concepts are finally synthetized in the tables below together with their respective indicators.

First, regarding the dependent variable, four strategies of divergence were distinguished: the vertical implementation, the localist-strategy, the multilevel governance strategy and the decoupling strategy. The reconceptualization of Scholten' (2013) MLG arrangements as 'local divergences' suggests thinking of a 'degree of local divergence'. This allows to create a continuum based on the intensity of the divergence: No-divergence implies the vertical implementation of the Security Decree; Limited divergence refers to the negotiations among levels of governance about the Security Decree's implementation; High divergence relates to the formulation of local policies together with the other local institutions of governance to minimize the effects of the national law; Radical divergence occurs when a city refuses to implement the Security Decree. This operationalization facilities the analyses (chapter five) because it allows to point out the indicators

making possible the interpretation of Pesaro and Bologna responses to the Security Decree by specifying the concrete actions associated to each strategy (see table 2).

Table 2: Synthetization of the outcomes of local divergences

Degree of local divergence (Dependent variable)	Strategies of divergence (Theoretical refinement)	Actions (Indicators)
No-divergence	Vertical implementation	Implementation of the national policy in an orderly fashion by following the rules imposed by the ministry of Home Affairs
Limited divergence	Multilevel implementation	Local government meet national, regional or European policymakers to negotiate the terms of the implementation or to suggest corrections
High divergence	Localist formulation	Implementation of the Security Decree is de facto countered by the formulation of local policies making the effects of the national law not visible
Radical divergence	Decoupling	Local administration seeks to contest the national power recurring to some sort of, legal or illegal, 'venue shopping', such as appealing to a judiciary court or refusing to implement the national policy.

Finally, the independent variable (see table 3) has been discussed through the umbrella concept of distinctive traits of the city. These are both the local discourses and ideas that inform the local implementation of the Security Decree:

The former relates to the narrative on the local culture either mentioning the implicit elements of the city - such as moral values, routines, traditions, social and architectonic elements – or linking the present to the past of the city. This can be done through the three modes mentioned above (Integrationism, Differentiationism, Fragmentationism). The more the local culture is reproduced, the greater is expected to intensify the response to the Security Decree (see E1, chapter 3.1).

The latter refers to both the actors' own principled beliefs – and especially those related to the Rule of Law - and the local paradigms of integration (Assimilationism, Multiculturalism,

Interculturalism). The clash of ideas between the level of governance is expected to inform the local divergence from the Security Decree, since it destabilizes the proper functioning of the multilevel governance system (Scholten, 2016).

Table 3: Synthetization of the triggers of local divergences: The Distinctive traits of the city

Distinctive traits of the city	Theoretical refinement	Indicators
Local Culture	Implicit program of the city	The narrative mentions the implicit elements of the city, such as moral values, routines, traditions, social and architectonic elements
	Legacies:	The narrative linking the present to the past of the city
	a. Integrationism	The narrative mentions the values of the foundation, while showing cultural homogeneity and historical linearity;
	b. Differentiationism,	The narrative mentions the coexistence of subcultures, showing the complexity of it;
	c. Fragmentationism	The narrative mentions the relativity of the cultures
Local ideas	Principled beliefs	Normative ideas on the 'Rule of law', thus on the just attribution of competences among levels of governance
	Paradigms of integration	Ideas on citizenship, recognition of diversity, intercultural interactions (Assimilationism, Multiculturalism, Interculturalism)

III. Research Methodology and Methods

This chapter explicates both the ontological and epistemological infrastructures leading to the choice of the research question. Since the thesis seeks to shed a light on the city-distinctive factors leading to specific local strategies of divergence, qualitative analysis revealed to be the most appropriate methodology to be followed. Qualitative analysis implies the provision of reasons for a phenomenon based on an interpretivist 'way of knowing'. Acknowledging that there is no objective truth, the situated knowledge produced by this research is thus based on the interpretation of the researcher. The aim is grasping actor's perception, political opinions and ideas in order to understand the strategy-rationale, which followed the Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna.

3.1 Formulation of sub-questions and expectations

In this thesis, I engaged with the following research question: « How have the distinctive traits of the city informed the implementation of the Security Decree in Pesaro and Bologna? ». In order to answer to this question, the following three sub questions need to be primary answered:

Q1: "Which multilevel strategies of divergence did the administrations of Pesaro and Bologna follow to face the implementation of the Security Decree?"
Q2: "How did the local culture inform the divergence from the national policy paradigm shift?"
Q3: "How did the local ideas inform the divergence from the national policy paradigm shift?"

In a qualitative design, the researcher does not produce hypothesis because that would lead to premature diagnosis. Having pre-constituted theories or concepts to test would also close the wide scope of possible interpretation. Yet this not to say that the researchers began its analysis with any expectations (Haverland &Yanow, 2012). In this study the expectations are driven by the abovementioned theories. It has been discussed how the multilevel strategies of implementation sharply depend on the extent by which ideas and local culture is framed by local actors, because framing destabilize the correct functioning of multilevel governance (e.g. Scholten, 2013). Indeed, having the cities a distinctive "fabric of meaning" (Low, 2013, pp.898), a local understanding of migration and integration polices (appropriate to the cultural context of the city, rather than to the national norms) may tackle the national migration-security frame. This destabilize the dialogues between levels of governance and thus the proper MLG functioning (Scholten, 2016).
Hence, the expectations are those that follow:

E1: The more a municipality re-produced frames on its local culture, the greater the intensity of the local divergence from the Security Decree

E2: The greater the incongruences between local and national beliefs and paradigms of integration, the more likely that cities responded through 'decoupling' or 'localist' strategies (high intensity of divergence).

3.2 Sampling Criteria

I explore how the local administrations 'diverged' from the national policy, seeking to find factors leading to specific patterns of divergence from the Security Decree within similar case examples. I base the sampling approach on the assumption that many variables exist with a "funnel of causality" (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003, pp.132), i.e. actors' interests, ideas and discourses are nested to each other in such a complex way that it is impossible to consider one while ignoring the other. To cope with this complexity - and in order to evaluate explanatory patterns - one should "choose entities that are similar, if possible, in all variables, with the exception of the phenomenon to be investigated" (Sartori, 1991, pp. 250). In doing so, I take as case examples the cities of Bologna and Pesaro. In coping with displaced migrants, these cities share the same national, European and international legal-framework (for the sake and the limited scope of the analysis, I will neglect the different regional-arrangements, see 'Discussion'). The cities can be also associated in terms of political orientation, since both cities are administrated by the centre-left PD (Democratic Party). The main dissimilarities relate to the "city-scale" (Glick-Schiller and Çağlar, 2002). With this term, scholars refer to the positioning of the city within spectrum of economic and cultural elements, which influence local ideas about migrants' incorporation. The city scale' argument provides the thesis with solid theoretical-criteria of selection because it includes the aspects related to the differences in the size and the degree of diversity: Bologna is a bigger and more diverse city than Pesaro and this affects the volume and the diversity of actors' ideas (see chapter four). In addition, it considers also the internal 'cultural differences', which clearly inform about the local frames and narratives.

3.3 Data Collection & Analysis: Interviews and Coding

In terms of **data collection**, I firstly mapped the constellation of actors involved in the governance of displaced persons in the two cities (see chapter four). Secondly, I contacted the participants by email or by telephone and I asked them to sign the 'EUR Informed Consent Form' with which they allow me to collect personal data about their political opinions. Thirdly, I collected information

about their current actions in order to prepare the key points of discussion during the interviews. These being similar in the ten interviews: (1) introducing and locating the self, (2) evaluation of the national polices, (3) local divergences, (4) paradigms of integration, (5) ideas on the link between security and immigration, (6) vertical and horizontal relations. In selecting these key points of discussion, I used secondary data (official documents) when the information was available online. Otherwise, I sought to collect information directly from the first two interviews (see table below IP01, IP02), thus, I used these two interviews with an 'explorative purpose'. I conducted ten structured interviews with the key actors and involved in the governance of displaced persons and with the key policymakers in the two cities.

Table 4: List of interviews

Interviews	Date	Role and Context	Responsibilities
IP01	02-05-19	Alderman of Bologna	Multilevel relations, Third Sector, International cooperation
IP02	08-05-19	Responsible Labirinto Pesaro	Management of projects and relations with the municipality
IP03	08-05-19	Labirinto employee Pesaro	Responsible (ordinary) SIPROIMI Tandem Pesaro
IP04	08-05-19	Labirinto employee Pesaro	Responsible (non-ordinary) SPRAR Pesaro
IP05	16-05-19	Civil servant at the department of social policies and socials services Pesaro	Formal responsible of social service – formal management SPRARs
IP06	16-05-19	Civil servant at the department of social policies and socials services of Pesaro	Operational level – management SPRARs
IP07	16-05-19	Responsible ASP of the municipality of Bologna	Management of SPRAR, CAS and relations with the municipality
IP08	22-05-19	Alderman Pesaro	Security, Neighborhoods and Volunteering
IP09	23-05-19	Alderman of Bologna	New citizens' rights, Equal opportunities
IP010	06-06-19	Alderman of Bologna	Welfare, Health and social services

I chose ***semi-structured interviews*** with policymakers and alderman to develop a holistic understanding of the governance dynamics in which the actors operated in the selected timeframes. This choice stemmed from the necessity of maintaining a high level of consistency. During the interview's participants had the opportunity to reflect on the answers while not-having rigid or structured interviews allowed following up questions and adaptation of questions to the provided answers. The interviews were conducted by asking them about their evaluation of the national

policies paradigm-shift and about their strategies of divergence. Interviewing the principal actors, I sought to grasp which factors contributed to the problem and solutions perceptions regarding the dilemmas triggered by the Security Decree. This implied also the possibility to follow up with questions related to both their actions and non-actions (in case of no-divergence); interests/strategies; beliefs and paradigms; filtering of multilevel interactions and institutional arrangements. Interviews were registered through a digital recorder. In order to guarantee the required degree of privacy and minimizing the risk of losing the collected data, I did not save the interviews only in my personal computer but rather in an external hard disk. I integrally and manually transcribed the interviews and finally I coded them.

Coding implied "taking row data and rising it to conceptual level" (Corbin & Strauss, 2012, pp.66), while also waving the "red flags", such as the terms "always", "never", in order to assess correlations between concepts. This revealed to be particularly useful in the study of principled beliefs: Being them normative ideas, they are often introduced by 'red flags'. I coded the interviews and the policy-documents in *Atlas.ti*. First, an open coding allowed for an interpretative process based of the themes discussed in the interviews. Open coding urges the researcher to flag out also emergent themes according to their subjective interpretation of the data (Blair, 2015). This was particularly important during the period in the field. Secondly, since it is vital to merge codes or create a hierarchy of code based on synthetized concepts, a second round of coding has been conducted (e.g. "axial coding", Corbin & Strauss, 2012). This allowed me to identify core-categories in the data and to create 14 groups codes (see appendix). Groups-codes were based on a-priori concepts and this allowed me to give a more solid base to the interpretation, while relying on theoretical concepts through which the data were interpreted in this second stage (Blair, 2015). In addition, I wrote methodological memos either to impress my personal interpretation of specific quotation, codes or groups of codes, or to put together and summarize the codes and the groups' codes for each case example (Pesaro and Bologna). The memos and the groups' codes were also merged according to the theoretical concepts and they were compared to each other (see 'Appendix'). More specifically, Wicker (1985) techniques to analyse data were followed. This implied to (1) apply metaphors and extremes, (2) place problems within larger domains and making comparisons outside the problem domain, (c) clarify assumptions; and (d) dare of continuously refining the key concepts according to the emergent data (in Corbin & Strauss, 2012, pp.68). In so doing, the memos were essential part of the analysis, since they displayed which factors or combination of factors could explain similar or different patterns in the case-examples.

Overall, I addressed the realities I was facing through an intersubjective interpretation. Considering that in social sciences there is no real objective truth, being it socially constructed

(Woolgar, 1996, pp. 17), I followed a meaning-making methodology, inductively led, primary aimed at grasping a situated knowledge.

3.4 Ethical considerations

This study is based on a qualitative research design, which leaves wide space for the interpretation of the researcher. Nonetheless, for this same reason this type of design is also a threat for the reliability of the research itself. This requires a high level of self-reflection for the researcher, both during the operationalization of the variables and the collection\analysis of the data. In this regard, there are some crucial remarks or ethical consideration that is necessary to mention.

First, it was not possible to translate the interviews from Italian to English. To ensure traceability stemmed the choice to report the more significant quotations, and thus only selectively make the interviews accessible to the reader. Second, the interpretation of the data followed Corbin and Strauss (2012) suggestion of 'feeling right' the data. This approach implies that "the researcher believes that the findings arrived at through reflective analysis express what participants are trying to convey through word and action and emotions, as seen through the "eyes" of the analyst" (pp.45). In this sense, interpreting participants' answers, the familiarity with not only the Italian language but also the dialects used by the participants gave me an extra advantage. Nonetheless, writing about one' own country, and specifically about a controversial law such as the Security Decree, required me to be aware of my biases. I approached the interviews with empathy forgetting of my own opinions on the issue and letting the participants elaborate their ideas in-depth. While proceeding with the research, I sought to collect information principally by the actors, both from the civil society and the politics, to obtain a more holistic understanding of the topic.

Third, migration issues in Italy are sensitive topics, while also being highly politicized. Empathy revealed to be essential because, this is currently an extra-charged topic in the Italian debate, especially for the SPRARs' workers risking their jobs (see below 4.2). This required a further ethical consideration from the side of the researcher. It was crucial to keep in mind during the abovementioned steps that the topic must have been addressed with the highest attention in data's collection and analysis. I also kept in mind that the thesis must have not be normative, with any advocacy-aims.

IV. Case Description

In terms of institutional arrangements for displaced persons, Pesaro and Bologna move within the complex legal framework characterizing the Italian system. Many legislative actions have contributed to this complexity. Here, a scrupulous summary of the modes of reception for refugees is provided enabling the reader to grasp the shift in paradigm introduced by the Security Decree. Finally, the cities of Pesaro and Bologna are described and compared highlighting the city scale, the main actors involved on the governance of displaced persons and the political context which has characterized the data collection.

4.1 Origin and trajectory of the Italian system for displaced person

The origin of the Italian welcoming system for displaced person can be traced back in the nineties. At the time, Italy labelled itself as a 'transit country' (no. 39, 1990), providing only economic 'first welcoming' to asylum seekers in few centres of the north (Curi, 2019) (see table 1, showing the typology of centres). With the "Apulia Law" (no.563, 1995), establishing the first centres located in the maritime frontiers (the Cda and the Cpsa), the government sought to establish closed places of administrative detention (Accorrinti, 2015). These centres solved 'humanitarian and 'assistive' functions, while recalling the need to 'control' and 'contrast illegal immigration'. Initially therefore, the centres were not considered as integration loci, but rather as labelling places generating civic stratification (Ibidem).

In order to face the surge in immigration, the Turco- Napolitano' law (no. 40, 1998) - the so-called 'Testo Unico sull'immigrazione" - generated the first comprehensive framework about immigration and integration of newcomers. The latter was then defined by scholars the "reasonable integration model" (Caponio, 2015, pp.166). This law pursued national' and immigrants' wellbeing, seeking to foster interactions between groups (Zincone, 2011). Nevertheless, the numbers of refugees coming into Italy increased at the end of the century. The influx and the diversification of the displaced persons, on one hand, provoked the rise of many bottom-up experiences in synergy by local entities and associations of the third sector, on the other hand, the advocacy for a more efficient 'welcoming system' by the civil society (remarkable is the contribution of ICS – Italian Consortium of Solidarity and especially Gianfranco Schiavone). Therefore, in 2000 the department of civil liberties and immigration, within the Ministry of Home Affairs, signed an agreement with the National Association of the Italian Municipalities (ANCI) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for implementing a "National project on asylum". The protocol set up the first Italian public system for the reception of asylum seekers and refugees

spread all over the country seeking to achieve three policy-goals: establishment of '*diffuse system*'; investment in the '*social integration*' and the '*volunteer return*' through the involvement of IOM (Curi, 2019). Moreover, the Law no.189/2002 called for the development of a system of protection for asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR), finalized to assure the autonomy of the participants at the end of the inclusive and individual-tailored trajectory of integration (Bolognacares, 2019). From the 'first assistance' in the centres, thus the system evolved while including a 'second welcoming' in small size and personalized projects, such as the SPRARs, which were substantially managed by the local municipality in a *diffuse fashion*. As Caponio (2015, p.167) argues, however, the approval of more federalist reforms at the beginning of the new century lead to a spill-over process of fragmentation: "the burden was shifted to the cities, with an emergence of an extremely fragmented scenario, leading to a de facto erosion of the reasonable integration model". Moreover the SPRAR revealed to be "highly insufficient in terms of available seats" (Camparoni, 2016, pp.4). In 2008 the Italian government announced the 'state of emergency' resulting in the readjustment of big and 'extraordinary centres' to guarantee at least the 'first assistance' (Curi, 2019). The emergency-management of refugees is promulgated also in the 2011 to face the so-called "North African Emergency". The use of the emergency began a process of 'radical distortion' of the national plan on asylum (Ibidem, pp.156), concluded with the permanent establishment of the Centres for Extraordinary Welcoming (CAS) in 2014. Overall, from 2008 to 2014 the fragmentation of the system increased (Curi, 2019). This period also marked the shift from the "reasonable model" to the "culturalist model" of integration (Caponio, 2015, pp.166). Integration was described as "a process aiming at promoting cohabitation between Italian and foreign citizens on the basis of respect for the Italian Constitution, with a mutual engagement to participate in the economic, social and cultural life of the society" (Ibidem, pp.168). The turn is exemplified by the law no.94/2009, when the fourth Berlusconi government approved the "Security Package", not only strengthening the criminalization of the illegal status for alien, but also introducing to the debate on security (Camparoni, 2016), what we call in this work 'the security-immigration mantra'.

Coming back to the trajectory of the Italian welcoming system for displaced persons, from 2014 the new government sought to bypass the emergency-management of refugees to reconstruct the system using the SPRAR as the main component (Curi, 2019). The new policy-goal is again the 'diffuse welcoming' and specifically, the reduction of the numbers of CAS (which currently host the 70% of the displaced persons). According to this approach, this implied a "loyal collaboration among the levels" (pp.160). In this regard, in 2016 a ministerial decree regulates the mechanisms for a more balanced and sustainable intra-regional re-distribution of migrants (based on the size and population of the municipalities). This strategy achieved some results if one considers that despite

the high influx of migrants during the so-called 'refugee crisis', the percentage of municipalities using the AMIF funds (asylum, migration and integration fund) for the SPRAR projects increased from 34% in October 2016 to 43% in March 2018 (ibidem).

Overall, we can sum up the system of protection for displaced person following the classification of Marco Accorrinti (2015). The author distinguishes six main centres for refugees. Those are: (1) centre of internment at first stage of arrival, (2) centre for the procedures of recognition, (3) centres for migrants in situations of socio-economic difficulties, (4) centre for the expulsion, (5) open centres, where is possible for migrants to get away and (6) closed centres - where there is no freedom of movement. In a governance perspective, one may distinguish among the national centres administered by the government, and especially by the minister of the home affairs through the prefectures (Cas, Cda, Cpsa, Cie, Cara); and those centres administrated by local entities and third sector as well as the multilevel system SPRAR (see tables from Accorinti, 2015). This distinction is important in sight of the shift introduced by the Security Decree that goes at great length to increase the power of the prefectures and disempower the SPRARs (de facto centralizing the governance of displaced persons). The table below summarize the typology, while also showing an increasing of security-led policies in the field of displaced persons from 2008 onwards.

Table 5: Typology and establishment date of centres

Types	Ministry of Home Affairs	Local Entities
1	Cpsa (2006)	Cda (1995)
2	Cara (2008), Cas (2014)	SPRAR (2002)
3		Cda, Residence, «Case Alloggio»
4	Cie (1998)	
5	Cara (2008), Cda, Cas (2013-2015)	Cda, SPRAR (2002)
6	Cie (1998)	

Source: Accorinti (2015)

SPRAR (System of Protection for Refugees and Asylum Seekers)

Migration policies in Italy occurs within a complex multi-level governance setting (Hepburn & Zapata-Barrero, 2014), with a high level of asymmetry between national, regional and local definition of integration (Caponio, 2015). SPRAR is a case in point: It is a diffuse and multilevel mechanism of integration. The national level through the AMIF fund (established by the European Commission) provides the municipalities with a daily budget for each asylum-seeker or migrant

under protection[1]. The Municipality has a crucial role not only in the process of formulation of the project and application for the funds, but also in the putting into practice of the integration system. In doing so, the local level encompasses and develop the different experiences of the public and private (non-profit) sector (Campomori, 2016), this means that the municipality strictly cooperates with NGOs, social services, social cooperatives (herein, I simplify by distinguishing between public and private actors) managing the projects. Therefore, actions, developmental trajectory and the degree of efficiency differ substantially across municipalities, but generally include linguistic and intercultural mediation, legal assistance, orientation and capacity building, professional requalification, internships, housing programs, as well as psychological and socio-sanitary assistance (for at least six months) (Ibidem). In terms of institutional arrangements, thus, SPRAR is a multilevel governance system where the UNHCR, Minister of the Internal, ANCI, local administration and NGOs are involved (see graph 1).

Graph 1: Multilevel Structure of the Italian System of protection for asylum seekers and refugees (SPRAR)
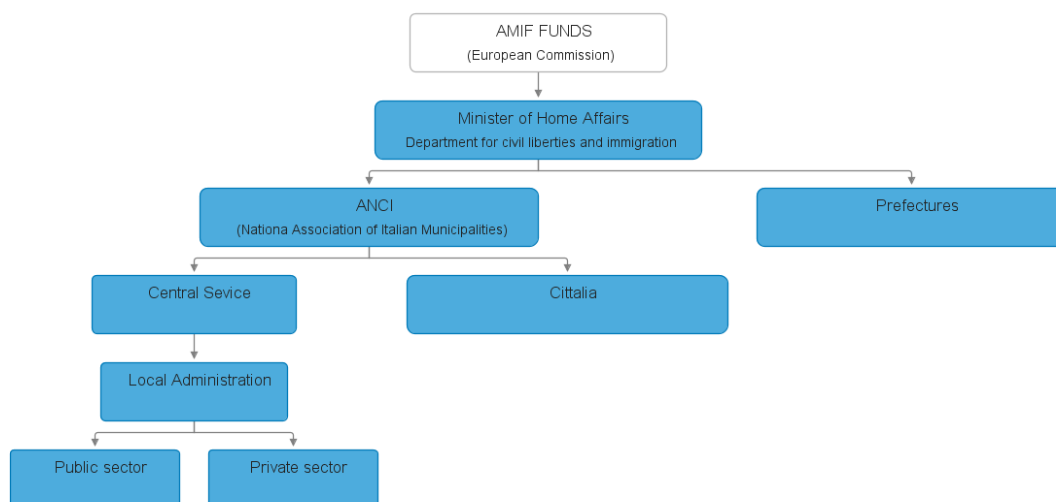
The Ministry is the institutional guarantor, delegating the operational aspects to ANCI (National Association of Italian Municipalities). The ANCI operates through the Central Service, in charge of all the activities related to information, promotion, consultancy, monitoring and technical support for the local authorities (Sprar.it, 2019). Finally, this mechanism leaves a considerable autonomy to the local mayors to design the policy and to establish a network of NGOs in order to govern the integration of refugees (Campomori, 2016). The municipalities can either collaborate directly with the private entities managing the project (see Pesaro) or more rarely delegate the management to other metropolitan/regional public institutions (see Bologna). It is important to mention that the
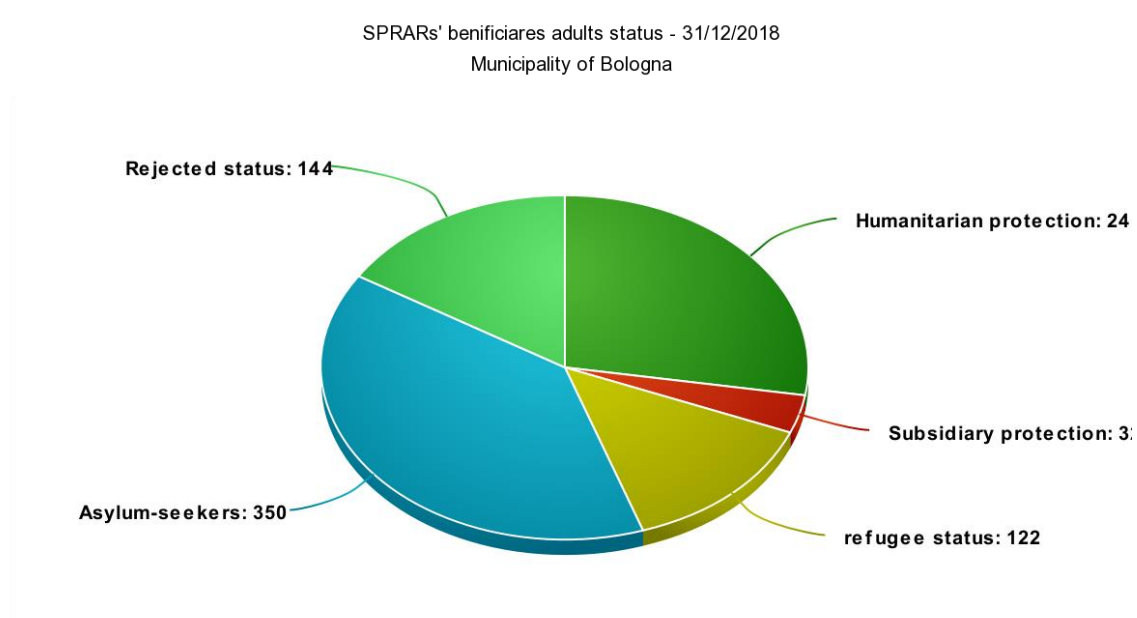
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[1] It was 35 before the Security Decree, it is around 19 nowadays

projects are not mandatory, and the participation of the municipalities can be highly determined to the access to and the nature of the funds, besides the approval of the project. This is the main reason of the inconsistency between cities (Ibidem).

4.2 Security Decree: Impact & Perception of the paradigm-shift

The Security Decree has partially dismantled the SPRAR (especially by the norms introduced in art.12, 113/2018) at the point that Curi (2019) speaks about a "radical shift in paradigm" (pp.147), where the system becomes again "centralized and emergency-led". The decree far from resolving the fragmentation-issue merely sought to reduce the audience of participants and the nature of the services (due to the budget cuts). The new audience of the beneficiaries comprises the holders of international protection, the unaccompanied minors and the new categories which have substituted the humanitarian protection (serious medical reasons, natural disasters, act of heroic civil value). The SPRAR also changed in name and it is now called SIPROIMI (System for international protection holders and unaccompanied minors). It is vital to recall that the exclusion of asylum-seekers and humanitarian protections-holders is estimated to have an impact in the cities in the next months. To illustrate an example in Bologna these two categories combined represent more than a half of entire spectrum of beneficiaries in the SPRAR projects (see pie chart 1).

Pie Chart 1: Displaced persons in Bologna

SPRARs' benificiares adults status - 31/12/2018
Municipality of Bologna

Rejected status: 144

Humanitarian protection: 24

Subsidiary protection: 3

refugee status: 122

Asylum-seekers: 350

Furthermore, the new decree prohibits the civil registration at the municipal registry office of the asylum seekers still waiting for the judgment of the court about their asylum request. Despite this could seem a negligible detail, the interviews revealed how this was perceived as the main dilemma

triggered by the Security Decree in the cities. Indeed, this norm may jeopardize asylum-seekers possibility to access to some integration-services in the territory. However, as it will be discussed in chapter 5.1, a recent interpretation of the civil court of Bologna - through a 'strategical appeal' of the administration - has led anyway to the registration of the asylum seekers coming to town following the approval of the Security Decree (for the moments it happens only in Bologna and other few cities in the country).

Nonetheless, it is too soon to discuss the real effects of the law: not only we lack of data to asses with certainty the impact, but also the constitutional interpretation of the norm will have a key role in the future as well as the local process of bargaining between the local administration and the prefectures. The latter, indeed, play an important role in the recognition of the new forms of protection, which substituted the humanitarian. What really matters for the sake of the research is indeed the 'local perception of the problem'. Therefore, it is essential to analyse what the decree signifies in political terms rather than distract us within the legal debate.

In terms of its rationale, the recent Security Decree may be regarded as the crystallization of the link between immigration and security issue as well as the strengthening of the "culturalist model" of integration (see above, Caponio, 2015). The Security Decree generated a shift in the sense that the government aimed at governing displaced persons from a more centralist perspective. Consequently, the Security Decree could produce a process of re-adjustment of the competences among levels of governance, and it may imply also a shift in the 'mode of governance'. Moreover, the Security Decree could produce visible consequences in the local governance of displaced persons in the city of Bologna and Pesaro. The law no.113 not only dismantles the integration perspectives of many asylum seekers waiting for their judgement, but also halves the number of participants in the SPRARs projects and thus risk to jeopardy the stability of the entire system (while paradoxically generating a security-dilemma in the cities). Consequently, the social cooperatives have recently abandoned the ministerial race to access the AMIF as a sign of protest (IP02), with the results that the future of system of protection is now in jeopardy. The local administration is expected to think alternative way to govern the displaced persons[2] , while facing the implementation of the national policy. These 'local divergences' are the core of this work.

Hence, the sections below will focus on the description of the policy legacies, i.e. the pre-existent settings through which the administration governed the displaced persons. Furthermore, I will refer to the sampling variables on one hand by showing their similar political orientation and, on the other hand, by distinguishing them in terms of city scale.

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[2] The Decree de facto increase the number of the 'unreturnable' (those of 'illegal status' whereby asylum-rejected that cannot be neither returned).

4.3 Pesaro

Pesaro is a small coast-city situated in the region Le Marche and featuring a vivid economy and a cultural-orientation. The economic status of the city is recovering following the financial crisis that hit very hard this region. According to the latest data, the unemployment rate in the province of Pesaro-Urbino is around 8%, higher than in Bologna but still lower than the national average and registering a relative increase from the last year (8.9% in 2017) (Istat, 2019b). According to the latest regional ISTAT immigration' Report (Regione Marche, 2019), the share of immigrants in the province of Pesaro-Urbino at the end of 2017 decreased from 30.100 to 29.996 from the previous report in 2015. In the city of Pesaro, only 7.218 have migrant background (7.6% of the population) and most of them come from the East-Europe (Cittadini Stranieri Pesaro, 2019), while no data are available regarding the legal status of those. However, for a general idea, one can take into consideration those related to the entire region - *Le Marche* - where the displaced persons granted with a regular residence permit for humanitarian reasons are 6.959, among those 3.228 obtained the asylum while 1.409 the humanitarian protection (Regione Marche, 2019). This numbers suggest us that overall both in Pesaro and in the rest of the region there is not a real 'immigration emergency'. The regional ISTAT' immigration report (Regione Marche, 2019) also indicates how the beneficiaries of the SPRAR are a minority of those welcomed in the entire system (780 out of 5.097 in the region Le Marche). On the other hand, the places available in the SPRAR increased of the 40% from the 2015' report (in totality, there are 23 projects in the region: 21 for adults and 2 for minors).

The main actors involved in the governance of displaced persons in the city of Pesaro are the local administration, through the department of social policies, and the social cooperative 'Labirinto'. The latter is a private entity founded in 1979 and strictly operating with the municipality through the essential contribute of a social assistant that created an 'equipe' with the coordinators of the SPRAR (Ferretti, 2017). Therefore, it is important to highlight that in Pesaro, unlike Bologna, the department of social policies, directly cooperates with the SPRAR's managing body (*ente gestore*): Labirinto. Since the "North African Emergency" (2011), the social cooperative manages the SPRARs and the CAS in the province of Pesaro (Ibidem). More specifically, Labirinto nowadays manages three SPRAR projects: *Invictus* welcomes adults and single-parent households (especially women with children). *Pesaro Accoglie* hosts adults with disabilities. *Senza Confini* provides services to unaccompanied minors (Labirinto Cooperativa Sociale, 2019). The only project managed by Labirinto together with the municipality of Pesaro is SIPROIMI Tandem (ex-SPRAR), a service of 'second level welcoming' (following the first reception in the centres and more finalized at the integration, rather than at the assistance). The municipal SPRAR started in 2014

with a great political effort of the current municipality (IP05). It hosts fifty males' migrants with international protection providing them with Italian courses, trainings courses and internships (Comune di Pesaro, 2019). Finally, the social cooperative Labirinto also coordinates European projects, such as *Migreat.net (*focused on the economic inclusion of migrants) (Labirinto Cooperativa Sociale, 2019b). Overall, it is crucial to mention that whereas Labirinto managed the almost totality of refugees coming into Pesaro-Urbino, it exists a strong dependence of Labirinto to the local administration' political line. For instance, SPRARs beneficiaries are involved in the management of green and public spaces in Pesaro since the municipality has been among the earlier cities in Italy that have introduced the works of public utility, to facilitate the integration of refugees as a "pragmatic response" to the 2015 'crisis' (Ferretti, 2017). Moreover - if Labirinto surely played the most important role - it is symbolic to mention that since the local administration approved in October 2017 the project "Welcoming in family for an inclusive community" (Comune di Pesaro, 2019b), some families themselves actively participate in the construction of a diffuse system of protection for displaced persons.

Finally, regarding the political orientation of the city. Pesaro has always been administrated by the centre-left parties, in their various configurations, from the post-war period to nowadays. At the last elections in 2019, the PD's candidate Matteo Ricci confirmed its mandate of the mayor of the city. However, the result of the election, scheduled in May (together with the European elections), was far from being decided (Elezioni amministrative Pesaro, 2019). Considering that the anti-immigrants party the League dominated the European election, a shift in political colour in Pesaro was not seen as ambiguous during the interviews-time. In Pesaro, such as in the rest of Italy, the 'immigration issue' is a key issue within the political arena. The centre-right coalition has recently attacked Pesaro' SPRARs defining them as useless projects (Crescentini, 2019). Whether, historically the tradition of the city is one of great social caring, yet compared to Bologna's one, the management of migration is recently a new issue in the city, and it was not welcomed from part of the local population (see 5.2).

In conclusion, a crucial point to make is that Labirinto - as most of the social cooperatives in Italy – harshly opposed the Security Decree, not only through advocacy-actions, but also by non-competing to the ministerial public competition for the AMIF funds (IP02, 40.40). Therefore, the abovementioned system could appear completely different in the next years (when the current AMIF 2018-2020 terminates). Indeed, having interviewed all the participants before the municipal election, the system appeared at risk due to the combined action of, on one hand, the renounce of Labirinto to the competition and, on the other hand, the wild card represented by the elections.
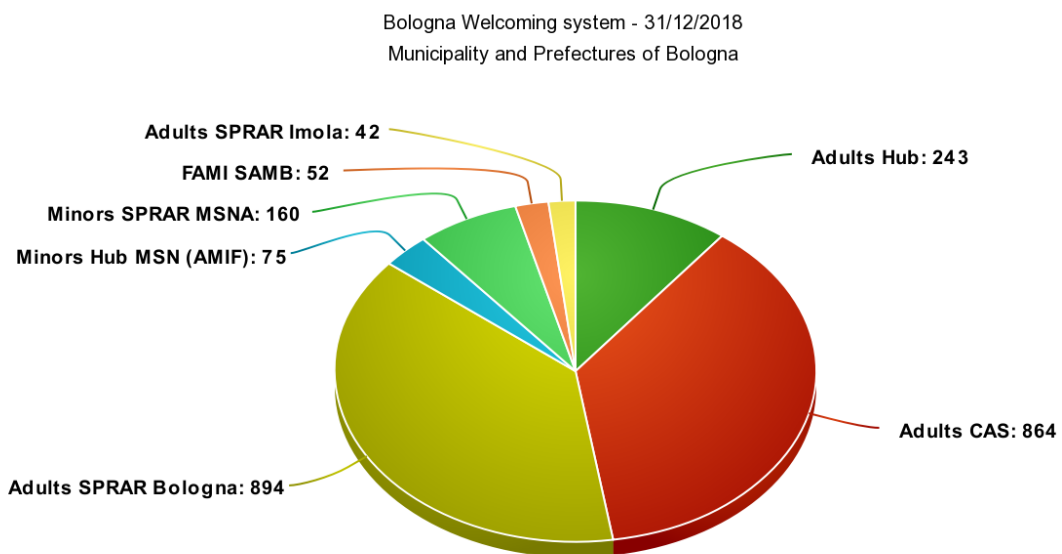
4.4 Bologna

Bologna is a historical university hub situated in the highly industrialized Po Valley and featuring a flourished export-oriented economy (Caponio, 2010) especially competitive in the agro-alimentary sector. The Alma-Mater Studiorum-University of Bologna – is (said to be) the most ancient university in the world, founded in 1088, before the foundation of the municipality itself in the 1116. In terms of size, Bologna is the biggest city in the region Emilia Romagna. According to ISTAT's data, as to January 2019, the total population of Bologna (metropolitan area included) is 1 011 291 (Istat, 2019). Beyond the dense population, Bologna retains an important occupational record within the Italian scenario: among the metropolitan areas, it is the city with the lowest unemployment rate. Despite the increase in 2018, the rate of unemployment is registered at 5.6 % (Istat, 2019b). The Emilia Romagna is also the region that have seen its GDP increasing the most in the last years (+ 1.4% in 2019 and + 0.7% in 2019) (Ibidem). With regard to the level of migrant-entrepreneurship, the 13% of the total enterprise of the city of Bologna are led by non-EU nationals, which locate Bologna in the top-five in Italy in terms of extra-communitarians' impact in contributing to the city economy (Ministro del lavoro e delle politiche sociali, 2017). Mapping the diversity in the city, many more data are available for the metropolitan area of Bologna than in Pesaro. Migrants represent more than 15% of the population, from 150 different nationalities (IP01), while the number of displaced persons welcomed in the SPRARS is around 2.383 (BolognaCares, 2019). Therefore, we can maybe speak of Bologna as a 'superdiverse' city (Vertovec, 2007).

There are many actors involved in the system. Above all, it is important to mention that in Bologna, unlike in Pesaro, the governance of migration and diversity is been "mainstreamed" (see Scholten, 2019) in four departments. Those are the department of welfare and health; the department of equal opportunities and antidiscrimination policies; the department of housing polices; the department of labour policies (see appendix, list of interviews). When asked, the aldermen explained this choice stemmed from the necessity to address the multidisciplinary nature of the migration polices (IP10). Moreover, unlike Pesaro, the local administrators within the metropolitan area (forty-three 'municipalities') delegated the management of the displaced persons to an operative public institution, namely the "ASP Città di Bologna" (public company for services at the person). In Bologna, thus, the SPRAR is a part of a unique 'communitarian welfare'. ASP is a public-entity - depending from the municipality of Bologna - that organizes the provision of the community-welfare (social and health services) and specifically to immigration, manage the welcoming system (see pie chart 2, SPRARs, CAS, and the AMIF Hubs); the relations between the municipalities, NGOs and the public sector (such as the sanitary institutions) as well as private

companies (such as the social cooperatives). Indeed, whether in Pesaro Labirinto is the only social cooperative, in Bologna there are eleven 'managing bodies' involved in the diffuse governance of displaced persons (Bologna Cares, 2019). The third sector has a long tradition and strong connection, thus overtime this network of actors has played a crucial role (Lai-Momo, 2019). The Christian world, especially Caritas and the Curia, became highly involved in the governance of displaced persons (Lai-momo, 2015).

Bologna has been one of the first cities in Italy investing in the building of a diffuse system of protection through SPRAR. The city initiated the metropolitan SPRAR system in 2004 and each year the number of places and activities available increased (Lai-momo, 2015). The higher increase in places happened in the last two years, and – before the approval of the Security Decree – the city's plan was to turn all the places in the CAS in SPRARs (IP07, 18.36). Nowadays, the SPRARs are only a part of a more complex welcoming system (see pie chart below).

Pie chart 2: Bologna's available places in welcoming system

Bologna Welcoming system - 31/12/2018
Municipality and Prefectures of Bologna

Adults SPRAR Imola: 42
FAMI SAMB: 52
Minors SPRAR MSNA: 160
Minors Hub MSN (AMIF): 75
Adults Hub: 243
Adults CAS: 864
Adults SPRAR Bologna: 894

Moreover, in Bologna is based also the 'regional Hub', first of this kind in the Italian scenario, from where all the asylum seekers coming into Emilia Romagna are firstly registered and are consequently distributed in the SPRAR or CAS. *Region Emilia-Romagna* worked on the idea of "creating a system", where many actors and institutions in the territory could coordinate their activities. Therefore, from the Hub are monitored both the proceedings of asylum seeking and the paths of integration (Lai-momo, 2015).

Another diffuse system is the 'welcoming in family'- VESTA project (thirty places within the Minors SPRAR MSNA, see pie chart 2), spreading thanks also to the 2015's encouragement of Pope Francis to the families and the churches as well as to the contribute of the municipality in coordinating the 'welcoming families', while also supporting them economically (Lai-momo, 2015). Finally, considering the metropolitan dimension of Bologna, the forty-three local administrators comprising the metropolitan area are among the most important actors, and according to Amelia Frascaroli (Lai-momo, 2015), the neighbourhoods' units have a huge potentiality in the welcoming system, being real connectors of people and reflecting the diversity of the city.

In the political imaginary Bologna is the 'left fortress', city-symbol of the *partigiani,* the liberation movement that supported the collapse of the fascist regime, where the communist party ruled for forty years in a row following the 2WW (Caponio, 2010). The local culture of Bologna is well known also in academia: *In Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy,* Putnam and colleagues (1994) highlighted how the city of Bologna is an international model and a point of reference for participative democracy because of its infinite tank of social and human capital. Yet, security and immigration concerns have dominated the last elections when Virginio Merola, mayor and candidate with the centre-left Democratic Party (PD) won despite the rise in consensus for the anti-immigration party (The League) almost succeeding the electoral turnout. Because of that, whether the city of Bologna – such as Pesaro - has registered a surge in security-discourses politically reflecting the national trend, it managed in also retaining the city-brand of a welcoming and multicultural city. With the words of a council member of the city: "arcades dominate Bologna both physically and metaphorically embracing and taking care of their citizens independently from their nationality" (Conference University of Bologna, 2019, 12). Migration and security discourses in Bologna are relevant factors in shaping the political sensitivity since many years (e.g. Caponio, 2010), therefore, actors invest significant political and communicative resources on these topics. Overall, the metropolitan administration behaved as a key national sponsor of SPRAR. Indeed, resources are also designated to the advocacy and promotion of the metropolitan activities through *Bologna Cares,* the communication campaign of the metropolitan SPRAR of Bologna[3].

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[3] By promoting *Bologna cares!* , Bologna's local administration seeks to raise awareness among the citizens on the topic of asylum seekers and refugees' reception and to communicate how the city of Bologna takes care of what is needed in terms of reception, through activities set up by the institutions and the social third sector.

To conclude, it is plausible to argue that the system in Bologna appears clearly less fragile than Pesaro because of a well-established system of protection, where a coordinated net unifies the regional system and the metropolitan areas of Bologna.

Table 6: Main similarities and dissimilarities in the city of Pesaro and Bologna

Similarities and dissimilarities	Pesaro	Bologna
Population	100.000	1 million
Percentage of non-national	7.6 %	15%
Unemployment rate	8%	5.6%
Main actors involved in the GMD	Labirinto; Department of social services	Departments of welfare and health polices; of equal opportunities and antidiscrimination-policies; of housing polices; of labour policies; ASP Comune di Bologna, Local administrators' metropolitan area;
Political Orientation	Centre-left (PD)	Centre-Left (PD)

V. Analysis

In this thesis I engaged with the following RQ: how have the local distinctive traits informed the local divergence from the national Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna?
Before answering to this question, the following three sub questions will be herein addressed:
SQ1: Which multilevel strategies of divergence did the administrations of Pesaro and Bologna follow to face the implementation of the Security Decree?
SQ2: How did the local culture inform the local divergence from the national policy?
SQ3: How did the local ideas inform the local divergence from the national policy?

This chapter presents the results of the qualitative analysis of ten interviews with the key policymakers involved in the two cities. More specifically, it investigates the local responses of Pesaro and Bologna to the Security Decree with the purpose of revealing the impact of the 'local distinctive traits'. Those are addressed as local actors' ideas and the cultural contexts within which they operate (the local culture). Since local frames destabilize the proper functioning of MLG arrangements (see chapter 2.1), the expectation is that the more the distinctive traits of the city are in contrast with the national frame, the more likely is that the local implementation follows the local norms rather than complying with the national law. The following structure is thus pursued:

First, it is crucial to compare the different attempts of local implementation in Pesaro and Bologna as to provide the reader with an exhaustive picture about the similarities and the dissimilarities in the problems' and solutions' perceptions between the two cities. Thus, one primary needs to reveal the evaluation of the Security Decree (the local problems' perception) and consequently, the related multilevel coping-strategies of implementation adopted by the municipality (the local solutions). The evaluation of the Security Decree introduces the analysis not only because it sheds a light on the interests of the local administrations of Pesaro and Bologna, but also because it allows to show why the Security Decree is treated as an 'intractable policy controversy'.

Second, the analysis develops into how the local distinctive traits have channelled the policy evaluation and the strategies of divergences from the Security Decree. This reveals the (re)production of the narratives on the 'local culture' in Pesaro and Bologna with the purpose of grasping the self-determination of the city itself. Showing the narratives of the policymakers will enable the reader to understand the functions of the local culture in the policy implementation, i.e. whether the cultural context has enhanced or discouraged the intensity of the local responses.

Third, I highlight which types of ideas were mostly influential in informing the local divergences from the national policy. In doing so, I focus on the 'clash of frames' between local and national level. The expectation is that, the more the local paradigms of integration and principled beliefs contrasts the national level, the higher the intensity of the local divergence from the Security Decree.

5.1 Multilevel Strategies of Implementation

This section analyses the local responses to the national law in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna while applying Scholten's (2013) MLG framework. The outcome is the positioning of the municipalities' strategy within a continuum of 'degree of local divergence' following the typology provided in chapter 2.4: No-divergence implies the vertical implementation of the Security Decree; Limited divergence refers to the negotiations among levels of governance of the Security Decree's implementation; High divergence relates to the formulation of local policies together with the other local institutions of governance to minimize the effects of the national law; Radical divergence occurs when a city refuses to implement the Security Decree (see table 2). This exercise answers the first sub question: Which multilevel strategies of divergence did the administrations of Pesaro and Bologna follow to face the implementation of the Security Decree?

5.1.1 Similarities: Policy Evaluation and Multilevel Dialogues' Attempts

Before the approval of the Security Decree, in October 2018, the administrations of Pesaro and Bologna sought to propose to the ministry of home affairs some corrections, thus following a 'perfect' multilevel coping-strategy (limited divergence, see chapter 2.1). Particularly, through the mediation of ANCI - the national association of Italian municipality - Pesaro and Bologna became part of a broader group of Italian municipalities, especially governed by the Democratic Party, contesting the norm regulating the new system of protection, SIPROIMI (see chapter 4.3).

Therefore, being ANCI the operational responsible of SPRAR (see section, 4.2), the administrations' initial strategy was the same: opening a table of discussion with the national ministry to negotiate the terms of the local implementation. Nonetheless, the requests of Bologna and Pesaro were totally neglected by the national government (IP05, 24.46) and this first multilevel dialogues' attempt failed at producing any result.

The reason why both the cities tried as a first attempt to open vertical inter-institutional dialogues lays in the fact that Pesaro and Bologna evaluated the Security Decree in a similar way: rather than a solution, all the interviewed in Pesaro and Bologna saw on the national policies a source of

perpetuation of problems. Particularly, four main criticism are shared by all the participants in the interviews. Those are briefly reported below so that the reader can grasp why the Security Decree is perceived as an 'intractable policy controversy'.

First, the deterioration of the relations between levels of governance.
All the interviewed when asked indicated that following the Security Decree the coordination and the dialogues between the national and the local level are minimized. For instance, the Central Service finds itself in the middle between the instances of the local and national level with the result that the contacts between the municipalities and the national level are completely absent (IP06, 26.30). This creates problems because as we discussed above the system is based on a 'loyal collaboration among levels of governance' (see chapter 4.1), where the Central Service should serve the interests of the system rather than those of the ministry of home affairs.

Second, the unemployment of the professionalized operators working in the SPRAR.
All the interviewed mentioned that one of the main problems is that many young and professionalized workers have lost their job due to the budget-cuts imposed by the Security Decree. Indeed, the operators of the SPRARs are usually highly educated people. Bologna's university invested even in a master's degree to educate the future operators of the SPRARs, considering the latter as a crucial resource from the municipality itself.

Third, the risk of losing a legacy of diffuse welcoming.
This point relates to the re-centralization of the system causing an emergency-management of migration (see 4.2), which followed the disempowerment of the SPRARs - and consequently, the empowerment of the Centres for Extraordinary Welcoming (CAS). Moreover, the risk comes from the fact that the social cooperatives managing the SPRARs (such as Labirinto in Pesaro and Lai-Momo in Bologna) decided to defect the public race for the AMIF funds due to the budget cuts impeding the cooperatives to offer valuable services to displaced persons in the future.

Fourth, the creation of insecurity:
This latter point is the most predominant concern among the participants and refers to the fact that, paradoxically, following the Security Decree, asylum-seekers would be more pushed to delinquency as well as they would become victims of discrimination in the housing market.

Therefore, the cities share common ground in their very first response to the Security Decree: both Pesaro and Bologna evaluated negatively the national norms and consequently tried to open vertical inter-institutional dialogues. However, this first strategy failed to reach any result because their requests were neglected by the national level. Thus, the cities eventually differed in their final strategy of implementation of the Security Decree (see 5.1.2).

This section displayed why the Security Decree is treated as an intractable policy controversy: the context features a multiplicity of frames across levels of governance where the local actors disagree with the very issue at stake. As discussed, the totality of the participants evaluates the law as a worrisome step back in the local governance of displaced persons. The next section will zoom into how the localities have implemented the policy to date by positioning them into a degree of local divergence (see chapter 2.4).

5.1.2 Local Divergences

Pesaro

Following the multilevel dialogues' attempt analysed above, the municipality of Pesaro has implemented the national policy through a centralized mode of governance, thereby following the rules imposed by the minister of the home affairs in an orderly way.

This interpretation becomes clear by analysing the interviews held with two civil servants of the social polices' department and three participants from the social cooperative Labirinto. The participants are responsible for the monitoring and the management of the SPRAR projects in the town (see 4.3, SIPROIMI Tandem). Together they form a composite local governance network of displaced persons made of public and public actors, thus embodying different 'souls' of the city.

Following the conversion in law of the Security Decree (December 2018) the municipality's approach changed toward a logic of 'normalization of the issue'. This implied that the national norm was implemented according to the national rules imposed by the central level. Nonetheless, it is crucial to mention that this 'normalization' did not come naturally. In Pesaro, I registered a dispute of approaches between the social cooperative Labirinto – the main private local actor involved in the management of the SPRARs (see section 4.3) - and the local administration (social policy department) about the most appropriate strategy to follow. The social cooperative Labirinto seemed more concerned than the social policy department with foreseeing the law's effects and advocating for radical responses to the Security Decree. Labirinto decided also to not participate in the national public competition for the AMIF funds because of its refusal of accommodating diversity following the national security-driven logic. This creates a dispute of approaches within the local governance network. Particularly, during the interviews Labirinto's participants complained about the administration' prudence and the absence of a more radical strategy of divergence from the national policy (especially due to the presence of the municipal elections in which the local debate followed the national one).

The interviews with the municipal civil servants of the social department partly confirmed this interpretation when they explained how the most effective strategy to date is pragmatically waiting until a better political contingency will open new solutions. In the analysed timeframe, rather than a radical divergence - as advocated by Labirinto - the administration decides to pragmatically appease the reaction. With the interviewed words: "let the cooler heads prevail and develop awareness" (IP06, 11.49). According to the participants from the social policies' department, appeasing the reaction means, primarily, recalling that most of the service are still available following the implementation of the Security Decree and thus, there is no need for a radical divergence (as instead requested from the civil society):

> "One needs to say to the public opinion that, being an asylum-seeker still signifies to retain some sort of guarantees because the asylum-seekers are allowed to register at the employment offices, the asylum-seekers can work, the asylum-seekers access anyway to the health-care, they have the right to the regional social benefits of emergency room, they can anyway regularly access to the educational channels" (IP06, 19.40).

According to the municipality, therefore, there is a need to recognize what is still there following the Security Decree while 'channelling' the reaction of the third sector toward an operational pragmatism. This suggests that in Pesaro no 'localist strategy' can be registered because no policies were formulated together with the other local institutions of governance to counter the effects of the Security Decree.

Furthermore, appeasing the reaction meant in parallel rethinking the relations between the public and the private sector in the governance of migration. The abovementioned dispute of approaches between Labirinto and the municipality did not translate into real problems at the operational level because of the existence of a coordinated working équipe where cooperation between the parts recurred (IP03, 1.17.50). Nonetheless, when a table of discussion between the administration and the city's associations was set, its aim was merely to "channel the solidarity" demonstrated by the civil society in the city. Hence, the administration goal of this table was primarily to push for the "empowerment of the third sector" (IP06, 40.37) in order to be able to work together more pragmatically. According to the social department, rather than embracing the "emotive approach" of the third sector (IP06, 40.58), a pragmatic response is needed by the public sector. This translate into the research of common points in which the parts could agree on to pragmatically keep working together in the maintenance of the services that are still available (IP06, 18.15).

To conclude, in Pesaro it is not possible to account for a 'localist strategy', at least in the analysed timeframe (October 2018-May 2019). Indeed, the municipality of Pesaro has implemented the Security Decree in an orderly way, substantially adopting no-interventions to counter its effects (despite the negative evaluation of the policy). Hence, no-divergence is registered.

The municipality continues to push its diffuse system of protection (such as the SIPROIMI Tandem and the "welcoming in family for inclusive communities"), while also vertically implementing the Security Decree. No real actions are decided within the governance network (together with Labirinto).

The current strategy of the local administration can be summed up as the waiting for a better political contingency and in the meantime the 'normalization of the issue' through a pragmatic approach. This pragmatism stands especially in the research of dialogues with both Labirinto and the national level as well as in the focus on the services still in place following the approval of the Security Decree.

Bologna

Unlike Pesaro, the local strategy of divergence described by the three aldermen[4] and the ASP of the municipality of Bologna[5] was more elaborated. I found that the local reaction in Bologna has been quicker and more resolute. The municipality has immediately established interactions involving all the relevant actors engaged with the governance of displaced person in the metropolitan area (both third sector and public institutions). Moreover, Bologna attempted multiple strategies of divergence in order to counter the effects of the Security Decree.

The local governance network has immediately perceived the policy as a threat both for the asylum-seekers coming into the city and for its well-functioning and diffuse welcoming system. The latter in the last years had begun a process of empowerment, nowadays stopped by the national cuts in budget imposed by the ministry of home affairs. As discussed above, a first attempt to negotiate the local implementation with the national level was made through the mediation of ANCI, thus following a 'perfect' multilevel strategy. However, this did not lead to any results (see above). Bologna's administration decided then that the only possible solution was the defence of the diffuse system from the external threat.

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[4] IP01: multilevel relations, third sector, international cooperation; IP09: new citizens' rights, equal opportunities; IP010: welfare and social services

[5] ASP is a public association strictly cooperating with the majors of the metropolitan city of Bologna and the social cooperatives to assure the social services (including the SPRARs projects) to the most fragile people.

The ASP of the city of Bologna together with the mayors of the metropolitan area set a legal-table, a jobs-table and housing-table in order to coordinate their actions to 'react as a network'. This choice was strategically made to place the mayor in a stronger position in the complex negotiations with the prefectures and the police-headquarters as well as with the other levels of governance (IP07, 26.20). Indeed, following the Security Decree these actors retain a crucial role both in interpreting and implementing the national norm (see 4.2).

These tables of discussion aim at finding the solutions needed to defend the system: firstly, the jobs-table seeks to assure that the highly professionalized ex-operators of the SPRARs could find another occupation.

Secondly, since "the real issue in Bologna is finding a house and not a job" (IP07, 20.50), the housing table aims at finding affordable houses for the most fragile people. During the interviews, the council member (IP01, 51.55) denounced an increase of discrimination in the housing market, enhanced by both the rhetoric of the national government ('Italians first') and the new norm denying the civil registration of asylum-seekers (see chapter 4.2). According to the council members, this disposition makes it de facto impossible for immigrants to find a house or a job in Bologna.

For this reason, finally, the legal table focused on coming up with innovative ways to decouple from the national rules prohibiting the civil registration of the asylyum-seekrs coming to town. Indeed, this issue was perceived by the administration of Bologna as a real threat because it will reduce the number of participants of the SPRARs, while also placing fragile people at risk (and consequently generating insecurity and social stratification, see 5.1.1). Thus, the legal table has been one of the most important activity of the local administration in the last months: the municipality decided to release a sort of 'documents of refusal' to some asylum's seekers (disobeying to the national norm) and pushed them to the use of the judiciary interpretation against this specific norm of the Security Decree (IP09, 13.37). The civil court of Bologna decided that it was illicit to prohibit the civil registration of the asylum seekers because that would have undermined fundamental rights thereof. From that moment, the mayor gave disposition to the offices to register all the newcomers. Bologna's administration perceived the decision of the civil court as a municipal victory able to make possible to "return to the situation pre-decree" (IP09, 39.20).

This coping-strategy of divergence can be classified as a legal type of 'decoupling', whereby a situation in which the vertical relations were contradictory and shared rules for the implementation were absent. Thus, the municipality used 'venue shopping' and specifically

appointed the civil court of Bologna as the 'fixer-actor', able to defend the pre-existent order (under pressure following the approval of the national policy).

Furthermore, beside the actions of the three tables, and unlike Pesaro, the municipality of Bologna widened the scope of its actions beyond the implementation of the Security Decree. I found that the issue is expanded in order to justify a broader 'localist strategy'.

Together with the Security Decree, the municipality harshly criticizes both the disapproval of the Global Compact and the politics of 'closed ports'. The combination of these policies is said (a) to generate fear of immigration; (b) to lack a comprehensive framework to regulate migration in a secure and orderly way; (c) to deny the geopolitical position of the country. Therefore, the municipality formulated three other local policies to counter the effects of the local implementation of these national policies.

First, it initiated GloBologna, a series of events organized together with the ethnic communities of the city to raise awareness about the presence, the contribution and the culture of the immigrants living in Bologna. Sharing food, stories of migration and cultural knowledge, these thematic events seek to stimulate intercultural interactions (each event is open to the public and hosts a different community, such as the Moroccan community, the Tunisian or the Chinese community).

Second, the municipality formulated the Global Compact in the city of Bologna, establishing a network of local NGOs, experts, and municipalities (such as Lampedusa) to promote the Global Compact while applying in the city its twenty-three points on international protection (discussed in Marrakesh with the contribution of the cities' representatives!). Related to this, they formulated a formal request to all the other Italian municipalities and NGOs to implement the Global Compact (disobeying the Italian parliament).

Third, the municipality pushed forward the pacts of collaboration between the Euro-Mediterranean cities (within the EU Urban Agenda) by inviting the ambassadors of Tunisia and Morocco in the city to advocate for the strengthening of the already existent city networks. Indeed, Bologna recently became the leader of the Italian net of Euro-Mediterranean Dialogues (RIDE-APS). According to the council member, until the end of this mandate, the final aim of the current administration is the finalization of durable pacts of collaborations with the cities of El Kef (Tunisia), Meknes (Morocco), and Tirana (Albania). Those would make possible to establish a long-term process of local sustainable development of the three - accurately selected - euro-Mediterranean cities (IP01, 13.15). These policies are presented by the alderman (IP01) as a localist strategy seeking to counter the effects of the national geopolitical denial.

To conclude, the analysis of the interviews revealed how Bologna perceives the Security Decree merely as the 'tip of the iceberg', being it also concerned for the disapproval of the Global Compact as well as for the politics of 'closed-ports'. Therefore, Bologna not only diverged from the Security Decree by decoupling from the norm prohibiting the civil registration of asylum-seekers coming to the city. In addition, it assumed a 'localist strategy' because it formulated three policies to counter the effects of the national policy (see table 8).

Table 8: Multilevel strategies of divergence in Pesaro and Bologna

Strategies of divergence	Pesaro	Bologna
Vertical Implementation	X	
ML implementation	X*	X*
Localist strategy		X
Decoupling		X

X*: attempt failed

In answering SQ1 - "which multilevel strategies of divergence did the administrations of Pesaro and Bologna follow to face the implementation of the Security Decree?" - It is possible to argue that:

First, both Pesaro and Bologna, perceiving the national policy as a threat, sought to establish negotiations' tables with the national level as a first attempt of local divergence ('perfect' multilevel strategy).

Second, as the first attempt failed at reaching any result, Pesaro implemented the policy in an orderly fashion (vertical strategy), while Bologna decoupled from the norm denying the registration of asylum's seekers (decoupling strategy).

Third, besides the decoupling strategy, many actions were undertaken by the governance network in Bologna to counter the effects of the national policies. Thus, it is also possible to speak about a 'localist strategy' followed by the city of Bologna.

5.2 Distinctive Traits of the city

This chapter seeks to reveal how the distinctive traits of the city have channelled the intensity of the strategies of divergence from the Security Decree. The expectation is that the more the distinctive traits of the city are reproduced, the greater the intensity of the local divergence. Therefore, the local implementation would follow the local norms rather than the national security-logic.

By taking on a discursive perspective, the analysis began by introducing the main narratives used by policymakers. The first section addresses the discourses related to the 'local culture' with the purpose of grasping whether the cultural context has enhanced or discouraged the intensity of the local responses. The second section traces back the narratives to the actors' own ideas, both in terms of 'principled beliefs' and 'paradigms of integration'. These elements combined together reveal the link between discourses, ideas and interests enabling the reader to grasp a full understanding of how the local divergence is informed by the distinctive traits of the city.

5.2.1 The local culture: Discourses as a trigger of local divergences

This section aims at answering the SQ2: "How did the local culture inform the local divergence from the national policy?" I take into analysis the local discourses established by local actors to face the implementation of the national policy and I compare the dissimilarities in how the 'local culture' is discursively constructed across cities. As discussed in the second chapter, the local culture is researched by accounting for the participants reference to the city 'legacies' and 'implicit program' during the interviews. The reproduction of the local culture is expected to inform the local divergence from the national Security Decree.

Pesaro

I found that the narrative on the local culture in Pesaro is constructed through a 'differentialist' perspective (see chapter 2.2). Indeed, there is no reference to the values of the foundation. Moreover, the interviewed do not refer to a homogenous local culture. Consequently, the culture context is only partially used to justify the vertical implementation of the Security Decree. Yet, this it is not to say that the identity markers of the city do not inform the degree of divergence from the Security Decree. On the contrary, it seems that the absence of 'unified legacies' have hampered a more radical response.

Pesaro' culture was efficiently described by the alderman of volunteering, security and neighbourhood with a three-fold formula: "Pesaro is an erudite, hardworking and solidary city" (IP08, 22.23). The former point refers to Pesaro as the city of music, where the famous Italian composer - Gioacchino Rossini - was born. The second point refers to the fact that in Pesaro "working is in the DNA of its inhabitants" (24.30). This element adds to the cultural sensitivity also a tendency of the city to be productive. The alderman mentioned, for example, Pesaro's long-term tradition of artisanship and ceramic. As a result of that, the pragmatic behaviours of its citizens, who prefer 'doing' rather than 'thinking' (a motto of the city is 'the hands think', IP08, 23.22).

Finally, the solidarity of the city refers to Pesaro as the "city of cooperation". This relates to Pesaro's variegate network of charitable organization. The interviewed mentioned how the city's third sector is characterized by a relatively vast amount of catholic and secular associations that in Pesaro always found the way to get along and cooperate, despite the ideological and political differences:

> "It is a solidary city. A city that in the last centuries – and particularly in the twentieth century – made of the solidarity and the hospitality its distinguishing marks […] Establishing a network of great intensity within the world of cooperation, the social and charitable realities have always engaged in dialogue in our city. The local administration is always been a point of reference and a zipper between these that if somewhere else perhaps confronted each other, here they collaborated. Many cooperatives are born, white and red, of all the other political colors" (IP08, 25.53).

Pesaro is not only depicted by the alderman as a productive city with a strong cultural sensitivity, but also as a solidary and 'welcoming city', where many associations participate in the political life of the city, efficiently coordinated by the municipality.

Nonetheless, this solidary tradition especially manifested while dealing with poverty, elderly and disability, since migration is a relative 'new issue'. Labirinto itself engaged with immigrants' incorporation only following the North-African Emergency in 2011, while the municipality began the SPRAR project in 2014. It was revealed that in the province of Pesaro the population initially protested the inauguration of a CAS (IP02, 19.30; IP05, 5.18). Moreover, the municipality have conflicted with the prefecture (IP05, 5.25) and overall, the population did not immediately accept the establishment of a 'welcoming culture' toward immigrants. In this sense, the following quote is particularly clarifying:

> "It [establishing the SPRAR] has been a sharp battle […] So, even if our city, Pesaro, is a city that from a social point of view is state-of-the-art both at a regional and national level, clearly this culture in the years [changed]…the society is changing, people change, the politics change…it has been lacking…let me say like this: this attention it was not so natural. We have been working on it a bit…" (IP02, 10.07; 10.32).

Therefore, Pesaro's welcoming and solidary culture does not explicitly refer to the hospitality of newcomers. On the contrary, it seems that the municipality, influenced by the national migration-security frame, has been primarily concerned with preventing reactions from the Italian population. With the words of the alderman:

"If you say to the Italians that the others culture has more value than yours, that you have to remove your reality at the point that you almost have to cancel your culture…This produces a reaction and the reaction is in harmony with the action. Therefore, action and reaction are both located in a wrong track, because they speak to a wrong concept of welcoming and integration. Thus, you need to be demanding in your welcoming… I do not give away the citizenship!" (IP08, 50.53).

It seems that, rather than reproducing the local culture as an inclusionary formula of peace to contrast the security-immigration mantra (as expected, see 2.2.), the current administration sought to avoid a backlash among locals and immigrants' groups.

To conclude, one may argue that:

First, the local culture of Pesaro is presented through a differentiation perspective. There is no reference to the foundation-values of the city, while there is an acknowledgement of the co-existence between multiple sub-cultures, without omitting the complexity of this co-existence (see for instance the last quotation).

Second, in terms of 'implicit program of the city', Pesaro's potential values are often mentioned in the interviews. Nonetheless, it seems that they remained partially in the background during the vertical implementation of the Security decree. Yet, this is not to say that the implicit program of the city of Pesaro does not inform the strategy of implementation of the Security Decree. For instance, the decision of appeasing the reaction while pragmatically implementing the national law may be traced back to the pragmatism typical of the city of Pesaro (see above, "*the hands think*").

Finally, the narrative on the culture of the city is used by the municipality to push its strategy of 'normalization'. Thereby, it serves the municipality to re-claim its role of manager of the network during the internal dispute with Labirinto about the strategy of divergence (see 5.1).

Table 9: Use of the local culture' frame in Bologna

Local Culture	Functions
Pragmatism ('Hands think')	Appeasing the intensity of the divergence
Solidarity city ('City of cooperation')	Re-claiming the role of the municipality of manager of the governance network

In sight of SQ2 - *"How did the local culture inform the local divergence from the national policy?"* – one may say that the local culture only partially informed the local strategy of divergence in Pesaro. Despite *the pragmatic approach* followed by the municipality can be traced back to the pragmatism of the city of Pesaro, the local culture is only slightly explicated to face the clash with the national level. The only exception is the narrative on 'the city of cooperation', which is used by the administration to legitimize its role of manager of the governance network of associations. Thus, to push for a vertical implementation. The alderman emphasized also how the local administration 'has always been a zipper between the various associations' (see quote above), this suggests that this will remain the modus operandi also in the future table of discussion with the associations (see chapter 5.1).

Bologna

Bologna framed the implementation of the Security Decree by affirming that the city could not shy away from the ideals and the "culture of the city". I found that here the local culture clearly affected the coping-strategy of 'decoupling' from the Security Decree.

According to the interviewed, Bologna's local culture was shaped by 40 years following WW2 in which the (communist) municipality embodied a larger community of people able to always create a wide network to support the municipality in "making the system" (IP10, 26.30). The political culture of the city is thus presented through an 'integrationist' perspective, showing homogenous linearity between the action of past and the present (see chapter 2.2).

Despite that, it is crucial to mention that Bologna's urban myth of conviviality has been discussed and renewed many times. With the words of the alderman of the welfare and social services:

> The urban myth needs to be explicated in order to give a '**horizon of sense'**, it cannot only remain implicit. We need to re-explicate it because in the act of explication we propose new levels on conviviality… We renew something that is implicit but that cannot be taken for granted […] Nowadays the challenges are different, but [...] we know that a strong ethical connotation goes through the city and we know that this feature always allowed the city to make progress (IP10, 29.53; 31.15).

Therefore, the local culture of Bologna is primarily defined by the ability to "make a system" with the citizens and the civil society to face together the complexities. Nonetheless, the urban myth of conviviality is adapted to the new challenges (such as those of a super-diverse city) in order to give 'a horizon of sense': the local culture is not only 'what we were' but also what 'we will be'.

Beyond the reference to the political legacies, the local culture in Bologna seems also a conscious construction and selections of implicit elements - made of historical and architectural features, geopolitical and institutional entitlements - triggering the administration to react to the national policies. Rather than being the faithful representation of city, the culture is an array of frames legitimizing the local divergence from the Security Decree. Specifically, five frames are distinguished:

(1) The Erudite City ("Bologna la dotta"):
> "This is the municipality that was born after the university; it cannot be separated from the university. This is the municipality that in 1256 did the 'liber paradisus' that is the act of emancipation of slavery. Ok? In 1256, far before the abolition of slavery" (IP01, 43.36)

It is primarily interesting to notice again the 'use of history'. Bologna would pursue a sort of implicit program or political manifesto, which comes from the "stones" and the "gods" of the city (see Calvino, 1975). The alderman of Bologna presents the culture of the city in a linear and homogenous way, referring also to the foundation of the University before the city itself. Since its foundation, the city of Bologna has been a city of culture and tolerance and thus it cannot repudiate its constitutive values by implementing the Security Decree. Again, it becomes clear that Bologna assumes an 'integrationist' perspective while constructing the narrative accompanying the local strategy of divergence.

(2) The city of arcades ("La città dei portici"):
> "It [the decoupling strategy] is part of the tradition of this city, considering that we are the city of arcades and not of the walls […] The wall divides and separates, the arcade unites and hugs, thereby offers hospitality and protection, it is not only an architectonic element, but also an identity element" (IP01, 4.53).

Second, it is interesting to notice the symbolic language used. While the wall is the symbol of the migration-security mantra, the administration of Bologna chooses the 'arcade'. The latter is the main architectonic element of the city, while also being the most beloved symbol from the perspective of the people living in Bologna. The use of this architectural element as an instrument of propaganda is obviously a strategy followed by the current administration to oppose the rhetoric of the wall. Thus, to decouple from the national security-approach.

(3) The city forged by immigration:

> "I reckon that in Bologna the biggest migration came from the south [Italy] and that each five years the social fabric of the city changes [because of the university] […] If there was no migration, Bologna would not be what is today" (IP01, 10.50).

Third, this frame is used against the main political sponsor of the migration-security link: the far-right party The League. Indeed, the anti-immigration party was born in the nineties as the 'League North', a secessionist northern party that used to refer to the southern Italian people attaching them the label of unproductive and lazy people. By reminding the fact that Bologna's economy had benefited enormously from migration from southern Italy, the municipality can show a current parallelism with a well-known experience of immigration suggesting the acceptance of the new wave of immigration. This frame clearly informs the decoupling strategy because it contrasts the national security-migration mantra by emphasizing how 'migrants are agents of development'.

(4) The Euro-Mediterranean city:

> "The concept of Mediterranean is not only a geographic one. Thus, Bologna is 'Mediterranean' because, even if it is not located in the Mediterranean Sea, it is a city of destination of migratory movements [from the Mediterranean Sea]" (IP01, 15.02).

Fourth, it is interesting to notice how the local culture is adjusted to the actual political contingency: The re-branding of Bologna as a Mediterranean city is instrumental to justify both the north-African migration and 'the pacts of collaboration with the north-African cities', which is the main goal of this administration (see 5.1). The shift in perspective is explained by the council member as an essential step in the local process of acknowledgment of the diversification of the city. Moreover, this frame triggers the municipality toward a visionary 'localist strategy', opposed to national short-sightedness, i.e. the geopolitical denial embodied in the Security Decree (see 5.1).

(5) The national model of efficiency:

> "If the SPRAR model of Bologna, which it has been a virtuous model, was extended in all the Italian territory we would have a different approach of the topic [one "out of the dictatorship of the emergency", IP01, 2.3] (IP01, 30.22).
>
> And again, "I would point out that the municipality of Bologna in this moment is the only municipality that closed its budget with a surplus of sixty-millions of euro and we practically zeroed the public debt!" (IP01, 46.43).

Finally, the council members often reminded me of the records of the city (the lowest unemployment rate in Italy, the efficient SPRAR, the balanced budget) to legitimize their local

strategies of divergence. Differentiating Bologna from the national situation (high employment, lack of homogeneity and efficiency in integration policies, public debt), again the 'local vision frame' is opposed to the national short-sightedness. This clearly heightened the strategy of divergence from the Security Decree.

To conclude, unlike Pesaro, the administration of Bologna makes massive use of its identity-narrative to legitimize the local divergence. The local culture is presented in a linear and homogenous way through the course of history, both referring to the values of the foundation and to the long political tradition of the left parties. This legacy suggests the future actions because it indicates an appropriate path to follow (according to the values of the city). Moreover, the local culture is also displayed as the implicit program of the city, through a combination of architectonic, moral, geographic and economic elements (see, table 10). Thus, Bologna did not accept the vertical implementation of a controversial law such as the Security Decree simply because it would not have fitted within the 'political manifesto' of the city.

Table 10: Use of the local culture' frame in Bologna

City Culture	Functions of the frame
(1) The Erudite City	Showing a linear continuity between the action of the past and the present to legitimize the high intensity of the strategy of divergence
(2) The city of arcades	Institutionalizing an inclusive narrative able to challenge the national exclusionary narrative
(3) The City forged by immigration	Use of the frame on the 'utility of immigration' to face the national frame on the 'danger of immigration'
(4) The Euro-Mediterranean city	Re-building of the city's identity to push the Mediterranean-localist strategy
(5) The national model of efficiency	Decoupling from the immigration-security mantra

In answering SQ2 - *"How did the local culture inform to the divergence from the national policy?"* – one may argue that whether in Bologna five different frames served the municipality to push a radical divergence (see table 10), in Pesaro the local culture remained partially in the background and it is primary use to appease the response (see table 9). Hence, whereas in Bologna the cultural context has enhanced the intensity of the local divergence, in Pesaro the cultural traits, such as the pragmatism of the city, have discouraged a more radical divergence from the Security Decree.

5.2.2 Ideas as triggers of local strategies of divergence

The final section sheds a light on the types of local ideas that have channelled the abovementioned local divergences (see 5.1). In doing so, I seek to answer SQ3: "How did the local ideas inform the divergence from the national policy?"

Pesaro and Bologna faced the dilemma of implementing a controversial national policy, which they clearly evaluate as harmful (see 5.1). As discussed in the theoretical framework, the local strategies of divergence from the Security Decree are expected to depend on the extent to which the municipality believes those actions to be appropriate to their system of beliefs - and especially to their paradigms of integration (see 2.2.2).

The analysis of the interviews in the two cities revealed that two types of ideas were crucial in shaping the different local strategies of implementation: ideas on the local turn and paradigms of integration. The former are political opinions about the just attribution of competences among levels of governance, thus are strictly connected to the concept of 'Rule of Law' (see chapter 2.2.2). The latter are the way of framing migrant's integration. Indeed, the assumption is that local actors are not only civil servants applying the national norms, but also *political agents* holding own normative ideas. In this final section, these ideas are compared systematically in the city to shed a light on how they informed the local strategies of divergence from the national policy paradigm shift.

Principled Beliefs

The analysis of the interviews revealed that not only beliefs were a crucial element of distinction between the two cities, but also how they determined the range of possible strategies in response to the Security Decree. Particularly, I found that beliefs on the local turn – thereby idea on the just attribution of competences among levels of governance – played a key role.

Pesaro

Regarding the principled beliefs, I found that the administrators of Pesaro believes that the local level has too little power to be able of 'reacting' to the national paradigm shift. Indeed, it considers itself primarily as a 'managing body' and an 'administration level'. Whereas the former expression refers to the ability of *channelling* the various instances coming from the civil society (as discussed in chapter 5.2.1), the latter relates to the Rule of Law (pre-existing norms on the attribution of competences among levels of governance). The respect of the law implies that the municipality must implement the Security Decree in a pragmatic and orderly fashion. With the words of the alderman:

> "It is not that the municipality behaves as a state. According to the hierarchies of the legal sources, the national law is stronger than the municipal. Whereby, you can also say 'I'll do the conscientious objector', 'I'll register at the civil registry office people that do not have the right', but afterwards these files will be rejected' (IP08, 28.40).

While facing the implementation of the norm prohibiting the municipality to register the asylum-seekers in the registry office (see chapter 4.2), the 'Rule of Law' is taken seriously even if the effects of the law are perceived as very problematic: *"Our municipalities acted together with ANCI, it did not do something else […] even because, anyhow, an isolated municipality would not have been effective"* (IP05, 24.03-24.33). Again: "we are administrators, we are obliged to respect the rules" […] "It is difficult for a municipality to succeed in shaking everything alone" (IP08, 13.24).

To conclude, it becomes clear that the municipality of Pesaro had a less intense divergence than Bologna not only due to the absence of a strong reproduction of 'the local culture' (see chapter 5.2.1), but also because of its ideas about 'the local turn' preventing a radical strategy of divergence. Thereby Pesaro's vertical implementation can be interpreted as a result of the institutional respect toward the pre-established attribution of competences between national and local level. This normative idea limited the degree of diverge to the pure implementation of the national policy.

Bologna

In terms of principled beliefs, Bologna's ideas slightly differ from Pesaro's ones. The main difference regards the fact that, according to the alderman of multilevel relations and third sector, the local level should not only care about the daily administration, because "practising politics means in parallel fighting for your own ideas" (IP01, 42.27). Regarding the rule of law, the administration can only "provoke the judiciary" because "the law cannot be broken, perhaps if one disagrees it may seek to change it" (IP01, 19.45). Similarly to Pesaro, Bologna decided to follow a legal path in response to the Security Decree. Unlike Pesaro, however, Bologna decoupled from national policy while challenging its interpretation and 'losing for winning' the dispute in the civil court (see 5.1.2):

> "One thing is the disobedience…as a form of civil resistance. Another thing is the infringement of the law that place you in the position of violation of the law. They are two, partially, different things" (IP01, 20.17).

Whereas Pesaro considered the institutional arrangements as the main obstacle - and the perceived impossibility for the local level to make a difference - Bologna's administration saw on the

constitutional principles the solution of the problem, while pushing the national law to the interpretation of the civil court. Moreover, whereas the municipality of Pesaro defined itself only as an administration body, Bologna acknowledges the crucial role the city must play in the governance of displaced persons:

> "Integration policies do not concern only states. Premising that from my point of view, it should concern the EU… but they must involve also the local entities, and particularly the municipalities. Also, because we are those who receive the immigration influxes. People do not arrive in the states in an abstract manner, but in the cities, in the ports and in the cities" (IP01, 4.17).

One may conclude that what really played a role in Bologna was the awareness of the local turn in integration policies. In sight of SB3 - *"How did local ideas inform the divergence from the national policy?"*- It seems that principled beliefs played a key role in pushing for a more radical degree of divergence. Bologna's awareness of the importance of the local level in accommodating diversity triggered the formulation of a 'localist strategy' (see 5.1.2).

Paradigms of Integration

Finally, it is crucial to highlight the way in which the local level framed the integration of newcomers by comparing the local paradigms to the national definition. This exercise can reveal the degree of incongruences between the national and local level in terms of paradigms of integration. This clash is expected to be the key to understand the local divergence from the Security Decree: the expectation is that the more the paradigms of integration differ across levels the higher the intensity of the local divergence from the Security Decree.

Pesaro

Regarding the paradigms of integration, the most used expressions to define integration are: 'personalized education', 'empowerment' and 'respect of the Italian laws and values'. In addition, the final aim of the integration process is making immigrants *autonomous* and ready to *seize the territorial opportunities* (IP04, 15.35, 30.22). In this sense, Pesaro's approach is in line with the national one (IP06, 29.40). As discussed in section 4.1, integration is nationally defined as "a process aiming at promoting cohabitation between Italian and foreign citizens based on respect for the Italian constitution, with a mutual engagement to participate in the economic, social and cultural life of the society". It is possible to trace back this interpretation to the words of a civil servant when she explained that one of the main problems in Pesaro is that immigrants send too many

remittances back home and because of that, they are not able to be autonomous from the social services during their integration process:

> "If the only proposal that arrives from immigrants is 'I am poor and when I earn money, I must send it back home'…premising that this is comprehensible, we do not judge the principle… **However, you must enter in a different order of ideas**. […] To say that, it is possible to guide a certain type of culture. However, the majority arrives with the idea 'I have a protection that the state owns me'. This has nothing to do with the Security Decree; this is a wrong perception that, however, exists also in a certain type of Italian culture regarding the management of migratory movements. We must strive against this" (IP06, 49.29).

In line with the national definition, integration is defined as a *demanding process* (see also quotation 5.2.1, IP08), requiring a mutual engagement in contributing to the society. Newcomers should be economically active as much as Italians, rather than live of the protection offered by the municipality. The lack of autonomy hinders the integration, thus transnational activities (see the remittances' example) are said to prevent the agency of newcomers.

Applying the paradigms discussed in the theoretical chapter, Pesaro's approach retains characteristics of the assimilationist-model.

Furthermore, speaking about migrants' efforts as a fundamental factor of integration, the municipality also believes that, whatever the municipality decides to do, the territory eventually makes the difference in the integration process:

> "The life jacket can be provided by the territory […] because at the end our job is only one of 'planting the seeds'… or of preparation of beneficiaries to be able to seize the territory. But if, ultimately, the productive system does not trust or it is not suited to employee… [no integration is possible]" (IP04, 15.57)

This concept was crucial in all the interviews in Pesaro and it is really important to emphasize it because if one internalizes that "there is no integration without a solidary community" (IP05, 8.35) it can be understood the importance of the 'cultural context'. Discrimination, lack of opportunities and other 'negative aspects' of a territory can enormously influence the way in which a migrant is incorporated in the society. In this sense, the municipality together with NGOs and others local entities of governance retain the important function of "planting the seeds". This translate not only into the provision of capabilities and rights, but also in the blurring of the barriers de facto preventing integration. Nonetheless, at the last stage the territory and the migrants themselves

'finalize the integration'. Finally, it can be finally understood why the municipality defines itself as a 'zipper of associations' (see chapter 5.2.1), i.e. the manager of a governance network.

Bologna

Regarding the integration paradigms, Bologna's administration refuses the concept of assimilation. They prefer speaking of 'interculturalism' understood as a 'pragmatic mutual acknowledgment of differences and intercultural exchange'. Thus, *GloBologna* is an illustrative example of integration polices (see 5.1.2).

The main assumption behind this idea is that in a superdiverse city - such as Bologna - it is impossible to speak about a cultural homogeneity nor having the claim that immigrants would effectively behave as Italians. Rather there is the need to discuss about the construction of formulas of social cohesion. Thus, integration is a process of "negotiation" or a reciprocal attitude to understand and to know each other, in which there are common values of coexistence (IP01, IP07, IP09, IP10).

Regarding the national definition, Bologna agrees on the importance of respecting the national rules and values. However, it disagrees with the security-migration link (IP01, IP07, IP09). Moreover, the administration impression is that whether the final-aim is the same – i.e. equalizing the engagement in the economic, social and cultural life of the society - the process to reach this common objective is different (IP09, 9.15). In other words, according to the municipality of Bologna (and similarly to Pesaro) 'integration' is not only about stating the formal equality of all, but also of assuring substantial capabilities to each inhabitant. This means also blurring the barriers preventing a 'luck-inequality' to occur. Meaning that, it is crucial to acknowledge the intercultural differences while providing capabilities.

Answering SQ3 - *"How local ideas informed the divergence from the national policy?"*- It seems that paradigms of integration played a key role is shaping the intensity of the local divergence from the Security Decree both in Pesaro and Bologna. In the former case, the vertical implementation of the national policy can be explained by considering how Pesaro framed integration in a rather similar way to the national level. The absence of a radical incongruence between the local and national way of framing integration allowed the administration to implement the Security Decree in a vertical mode. On the contrary, in the case of Bologna it seems that paradigms of integration are rather incongruent between the national and the local level. This may have pushed the administration to assume a more radical strategy of divergence from the Security Decree, such as decoupling and localist strategies (see table 11).

Table 11: Summarizing the analysis

Indicators	Bologna	Pesaro
Evaluation of the Security Decree	Highly negative evaluation	Negative evaluation
Local Culture	Radical reproduction	Little-reproduction
Principled beliefs	Awareness of the local turn	Little awareness of the local turn
Paradigms of integration	Divergence from the national definition	No-Divergence (adaptation of the national definition to the local circumstances)
Strategies of Implementation	Attempt of ML strategy (failed)	Attempt of ML strategy (failed)
	Localist Strategy & Legal Decoupling	Vertical implementation

VI. Conclusion

In this thesis, I engaged with the following research question: « how have the local distinctive traits informed the local divergence from the Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna? ». To answer this question, I have formulated two expectations based on the theories discussed in the second chapter. Here, I systematically compare the findings in the two cities to look for correspondences between the expectations and the results.

The results indicate that the intensity of the clash of frames between the national and local level have clearly affected the strategies of implementation of the Security Decree. Overall, in Bologna I encountered a more radical divergence than in Pesaro. The divergence was envisaged by looking at the evaluation of the national policy, the use of the 'local culture frame' as well as tracing back these to the principled beliefs and paradigms of integration retained by local actors (see table 11). Finally, it is possible to compare the findings to the expectations:

E1: The more a municipality re-produced identity-narratives on its local culture, the greater the intensity of the degree of the divergence from the Security Decree

This first expectation is confirmed. In Pesaro the local culture remained partially in the background during the 'clash of frames' with the national level. The only exceptions are represented by the narrative of 'the city of cooperation' (legacy) which, perhaps, may suggest the future coping-strategies that the municipality will adopt (see chapter 5.1) as well as the implicit pragmatism of the city, which may have affected the choice of a more cautious strategy. Overall, it seems that the local culture informed the no-divergence in Pesaro because no radical incongruences able to intensify the clash of frame between the national and local frame were encountered. Nonetheless, regarding the reasons why Pesaro kept its identity more implicit, the role of the local elections should be analysed with more attention (see Discussion).

Bologna, on the contrary, reproduced its narrative on the local culture with great intensity and along five pillars: (1) through historical elements (legacies) which denoted historically appropriate path to follow in diverging from the Security Decree. (2) Implicit aspects of the local culture, such as the university and the architectonic elements ("the arcades"), used to build an inclusive myth of conviviality opposed to the national exclusionary narrative ("the wall"). (3) The local frame on the 'utility of immigration' contrasted the national' security-migration mantra. (4)

The rebuilding of the city's identity as a 'Mediterranean city', to legitimize the 'Mediterranean vision', i.e. the localist strategy in response to the national short-sightedness. (5) Bologna as model of efficiency opposed to the national inefficiency. Thus, it seems that the local culture in Bologna significantly informed the multiple strategies of divergence from the Security Decree. These being the decoupling from the norm prohibiting asylum-seekers' civil registration and the formulation of three polices to counter the effects of the Security Decree, thus a 'localist strategy'.

Moving beyond the theoretical expectations, it is also interesting to notice how the results indicate that the local culture not only informs the multilevel strategy but that it is, also, strategically tailored around it. With the words of the alderman of Bologna, the frame is renewed in order to give a '*horizon of sense'*, thus, to legitimize the local divergence from the Security Decree. Bologna produces and reproduces a narrative on its local culture through an integrationist perspective. Thereby, by both referring to its history in a linear and homogenous way; as well as by recalling the more implicit features of the city and tracing they back to the foundation of the city itself (see Booth et al., 2007; Calvino, 1975). In doing so, Bologna renovates its urban myth of conviviality in order to adapt it to the current policy-goals and to the challenges of a super diverse city.

This analysis may suggest that the city's internal bondage is an essential requirement for a 'localist' mode of governance. Indeed, in the other case-example, in the city of Pesaro, the narrative on the local culture is presented through a fragmentation perspective (Booth et al., 2007) – thus, showing the complexities of the multiple sub-cultures in the city – consequently the intensity of the strategy has been lowered. From the analysis it seems that, the absence of a stronger narrative on the local culture hindered the development of a localist strategy since pushed the administration to appease the reaction, which was instead more radically advocated by Labirinto.

Hence, it is possible conclude that the intensity of the divergence in the city of Bologna was clearly heightened by the way in which Bologna framed its local culture while coping with the national implementation. On the contrary Pesaro kept its local culture more implicit. I found that Pesaro did not use the local culture-frame as much as Bologna because: (a) no-polices was set in the agenda to counter the Security Decree effects; (b) Pesaro's discourses were investigated in an uncertain political contingency (local elections) (see discussion).

E2: The greater the incongruences between local and national beliefs and paradigms of integration, the more likely that cities reacted through 'decoupling' strategies.

This expectation is clearly confirmed. The results show that the intensity of the divergence stemmed not only from the reproduction of the 'the local culture frame', but also from multilevel incongruences in terms of actors' beliefs and paradigms of integration. Thereby, in Pesaro the ordered implementation of the Security Decree (or the absence of decoupling strategies) was informed by, first, the institutional respect toward the pre-established attribution of competences between national and local level (Rule of Law). This belief channelled the degree of divergence towards a no-divergence, i.e. a vertical implementation. Second, the analysis revealed how similar ideas about the paradigms of integration between Pesaro and the national level prevented a more radical response to the Security Decree

On the contrary, in Bologna local ideas played a key role in pushing for a more radical divergence (such as decoupling). Primarily, the results showed how Bologna's principles on the 'local turn' triggered the formulation of a 'localist strategy' in line with the local values, rather than with the national norm (see 5.2.2). Moreover, in general, ideas reflected the concrete actions of the local administration. An example of this is the formulation of three polices to counter the effects of the security Decree (GloBologna, Global Compact, Euro-Mediterranean city networks). These policies were clearly inspired by local ideas, and respectively from, intercultural paradigm of integration, the refusal of the national security-migration link and the geo-political (Mediterranean) vision of the city. In addition, normative on 'the local turn' clearly explain the administration's decision to decouple from the Security Decree, because it made even possible the contestation the rules imposed by the national level.

Consequently, we can conclude that local ideas were crucial for both the cities to choose the more appropriate multilevel coping-strategy in order to face the implementation of an intractable policy controversy.

Finally, I seek to answer the research question: *how have the local distinctive traits informed the local divergence from the Security Decree in the cities of Pesaro and Bologna?*

Despite the similarities between the case examples in terms of political positioning (centre-left); institutional settings regulating the accommodation of displace persons (SPRAR) and evaluation of the Security Decree, the cities adopted different strategies of divergence to cope with the implementation of the national policy. The different local strategies were informed only minimally by a discrepancy in the evaluation of the Security Decree[6], while frames on the local culture and local' ideas were crucial triggers of the multilevel strategies of divergence from the national

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[6] I refer to the different value the cities gave to the norm denying the civil registration of asylum-seekers

Security Decree (see table 11). This research, thus, showed how the local differentiation depended on the "distinctive traits of the cities":

First, the local culture was a trigger of the local divergence because it highlighted the most appropriate multilevel strategy according to both the legacies and the implicit program. The more a municipality re-produced identity-narratives on its local culture, the more likely it is that the clash of frames between the national and local level intensified the degree of the divergence. Indeed, the local culture has been a trigger especially in Bologna considering that, both the desire to not give up to the legacies of the metropolitan SPRARs together with the willingness to respect the implicit 'way of participating in politics' typical of the city, allowed the administration to 'react as a network', while both assuming a localist and a decoupling strategy. Likewise, in Pesaro the local administration led the vertical implementation of the decree, despite the clash of approaches with the social cooperative Labirinto (see 5.1).

Second, despite Pesaro and Bologna perceived the policy as an external 'paradigm shift', threatening their established system of protection for displaced persons, only Bologna decoupled from the national level. The analysis showed how both the actors' principled beliefs (such as the ideas on the 'local turn') together with their paradigms of integration played a key role in determining the local differentiation in response to the Security Decree: The greater the incongruences between local and national beliefs and paradigms of integration, the more likely that cities reacted through 'decoupling' strategies.

In conclusion, it is possible to argue that the clash of frame, leading to the strategy of divergence, was a combination of: (1) the evaluation of the Security Decree (interests); (2) reproduction of the local culture (frames); (3) principled beliefs and paradigms of integration (ideas).

In this thesis I sought to explain the linkage between interests, frames and ideas in order to unveil the factors leading to the local differentiation in the 'multilevel strategies of divergence' from the national paradigm shift. Aware of this link, I decided to take on an *Eigenlogik*, exploring the distinctive traits of the cities. Nonetheless, it has also been noted how one may explain the local differentiation in the presence of a more fragile welcoming system in Pesaro (and thus of less interests to defend), combined with the presence of the local elections, which played a key role in Pesaro (affecting actors' interests). These political elements were left in the background in the analysis, yet it is not to say they were not crucial factors. This suggests that combining the discursive perspective with a political perspective could push our understanding of the topic even further (see Discussion).

VII. Discussion

Theoretical Contributions

This dissertation shows that the distinctive traits of the city are related to the degree of local agency, because it highlights how the 'local culture' can be a crucial factor fostering 'local emancipation' from the national level. Urban myths of conviviality and local narratives are 'agents of the local turn' because it is through local formulas of peace that social cohesion is endured in superdiverse cities to date. Thus, a crucial contribution of this work is a preliminary assessment of the role of the local culture in policymaking (Martinez et al., 2018). It has been shown how the degree to which cities are able to autonomously accommodate diversity depends on the *production* and *renewal* of local narratives. This is done through different modes: whereas Bologna chose an 'integrationist' perspective, Pesaro used 'Differentiationism' (see chapter 2.2).

Furthermore, the local agency refers also to another distinctive trait of the city: the local ideas and the entrepreneurship of local actors to carry out these ideas. The entrepreneurship relates to the endeavours carried out to push not only local policy-paradigms but also normative principles. In so doing, this thesis suggests that 'the local turn' may in parallel translate into a type of management of migration that is closer to the needs of newcomers, rather than being confined in the migration-security mantra. This might be possible by the determination with which local actors push ideas that are primarily appropriate to the city's own values, even if they conflict with those of the national level. The importance of local entrepreneurship was also revealed in one interview during which a council member acknowledged: "It is a moment extremely favourable for some figures, because, you know, the availabilities of people makes the difference" (IP09). Thus, one may argue that what made the difference between Pesaro and Bologna was the ability of the local actors to explicate the distinctive traits of the city. Whether in Pesaro those remained implicit (perhaps due to the local election, see limitations) in Bologna they significantly accompanied the divergence from the Security Decree.

To sum up, this thesis contributed to the explanation of how cities are becoming agents of migration policies (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017) by adjusting their polices to the characteristics and values of the city. This opens interesting channels for future researchers' interests in the distinctive factors shaping local policymaking in the field of migration and diversity studies, because this 'distinctiveness' still needs to be extensively studied. Here, I sought to grasp the distinctive traits of the city by looking at both the policy legacies, the implicit program as well as by investigating the beliefs and paradigms of integration retained by the local actors. Future studies may take this research as a point of departure and offer a differ angle to look at the distinctive traits of the city.

Policy recommendations

Considering that: (a) the 'perfect' multilevel strategies attempted by Pesaro and Bologna (see chapter 5.1.1) failed to produce any compromise or result; and (b) an essential requirement for the Italian system of protection to efficiently work is 'the loyal collaboration among levels of governance' (see chapter 4.1) it is possible to formulate a sincere recommendation to the local and national governments. The results of this study testify the necessity to strengthen the cohesion of the system of protection for refugees and asylum seekers. Thus, it is necessary to re-establish strong and loyal relations between the local and national level.

Furthermore, the results of this study recommend to local policymakers to acknowledge their agency. Local governments have the burden and the responsibility to implement the national polices. Nonetheless – and beyond their interest, ideas and frames – local policymakers also have the power to preserve the functioning of the entire system of protection (SPRAR) even following the implementation of the Security Decree. This also implies taking on important political decisions to foster the process of 'local emancipation' and this may also include the self-funding of the SPRARs if that will be necessary at the end of the AMIF funds (2020).

Finally, the results require policymakers to be aware of the complexities of today's societies. To cope with this complexity, this thesis suggests that local culture and local myths of conviviality are essential ingredient of local accommodation of migration and diversity.

Limitations

Researching primarily means making methodological and theoretical choices, thus, empowering an aspect of the research inexorably led to the limiting of another.

The first limitation relates to the scope of this research leading to the omission of the regional settings from the analysis of the multilevel relations. It is well known by scholars that local differentiation in Italy depends on the regional legislation and to the intergovernmental relations (see Caponio & Campomori, 2016; Caponio et al., 2018) due to the decentralization of competences partially discussed in chapter four. I sought to minimise this impact by choosing two regions (Emilia Romagna and Le Marche) where these aspects could have been neglected because the regions have an ordinary statute. In addition, I focused the research on the SPRAR projects, as they have an equal structure throughout the whole country (described in chapter four). However, future studies about integration and diversity polices taking Italian-cities as case examples should focus more on regional arrangements in comparison to the scope of this research that focused on the local level. For instance, future studies may compare regions/provinces with an ordinary statute to autonomous regions\provinces (such as Sicily or South Tirol in Italy).

Second, the limited scope of the research combined with an extensive and time-consuming method for collecting data (grasping the 'local ideas' or 'the city culture' requires a holistic understanding of the topic) did not allow for a wider sampling of cities. A wider sampling would have allowed the researcher to select cities that adopted more radical strategies of divergence such as Naples and Palermo, which 'illegally decoupled' from the Security Decree. Moreover, a wider and more variegate sampling enables the researcher to generalize the finding and thus to contribute to the broader theoretical debate. Indeed, the sampling together with the choice of pursuing a qualitative methodology minimized the possibilities to generalize the findings (as explained in chapter three, I was searching for a situated knowledge).

Finally, another limitation relates to the timeframe chosen. Seeking to find the earlier 'inputs' of policymaking I picked a rather recent and short timeframe (October 2018-May 2019). This timeframe, combined with the topic-studied (problems and solutions' perceptions), did not allow for the gathering of a great number of policy-documents besides those collected through the interviews. Indeed, the results are substantially based on the interviews with policymakers rather than on a wide combination of data.

Related to this, another limitation is that sampling was only made based on the "city-scale" (size, degree of diversity and cultural elements). However, it becomes clear while researching that the local elections in Pesaro could have affected the results of the research because policymakers were either less keen to be interviewed or less open to speak about their political opinions and strategies of divergence. It became clear while researching that the issue's salience and the political contingency has been a significant determinant of local strategies of divergence from the Security Decree. One may argue that, Bologna's local actors 'used' the national debate on immigration to foster policies that were pre-existent (to illustrate an example, one may refer to the abovementioned 'pacts of collaboration among Euro-Mediterranean cities'). On the contrary, Pesaro did not have a favourable political contingency due to the local elections during which immigration was perceived as a key issue within the political arena (see section 4.3). Taking norm prohibiting the civil registration of asylum seekers as an example, it has been discussed above how the administration considered the registration of asylum seekers as technically and *politically unfeasible*. One of the civil servants, when asked, claimed: "It is not the easiest time to speak about these things" (IP05, 34.20); "everything is postponed after the elections" (IP05, 36.24) because "the local debate reflects the national one" (IP05, 34.36). Departing from this point, future studies should consider issue's salience and political contingency more accurately than to the extent that it has been possible here.

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IX. Appendix

Interviews (secondary data)

An Interview (secondary data) to previous alderman of Welfare and social services of Bologna, was found in the document:

Lai-Momo (2015). *L'accoglienza dei richiedenti asilo: Voci di operatori e ospiti con un*

      Vademecum giuridico. Retrieved from

      https://documentcloud.adobe.com/link/track?uri=urn%3Aaaid%3Ascds%3AUS%3Ac52057

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Interviewed (primary data) in chronological order

#1 (02-05-2019) - Alderman of Bologna (multilevel relations, NGOs, International cooperation)

#2 (08-05-2019) – Responsible Labirinto

#3 (08-05-2019) – Responsible (ordinary) SIPROIMI Tandem Pesaro

#4 (08-05-2019) – Responsible (non-ordinary) SPRAR Pesaro

#5 (16-05-2019) – Civil servant at the department of social policies and socials services of Pesaro

#6 (16-05-2019) – Civil servant at the department of social policies and socials services of Pesaro

#7 (16-05-2019) - Responsible ASP of the municipality of Bologna

#8 (22-05-2019) – Alderman (Security, Neighbourhoods and Volunteering)

#9 (23-05-2019) – Alderman of Bologna (New citizens' rights, Equal opportunities)

#10 (06-06-2019) – Alderman of Bologna (Welfare, Health and social services)

The list of codes

Link theory-codes	Synthetizing concepts (Groups codes)	Open Coding
Local governance	Administration and Civil society	Administration's leading role Administration's role of coordination ASP' aim Channelling solidarity: responsabilization of third sector citizens empowerment complexity & synergy as solutions Impact of national rhetoric Importance of municipal involvement importance of networking mainstreaming of migration policies Municipal involvement Municipality as an assurer of social issue Need for more involvement of the civil society third sector disinterests toward a security model Seeding Relationship with Labirinto Public logic vs Private logic negotiations between Servizio Centrale and government Mainstreaming
Role of elections	Contingency: Political perspective	National pressure in Pesaro mayor's entrepreneurship Lucky contingency in Bologna Lack of popular consensus Impact of elections Election's effect
Interests in policymaking	Evaluation of Security-mantra	A step back _B A step back: lack of relations, lack of learning Asylum seekers' right Criticizing Security-migration mantra criticizing the closed clauses_P Danger of Salvini's rethoric_B Decreto buzzkill_B Decreto Sicurezza' rationale_B

		Decreto Sicurezza's effect in Bologna *Decreto Sicurezza's effects* *Decreto Sicurezza's rationale* *Decreto's effect: Vespa project* *Decreto's effects: Unemplotment & Insecurity* *Diffuse vs centralized welcoming system discrimination* *Effect on the perception of insecurity* *fragmentation of the system* *Impact of national rethoric* *Judiciary' role in policy-implementation* *Labirinto's reputational damage* *Minors* *Net mitigation-effect* *Paradox: centralism vs localism* *perpetuation of the problem_B* *Policy evaluation: back to the pre-decreto* *Prefectures' role* *Prevision of the new system* *Security Decree' antechamber* *Security Decree: Lack of realism* *Shift in relations with the police-headquarters* *The end of an era* *The national net* *The 'pragmatic' problem* *The real issue is the access to services* *vicious circle of discrimination_P*
The Local culture	*Ideas of belonging*	*Bologna as a mediterranean city* *Bologna as a national model* *Bologna's Local culture* *Bologna's Urban mith of conviviality* *Ideas of belonging stronger in small cities* *Implicit program of the city local culture* *implicit program of the city of Bologna*

		Municipality's lack of mith of conviviality
		Pesar's Local Culture
		Re-building city identity
		Shift in the local culture of Pesaro
Principled beliefs	*Ideas on migration*	*Rich versus Poor*
		Need for the right to migrate
		nature of migration
		Migration is unstoppable
		Migration is part of human being
		migration & security
		migrant's agency
		Italians as a population of migrants
		Intersectionality
		Impossibility to stop migration
		Idea on migration
		feticism of categorization
	Information politics	*Politics and media ignore complexity*
		Need for acknoledging the complexity
		Lack of relations: production of fear
		integration through knowledge
		integration as awareness
		Importance of Professional training
		Geopolitics' denial
		Fighting fear through information politics
		Fear versus Knowledge
		Cultural politics as a solution
		Communicating complexity
		BolognaCares: Communicating the complexity
Paradigms of integration	*Integration*	*integration through knowledge*
		creating interactions
		decoupling approach
		Importance of the territory
		Integration & Security: town vs city
		integration as awareness
		Integration as awareness of diversity
		Integration as education and relationship-building
		Integration as empowerment and capabilities provision

		Integration as negotiation
		integration as respect of the law
		Integration as 'responsabilization'
		Integration results: town vs city
		Integration: definition but not process
		Integration: interculturalism & negotiation
		Welcoming is a territorial issue
		Third welcoming
		The territory
		The politics of the small pieces
		structural integration
		Personalized approach
		not-assimilation
		Non-third welcoming
		National approach of integration
		mistrust as an obstacle
		means of integration
		mainstreaming of migration policies
		Mainstreaming
		Italian language
Policy-Legacies *Use of History*	*Legacies*	*2017 empowerment* *2017 SPRARs' empowerment* *ASP organizational structure* *Emergency-mode: the rise of Pesaro's system* *Integration policies Bologna* *Local culture as Policy legacies* *Local culture: polyphony & interinstitutionalism* *necessity of learning* *neo-colonial heritage* *Origin of the ASP* *Policy learning & third sector heritage* *policy legacies* *Policy legacies Bologna* *policy legacy* *SIPROIMI & Minors in Bologna* *Social equipe* *Social learning* *SPRAR as a part of welfare*
Multilevel strategies of implementation	*Local divergences*	*Homo' vs Etero' culturality* *Importance of the inscription*

		investment in cooperation
		Negotiation with the headquarters
		origin and functioning 'insieme per il lavoro'
		'out of the game'
		Pesaro's reaction
		Reacting as a net
		Reacting: keeping and redefining
		Reaction to the Security Decree
		Reaction within the legal path
		Reactions: Global compact in Bologna
		Registration issue
		Recovering from emergency
		Social cooperatives behaviours in Bologna
		'Social' mobilization post Decreto
		Table of discussion with associations
		Table of housing
		Table of working
		Tables with the majors
		The housing issues
		The inscription issues
		The 'pragmatic' responses
Multilevel governance	*Multilevel Governance of Migration*	*lack of relations with the government*
		Lack of relations with the national government
		lack of support from the government
		legal paths of decoupling
		Local turn
		Local weakness
		Macro-management of migration
		Macro-management of migration
		MLG: distribution of competences
		Need for more 'more Europe'
		policy-suggestion to the government
		Regional vs Local SPRAR
		Discussion of Dublin
		request for collaboration with the government
		Rule of law

Paradigmatic pragmatism	Paradigms & Pragmatism	Bologna's vision
		essence of politics
		Following national paradigm
		following paradigm in policymaking
		local level pragmatism
		national short-sightedness
		Nobody can die
		'normalization': out of the emergency
		paradigmatic pragmatism as a solution
		Politics based on human rights
		Pragmatism & Ideals
		State ambiguity versus local determination
		Substantial equality in Bologna: a constitutional approach
		Substantial equality of capabilities
		there is no emergency
	Utility of migration	utility of migration
		refugee's integration benefit whole society
		migration and development
		demographic crisis
		Bologna & Impact of immigration