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"Examining Social Capital as a Means of Enhancing the Integration of Immigrants"

FINAL REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This report presents the results of a one-year research activity carried out in the context of a project titled "*Examining Social Capital as a Means of Enhancing the Integration of Immigrants*". This project is funded by the European Commission - DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and implemented by CJD - Christliches Jugenddorfwerk Deutschlands - Eutin (Germany), as project promoter, and IPRS - l'Istituto Psicoanalitico per le Ricerche Sociali (Italy), as project partner.

The European social model, with its emphasis on social protection networks, has the aim of building a competitive and socially cohesive Europe, as declared by the Lisbon council. Member states are called upon to develop policies that promote the growth of social capital in the service, employment and other sectors. This is a resource that, beginning with the richness produced by social networks that overlap and intersect, is capable of generating information, exchanges, well-being, trust, and social cohesion.

In line with this perspective, the two project partners have conducted a study that explored the extent to which German and Italian policies that deal with social inclusion and poverty have benefited from the insights offered by the theoretical analysis on Social Capital and Immigration as well as theory and research on the interplay between migrants' social relationships in their communities (their social capital) and their access to resources and opportunities within the wider social world.

This document presents, in brief, the results of this research activity in three chapters. A theoretical discussion of the notion of social capital is presented in Chapter One as well as some studies focusing on social capital in the context of migration.

Chapter Two presents a literature review on social capital in the context of migration in Germany and Italy, with special reference to Turkish migrants in Germany and Moroccan migrants in Italy.

Finally, after drawing some conclusions from the literature review, Chapter Three presents the main steps and results of the field research and provides some policy recommendations in a number of policy areas that in our view can foster and develop social capital as a means to increase social inclusion, participation, access to public services and equal opportunities for the immigrant communities and their members.

The detailed reports of the desk and field research activities are included in the annexes: the policy review is presented in Annex 1, while the focus group can be found in Annex 2.

CHAPTER 1

Social Capital, Social Networks and Immigrated Communities

The origin and development of the notion of social capital

The notion of social capital is a central issue in several disciplines including economics, political science, sociology, and organisational behaviours. This term has been given many definitions, which appear to be at the same time interrelated and contradictory. In the following pages, we will present the concept of social capital as it has been defined by several authors. We will refer to some of the most useful definitions that have been given in order to understand the opportunities that this concept offers in the analysis of community resources, the possibility of improving the conditions of disadvantage communities, and understanding the connection between trust and participation.

Although the term social capital has been widely adopted in several disciplines during the last 20 years, an exhaustive and widely accepted definition that covers its meaning, effects, how it is produced and measured, has not yet been given. The various theoretical approaches to the concept of social capital represent different points of view. Social capital has been analysed as an individual resource, as wealth belonging to social networks, and as a community and political resource.

From the individual perspective, social capital can be defined as the whole set of the resources a person has access to as a member of a network of people or wider social structures. In other terms, a person's social and economic status is not only influenced by his/her "financial capital" or "economic capital" (including money and income capacity) or "human capital" (education, work experience, language skills) or "cultural capital" (cultural knowledge, values and life style)[1], but also by the "social capital" they have access to (the social networks they belong to, the resources managed by these networks and the individual's position within them) (Kazemipur, 2002).

From a community relational perspective, social capital corresponds to the wealth represented by social networks and their capability to produce resources for the whole community, thanks to the relations within the networks and among the networks themselves.

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[1] Studies which are orientated towards Pierre Boudieu's concepts of different capital forms refer to cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital, whereby cultural capital encompasses education and knowledge and symbolic capital refers to reputation and prestige (Bourdieu, 1980; 1983).

From a collective perspective, social capital is conceived as a resource and pre-requisite of civil society; it is communal wealth that favours cooperation within society in order to reach common goals and enable political institutions to function well. In fact, social capital as a concept implies both collective and individual dimensions. It is collective because it involves communities that accumulate resources through forms of constant investment, thus guaranteeing their own continued existence and development. It is individual because the accumulated capital depends on individual resources and investment choices. Additionally, not everybody can utilize it in the same way (in other words, not all the members of a community have equal access to the community resources).

The notion of social capital first appeared at the beginning of the 1920s, thanks to the contribution of Hanifan (1920 in Smith, 2001)[2]. The subject was dealt with again only in the 1970s and 1980s by Jacobs (Jacobs, 1961) and Loury (1977). From the description of the characteristics of social capital, as outlined by the above mentioned authors, the following ideas emerge (Rossi, nd).

- Good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among people and families who form a social unit, are the relevant factors in most people's everyday life (Hanifan, 1920);

- Community social capital is a valuable resource only if its members continuously invest in their community relationships. Just like in the case of economic organisations, the building of a community must proceed from capital accumulation (Hanifan, 1920). If the social capital is lost, then the deriving income is also lost. This can be mitigated by the accumulation of new social capital—a slow and risky process (Jacobs, 1961);

- Social capital comprises the whole set of resources originating from family relations and the social organisation of the community, which can be useful to the cognitive and social development of new generations (Loury, 1977);

- Networks are an irreplaceable form of social capital in a city (Jacobs, 1961);

- Social capital is strictly connected to human capital, as the former allows for the yield of the latter. The term human capital refers to the individual's knowledge and skills that can be spent on the work market. The term social capital indicates the network of family and social relations that can increase human capital (Loury, 1977). The class of origin is considered to be a factor that strongly influences the quality of people's social capital. In fact, great

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[2] The notion of social capital first appeared in Lyda Judson Hanifan's discussions of rural school community centres (see, for example, Hanifan 1916, 1920). He used the term to describe 'those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people' (1916: 130). Hanifan was particularly concerned with the cultivation of good will, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among those that 'make up a social unit'.

importance is given to the social circumstances in which human capital is acquired. This is especially important for circumstances favouring the transformation of formal education into well-paid characteristics in the labour market.

▪ The concept of social capital is a useful key to interpreting and accounting for ethnic and gender differences in the income distribution within the American population (Loury, 1977).

The first comprehensive theories of social capital were offered by Bourdieu (1980; 1983) and Coleman (1988) at the beginning of the 1980s. Although they found a relationship between large endowments of social capital and relevant indicators of the good functioning of a community, the two authors use an individual perspective and an approach to social capital that is based on the theory of rational action.

Bourdieu (1980) differentiates between social capital, economic, cultural and symbolic capital, whereby cultural capital encompasses knowledge and education and symbolic capital refers to reputation and prestige. He defines social capital as the network of steady personal and social relationships - whether these be institutionalized or not - of mutual acquaintance and acknowledgement that an actor (person or group) has and can mobilize in order to reach their own goals and to improve their social position (Bourdieu, 1995; 1983). Social capital coincides with the whole of available resources, whether in use or not, that are or can be mobilized thanks to the individual's relationships with others. In Bourdieu's opinion, which agrees with Loury (1977), social capital is essentially connected to the social class that the individual belongs to, and is accumulated, transmitted and reproduced within the family or wider institutions (Bourdieu, 1972).

According to Coleman (1988) social capital is the quality of a social relationship; this is what makes it a resource for rational action. Social capital can take on several forms, among which the principal ones are: duties and reciprocal expectations (trust), the circulation of information, and social norms. Coleman (1988) concentrates on the aspects of social structures that are resources for the individuals, as they are functional to the realization of their own goals. Among these resources, the author includes:

1) Information spread by social relationships;

2) The stability and observance of the norms that make a social environment safe;

3) Compliance with the regulations that move people to create a mutual fellowship within a community or an exchange network;

4)   Compliance with the norms that move and bind people to return gifts and informal help, thus sustaining the trust that accompanies expectations concerning mutual obligations[3].

In the definition of social capital, Schlicht (1984), introduces the concepts of social control and transactional cost, highlighting how important it is for an economic system that individuals obey laws even when unobserved, as this allows for a reduction in the costs of regulation and crime prevention. The fact that citizens wish to appear respectful of laws is an important resource that Schlicht considers to be a form of social capital in and of itself.

Burt (1992) takes up the discussion about the double perspective of social network analysis – individual and collective –and highlights the two approaches through which the study of social capital can be carried out:

1)   The first approach describes social networks from the point of view of a person entering, who therefore gets in touch with the other members of the network who own some resources, creating a link between his/her own resources and theirs.

2)   The second approach deals with social structures as an independent form of capital.

The two approaches are both essential in the definition of the concept of social capital, which is at the same time made up of the resources owned by the individuals (*those that can be reached*) and the network structure (*how he/she can be reached*). Burt's opinion is that, in order to understand how the network functions, the *how* gives more information than the *who* concerning the network.

It is thanks to Robert D. Putnam (1993; 2000) that the concept of social capital has become a focus of political discussion and research. By going beyond a still substantially individualistic perspective, Putnam (1993) points to the community moral resources in the various forms that social capital can take on. These resources enable collective actions to reach common goals. The main components of social capital are trust, moral obligations and regulations, and the citizens' social activity networks (civic associationism), which allow participants to act together in a more effective way (1993, 1995).

Being interested in verifying which factors affect the efficiency of institutions, Putnam finds one of them in *civicness* (civic culture). By *civicness* Putnam refers to a

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[3] In his study concerning social capital and education, Coleman (1988) shows how students with a high level of social capital (in their family and community) tend to be less likely that students with low social capital to drop out of school. Several studies concerning employment show how, through the social networks they belong to, individuals can access to valuable resources including information about the existing work opportunities, and can have the moral support and reinforcement of values that these networks create.

form of citizens' attitude towards politics, which is not determined by particularistic goals but by a vision of the individual interests related to a way of conceiving the common good. C*ivicness* is accompanied by a high level of interpersonal trust, which helps citizens to cooperate in order to achieve common goals and increases the efficiency of political institutions. From an empirical point of view, *civicness* can be measured through the participation rate to associations. An analysis by Putnam concerning Italy finds a correlation between the efficiency of public institutions and the functioning of the economic system on the one side, and the accumulation of social capital on a regional basis (i.e. civic traditions) on the other.

In contrast to Bourdieu and Coleman, who claim that social capital – while it is a resource for individuals and for groups involved in exchange relations – is neither "good" nor "bad" for society as a whole. Putnam sees social capital as having very positive implications. In his analysis a decrease of social capital is connected to the decline of the democratic culture. [4]

The idea of participation as an indicator of the level of social capital in a community is also taken up by Adler and Kazanowski (1998). They consider the increase of parents' involvement in schools and of volunteer work in churches as indicators of an increase in social capital

Taking a macro approach to social capital, Fukuyama (1999) criticises the widely adopted definition of social capital, which, in Fukuyama's view, confuses the essence of social capital with its manifestations. The real character of social capital is not rational but regulatory: the notion has both a symbolic and religious origin.

According to Fukuyama, trust, social networks and civil society are not social capital. However, they derive from social capital, which is primarily a symbolic and religious obligation. It is social capital that produces civil society, and not the other way round. Social capital is handed down through cultural mechanisms such as religion, tradition or consolidated habits. It is passed on from one generation to the next through socializing processes that shape behaviour and habits while rational factors are of little or no importance (1999). Fukuyama defines social capital as a practised informal rule that promotes cooperation between two or more individuals (1999). However, he points out that the principle behind social capital can range from a rule of reciprocity between two friends, right up to complex and articulated forms of societal organisation, such as Christianity or Confucianism, provided that these doctrines are actually put into practice in human relationships. In Fukuyama's analysis, social capital is the product of factors that are beyond any government or political institution's control.

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[4] Nevertheless, in a recent article he states that terrorist organisations like Al Qaeda are excellent examples of social capital of social capital, "enabling its participants to accomplish goals they could not accomplish without that network" (Putnam, 2007: 138).

When defining social capital, each one of the mentioned authors – and several others who have touched upon this issue (among whom Hanifan, 1920, Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993, Portes 1998) – has privileged some elements while leaving others in the background. If we read the given definitions again, we can see how the various elements appear both as a cause and an effect, in relation to social capital.

In fact, when defining social capital the various authors have stated that (Rossi, nd):

- Social capital develops from **social networks**
- Social capital is a characteristic of social networks
- Access to resources is controlled by network members
- The structure of networks is relevant
- The position of individuals within the network is relevant
- **Trust** is a key element
- Social capital is a product of trust
- Social capital produces trust
- **Norms** are a key element; in particular reciprocity norms, loyalty, honesty, and reliability
- Reputation and social status have great importance as they regulate individual behaviour
- Involvement in voluntary activities is an indicator of social capital
- Membership to groups and associations is an indicator of social capital
- Social capital belongs to **groups**
- Social capital belongs to **individuals**
- Social capital creates **human capital**
- Social capital is produced by human capital
- Social capital affects the productivity rate of human capital
- Social capital can be accumulated
- Social capital concerns existing relationships
- Social capital can be lost if it is not practised
- Social capital helps individual action
- Social capital implies expectations of actions and behaviours which have an economic return

- Social capital has a social return

- Social capital helps solve common and group problems

- Social capital brings forward a cooperative behaviour

- Social capital is a factor that affects the way institutions work

- **Gatekeepers** occupy key positions in social networks as they facilitate or deny access to resources within the networks

In particular, authors like Coleman and Putnam who have greatly developed the analysis of social capital and offered the most complete theoretical study on this subject, have been most widely criticized for the lack of precision in their definition of social capital. These two authors have been accused of confusing causes and effects and even contexts in which social capital is produced. Putnam for instance defines trust as a characteristic of social organisations; whereas trust can be considered both as an indicator of social capital and a consequence. Furthermore, Putnam confuses civic associationism, which is an effect of social capital, with social capital itself (De Filippis, 2001; Haug, 1997).

Different approaches in studying and measuring social capital

We have seen how in the literature concerning social capital, the issue has been faced according to two different approaches. The first is the micro approach, arising from rational choice and exchange theory, which considers social capital from an individual point of view, as the whole set of resources which the individuals are able to mobilize thanks to their social relation network (Bourdieu, 1972, 1980, 1983, 1995; Coleman, 1988). The second is the macro approach, which originates from functionalistic theory and conceives social capital as a collective good consisting of shared values, social cohesion, trust, and participation (Putnam, 1993, 2000; Fukuyama, 1995).

In parallel with the theoretical developments concerning this topic, research on social capital has adopted different perspectives that have focused on the national, community and individual level.

At the **national level** the notion of social capital has been used in order to establish a connection between social capital and economic development, civic participation and society structure. Along the same line we can find studies concerning "trust" (used as a *proxy* variable for social capital) and its effects upon economic growth that explain – according to authors such as Putnam (1995; 2000; 2001) and Fukuyama, (1999) – both the slowing down of growth in the United States and the economic development in Italy. The studies carried out in the United States are similar to a Canadian study on 'social economy' - which was carried out mainly

in Quebec - analysing the impact of social relations on macro economic variables, and a series of studies on "social cohesion" that focus on the revitalization of trust as a means to regenerate trust in government[5].

At the **community level** several studies on local communities' social capital (Breton, 1997) have focused on the analysis of different aspects of community life (e.g., economic development, culture and life style) and on the correlation between the characteristics of local communities and indicators related to trust, participation, residential patterns, employment, criminality, school drop-outs, etc.

At the **individual level** the analysis has concerned the impact of the social capital owned by individuals upon social and economic opportunities and performances. The studies concerning the impact of different amounts of social capital on education (Coleman, 1988, 1990; Parcel and Dufur, 2001) and professional success (Granovetter, 1974) have been particularly relevant.

One of the main difficulties in the empiric analysis of social capital lies in the interplay between the various levels of analysis. The *community level* can be investigated thanks to indicators of socialization and breadth of community networks and of the perceived reciprocity and community effectiveness. The wider *social level* can be assessed thanks to indicators such as trust, the tendency to form associations, and participation. Finally, the *individual level* can be measured in terms of actual access to resources and opportunities that derive from individual connections.

Several hypotheses have been brought forward concerning the connection among these levels, but knowledge is incomplete. Often the analyses of information at the individual level are simply aggregated to offer a measure of welfare or involvement in community life. On the contrary, having proved the existence of high trust and participation rates in a community, the actual access of the individual to the community resources is simply inferred. The latter case is a classic example of the ecological fallacy whereas the former may have some value, but nonetheless presents problems in that community resources cannot be conceptualized in the same way as individual resources. The existence of outcast and poor people in relatively wealthy communities with high rates of cohesion shows that individual amounts of social capital can vary greatly and that the two levels of analysis should be kept separate provides an example of the distinctions between "community" and individual resources.

Quantitative analyses of social capital in general measure the phenomenon in terms of accumulated stocks of reciprocity, trust, or by taking into account the number of associations, etc. The greater the amount of these resources that a community possesses, the greater its social capital. However, it is currently

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[5] These studies have been carried out by the Canadian Policy Research Networks (Bernard, 1999; Jenson, 1998; 2000; Social Cohesion Network, 1998).

impossible to define the criteria that allow one to determine – for each community studied – the relative weight of factors such as reciprocity relations or shared values in the calculation of the social capital endowment, as compared to measurements based on the number of existing associations or the hours of volunteer work hours carried out by an individual. Finally, the interpretation and meaning of social practices and reciprocity rules in any social network is influenced by the culture and institutional context. An example of this is the concept of volunteer work, for which the interpretation must take the cultural context into consideration.

The studies that have addressed the issue of social capital have highlighted different ways of measuring social capital by offering a series of proxy variables deemed to be meaningful in a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon. Among the indicators used in the literature as *proxy* (or "surrogate") indicators of social capital, the following ones deserve to be mentioned:

- Belonging to community or volunteer associations (including the participation rate and activism, the perception of barriers preventing real involvement, etc);

- Number and role of volunteer associations;

- Civic and political participation (exercise of franchise as a measure of political consciousness, promotion and adherence to initiatives from grassroots levels, participation in public initiatives and demonstrations);

- Trust (level of interpersonal trust within the community, trust towards certain groups or specific institutions);

- Informal social support networks (e.g., the number of close friends one has);

- Informal social forms (e.g., frequency of contacts, visits, emails);

- Perception of effectiveness of the community (a widespread feeling that individuals can work together and reach the intended goals);

- Declared adherence to group values and behavioural norms (e.g., people should help each other in case of difficulty).

Since the term social capital was coined, one of the most influential conceptual developments was the identification – thanks to Putnam – of different typologies of social networks based on different kinds of social connections, respectively defined as follows:

- **Bonding**: social connections between individuals or groups that are homogeneous in terms of nationality, social origin, etc.

- **Bridging**: social connections between non-homogeneous individuals and groups[6].

- **Linking**: social connections between individuals or groups occupying different social or executive positions, according to some kind of hierarchy. Linking social capital is not as easy to observe and quantify as bonding and bridging social capital, though it is a very important and useful concept as it introduces the dimension of social classes and group power in the analysis of social networks.

Within the analysis of immigrants' social capital, different interpretations have been given of the relative effectiveness and of the connection between *bonding* and *bridging* while building up individual and group welfare. Rather than considering belonging to social networks based on *bonding* as an obstacle to the access to networks based on *bridging* – because of the relative closeness of the former – we prefer to take into account the potential complementariness of *bonding* and *bridging* social capital. In fact, the more "bonds" a person establishes with their group, the greater the probability of creating "bridges" with other social actors outside the group[7].

Social capital and migration studies

For a long time the analyses concerning social capital have ignored sub-national entities such as ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious groups, either because these analyses were concentrated on national political and economic issues, or because they focused excessively on individuals or specific communities. It was only during the mid 1990s that researchers started to use the notion of social capital to study immigration and ethnic groups (see Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; Portes, 1998; Portes, 1995; Fernandez Kelly, 1995), thus providing precious information and offering useful interpretative keys to the definition of policies for the management and development of increasingly variegated societies, from a linguistic, cultural and religious point of view.

Social capital plays a role throughout the migration process. It is social capital – and the potential loss of it – that may stop people from leaving their country of origin. If the decision to migrate is made, social capital within the family in the

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[6] See the distinction between strong and weak bonds, by Granovetter, 1973.

[7] Apart from this theoretical classification, on an international level studies have not yet sufficiently clarified the characteristics and relevance of each of these social networks or traced their presence in different cultures and societies. Additionally, it must be noted that the distinction of "bonding" and "bridging" has been criticised by parts of the academic world for being too simplistic, reproducing traditional dichotomies and not reflecting more complex identifications in reality (e.g. Otten *et al*, 2007, see Chapter Two).

original home will decrease with emigration. At the same time, the decision of where to migrate may be influenced by relatives already living in another country, and may even be guided by the idea of family re-unification. This process of chain migration – i.e. the successive migration of family members to a place - has been investigated by several authors. German sociologist Sonja Haug for example investigated the impact of social capital on chain migration processes of Italian and Turkish migrants (2000; 2005).

In her study, Haug presents social capital as the "missing link" between individual choices and ensuing migration processes over time. The concept of social capital, she writes, can be used as an explanatory tool to understand the interplay of rational-choice-decisions and family migration processes. The social capital that is initially decreased by the migration of individual family members is thus regained in chain migration processes (Haug, 2000; Haug, 2005: 197).

Once started, chain migration processes tend to continue for as long as the demographic and economic conditions persist. Successful migrants function as "role models" for those remaining in the home country. They provide information, accommodate relatives and friends and provide contacts (Weiss in: Weiss/Thränhardt, 2005: 10). Social capital can also be regarded as a resource that potentially facilitates economic gain for disadvantaged family members. In chain migration processes, an interplay of social capital, economic capital and cultural and human capital takes place.

Beyond chain migration processes, the connection between migration processes and globalization has shed light on the diversification of resources and relationships in which migrants invest in the transnational space and highlighted the role that values such as solidarity and reciprocity play at the local and transnational level. In fact, many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.

In a recent article, Putnam presents the results of a study indicating indicate that diversity, notably racial-ethnic diversity, is correlated with reductions in certain features of social capital. Drawing on quantitative surveys in the US, Putnam argues that people in regions characterised by more diversity are less trusting, on average, than people in less diverse areas. Trust in this case refers to trust in local institutions and in other people whether of the same or a different ethnic origin (Putnam, 2007). Putnam's data, capturing a static moment-in-time picture, seems to indicate that social capital is reduced by diversity. Despite the apparently negative effect of diversity on trust, Putnam, taking into account the benefits of diversity at the trans-local level, argues that diversity promotes creativity and will in the long-term lead to new forms of social solidarity and new and more encompassing forms of identity (Putnam, 2007). Although the conclusions drawn must be evaluated further, Putnam has since been criticised for reducing diversity to the racial-ethnic component and

drawing general conclusions based solely on US data. He has been criticized for not sufficiently incorporating aspects like discrimination to explain the correlation of diversity and trust. Research indicates that disadvantaged communities have lower group solidarity than others, so more indicators may influence the interplay of diversity and social capital (Geys, 2007).

Research concerning the relationship between social capital and ethnicity or nationality in the host society, and between social fellowship and civic involvement, has been carried out by Breton (1997) who focused on the social capital of different communities within a nation.

Breton (1997) underlines how different religious communities offer different opportunities for meeting and community participation (Breton. 1997: 9) (e.g., the widespread habit of Anglicans to meet and exchange information after mass, as opposed to the habit of Catholics to go home immediately), thus allowing for different levels of social capital and different social and economic development of its members. In this way, Breton offers an alternative to the dominant interpretation, according to which religion influences the social and economic performances of believers, mainly through the values it spreads (the so-called "cultural capital"). In fact he points out the relevance of the opportunities and actual ways of resource circulation among group members.

Breton also focuses attention on the existing connections between individuals within and outside community networks. Even though, especially when settling in the host country, the most important social networks for *newcomers* are those within the networks of co-nationals, with the passing of time it is increasingly important that such bonds are replaced or at least partially overlap with wider social networks that involve other groups. This serves to create less exclusive forms of identity and a feeling of belonging to the whole society. Breton describes this process by utilizing the concepts introduced by Putnam. Breton points out that ethnic communities not only need *bonds* with members of their own ethnic or national group, but also need *bridges* that connect them with other groups, the majority community included. The capability of building such bridges is clearly affected by the level of openness on the side of networks, associations and organisations of the host country, and on the side of ethnic or national communities. Clearly, this process might have to take place in a racist, intolerant and discriminating environment. Breton concludes that locally developed trust and relationships that are based on reciprocity can create new trust at the national level, but only if such relationships and trust are produced by *bridges* and not by *bonds*.

Two Canadian researchers, Oaka and Wellman (2000) carried out a study concerning work search strategies with five national groups in Toronto (English, Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, and Italians). The research tried to verify the level of effective use of both kinds of social capital (stemming from *bonds* and from *bridges*)

within the five communities, in each group and among the groups, and to find out which of the two types of networks proves more useful in finding an employment. The results (which must be tested further) indicate that individuals belonging to communities with a lower social status tend to obtain greater advantages and income when they establish connections outside their ethnic group (bridges). On the other hand, members with a higher status tend to obtain greater benefits thanks to their bonds with members of their own community. Oaka and Wellman also found that gender and generation are two of the main determining factors for understanding behaviours related to social capital.

Another interesting research trend concerns the influence of the residential concentration of ethnic groups on their social capital endowment. This is especially meaningful as, since the 1980s, this research has no longer focused on the causes of residential segregation of national communities (as previous research did), but on the consequences of segregation. In particular, the research is now interested in issues such as the level of integration in societies of national groups characterized by residential concentration; the social and economic status of younger generations; the capacity of territorial social institutions to face local needs; employment rates and school drop-outs; and the diffusion of drugs and criminality (Gordon, 1964; Wilson 1987, 1996; Massey & Eggers, 1990; Massey & Denton, 1993; Jargowsky & Bane, 1991; Lawson & Wilson, 1995 in Kazemipur, 2002).

Finally, a research field that is proving very interesting is the analysis of social capital as related to ethnic entrepreneurs and informal economy. The high rates of self-employment among the migrant population usually registered in the host societies provide evidence of the dynamism of informal social networks, which generally constitute the main asset that ethnic entrepreneurs can count on to access information and human and financial resources (see e.g. Yavuzcan, 2003).

CHAPTER 2

Social Capital and Migrants' Networks in Italy and Germany

The previous chapter provided a theoretical discussion of social capital, how it is understood, potentially measured and investigated in the studies about migration. This chapter will present studies on social capital in the migration context, focusing on Turkish migrants in Germany and Moroccan migrants in Italy.

Informal social networks

When moving into a new country, migrants do not lack social capital and resources, that is to say that the resources that can actually improve migrants' opportunities in the new context are not limited to those acquired through membership in the social networks of the majority. As briefly discussed in Chapter One, shapes and is shaped in the different stages of the migration process. The ethnic dimension (people's and communities' identity, their history and projects) is one of the factors that explains the existing variations in the integration patterns of migrants in the host societies.

Social capital is embedded in the informal networks that people partake in in everyday life. For its non-institutionalised nature, it could be called informal social capital. These networks consist of strong and weak ties and reach from the level of the family to more distant relations such as neighbours, work colleagues or acquaintances.

The analysis of the community resources of the Moroccans in Italy, conducted in the context of the Community Force Project (2007), sheds light on the complexity of the configuration of Moroccan community networks[8]. The analysis has in fact allowed the classification of networks according to a number of variables (origin, period of creation, membership, function, level of openness). Beyond family

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[8] The Community Force Project, implemented by CJD (as project coordinator for Germany), IPRS (Italy), the University of Dortmund (Germany), the Research Centre on Inter-Ethnic Relations (Romania), Ec-Pec Alapitvany (Hungary), studied the way social capital is utilized in the two migrant communities Moroccans in Italy and Turks in Germany which are both Muslim communities and one of the largest national minorities in their respective receiving countries. By determining and contrasting the factors of social capital in these two communities, the type of "ties" and "bridges" as well as of barriers that develop within and outside these communities (with other communities), the Community Force project aimed at understanding how and to what extent social capital (seen through the lens of the actual processes that occur within and around community networks) can be viewed as a resource for these two communities.

networks, in the case of the Moroccans in Italy, the research identifies two additional types of networks that add to the understanding of the complex set of connections that usually bind immigrants and their community together. These connections have been termed "adapted" networks' and "adopted" networks:

> *'Adapted' networks' are ....networks that existed prior to the decision to migrate and the experience of migration. These networks and all ties within them "migrate" along with people, adapting their original structure to the new situations crated by the efforts to integrate in the Italian society. Adapted networks seemingly represent one basic principle for alliances outside the extended family. They consequently play the role of a precious resource in case of need of any kind (practical, financial or just for information)* (*ibid.*, 2007: 55).

Adapted networks involve a geographical criteria (e.g., there seems to be a direct connection between city/area of origin in Morocco and city/area of destination in Italy, different networks exist for migrants of rural vs. urban origin) and an ethnic criteria (e.g., Berber vs. Arab origins). Place of origin therefore influences the choice of where to settle and the strength and reliability of the social networks that the migrant brings to Italy. Obviously, the specific group or "micro-community" that each individual belongs to influences the type of resources she or he can have access to.

> *By the expression 'Adopted networks' we refer to networks that did not exist as such prior to departure from the homeland. As Alzetta (2006) suggests, the recent "new wave" of Moroccan migrants (mostly comprised of young, urban and educated migrants, including many educated women), has reinforced the rupture of more traditional rules governing housing and contributed to the creation of brand new networks* (*ibid.*, 2007: 56).

Family and local community networks

Informal migrant networks at the local level (family, micro-communities) are the source of essential resources for the newly arrived immigrants and in the course of their lives in the host country. As Coleman (1988) describes it, community networks bring about a favourable environment for their members by fostering shared social norms, a sense of belonging, trust and reciprocity, and the circulation of information.

In the case of both the Turkish community in Germany and the Moroccan community in Italy, the family, intended as the extended circle of relatives, represents the node of a whole set of connections and networks that provided individuals with access to the resources provided by the wider group. In both communities strong mutual support, protection and security are inextricably bound to the family. Resources flow within the family and the exchange of resources with other families is guaranteed through significant intergenerational support (with parents providing

financial support and children helping parents deal with language barriers) and a continuous investment in maintaining and nourishing community ties (visiting each other, spending time together – also thanks to the spatial proximity of families). For the Moroccan women in Italy, the extended family coincides in many cases with the only reliable and/or accessible network (*ibid.*, 2007: 55).

The Community Force studies of Turks in Germany coincide with other studies like Gestring, Janßen and Polat's (2006) findings that Turkish networks are centred around the family. In terms of social capital, family social capital has many advantages over other types of social capital: (1) it is less prone to the so-called "free-rider effect", because access to it is clearly restricted to family members; (2) it requires less investment, because it is "given" by birth or marriage; (3) it prolongs over time; (4) it is transferable via marriages; and (5) it requires less investment of other resources like time and money, which often need to be invested to acquire social capital (Weiss in: Weiss/Thränhardt, 2005: 9, Haug, 2005: 197). However, close family ties may also work as a "cage" for the migrants as found in Gestring, Janßen and Polat's (2006) study where family ties in some areas restricted the individual's chances in the receiving society. Most migrants in Gestring, Janßen and Polat's study reported that they did not receive support from their parents during their educational career. The parents often came from backgrounds with little education and did not realise the relevance of a good education for their children (Janßen/Polat, 2006: 13). Faced with a changing job market in adulthood, in which there was minimal demand for unskilled labourers, consequently many migrants in the study faced unemployment. The authors suggest that the close family ties reproduced the concept of *"enforceable trust":* this means that members of a (ethnic) group are dependant on that group due to a lack of other contacts, and are thus more willing to put their own wishes aside to comply with the demands of their closest peers.

The efficiency of community networks in providing and circulating information make them the preferred source of news, advice about opportunities, and hints even when formal channels exist. One of the reasons is trust. In the case of the Turkish community in Germany, lack of trust in German institutions (employment agencies or job centres) coupled with the perception of a closed job market lacking in transparency are the reported reasons for relying solely on community networks to find a job. Turkish migrants in Germany are more inclined to work in Turkish companies thanks to personal contacts even though working for relatives usually means poorly paid work as assistants, without a contract, in the food sector or in commerce and industry. The same holds true for most Moroccan citizens in Italy. Even after years spent in Italy, when seeking for information most of them prefer to turn to informal channels managed by key community actors (e.g., translation agencies), even if less reliable and more "risky", rather than or prior to turning to an "official" information source (e.g., the CGIL Office or Municipalities' information desks) (Community Force, 2007: 17).

Beyond providing practical help, local communities create a supportive environment for their members who are in the process of adapting to the new setting and condition. These local communities help sustain and transform individual identities, absorb and mitigate the hardships of the migration experience, freeze the sense of alienation that accompanies it and develop coping strategies in the new context. Thanks to the enveloping role of these networks, their members receive the emotional and psychological support needed to face the stress of being far from home and experiencing loneliness, communication difficulties, and feelings of inferiority.

The common language, overall communication and cultural codes, as well as food and other culturally related aspects of life, are key factors in the perception of a "familiar setting" where "one can relax". Some of the Moroccans interviewed during the Community Force field work explain this by saying that within this environment he/she is not asked "to justify or explain anything" (*ibid.*, 2007: 64).

The above-mentioned study by Gestring, Janßen and Polat (2006) about Turkish networks in Germany, identified *social and ethnic homogeneity* and *locality* as two main network characteristics:

1)   *social and ethnic homogeneity*: most participants had contacts only within their socio-economic group (e.g., jobless to jobless); most participants had only Turkish (close) friends – when out of work the number of their German friends decreased notably.

2)   *locality:* networks were local; most migrants in the sample did not have (or sustain) contacts outside of their neighbourhood.

These characteristics have an impact on the ability of networks to generate social capital and the benefits of that social capital to individuals. Social heterogeneity of networks will enable members to access resources that are not available to them as individuals. Nevertheless, to improve their socio-economic situation, it is essential that their "bridging" ties connect them with people who have *more* access to resources and not to social strata below them (see Oaka and Wellman, 2000, Chapter One). Thus, the people who benefit most from socially homogenous networks, or "bridging social capital" so to speak, are the ones in disadvantaged socio-economic positions.

Locality and family-orientation of networks were often linked, as Gestring, Janßen and Polat point out. Often locality resulted from family-orientation. Most migrants chose to live in proximity to their parents and siblings. This family-centricity played a decisive role in the local segregation of living quarters. In order to live close to their families, many migrants accepted worse living conditions and a lower standard of living (Gestring/Janßen/Polat, 2006).

Pertaining to the realm of informal social networks, self-help organisations can be found at the intersection of informal and formal social capital. Self-help

organisations are characterized by more stable and rational forms of organised help when compared to ordinary solidarity practises within and among the families and the individuals. As such self-help organisations are usually attributed a high integrative potential, because they help the person new to the country acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to participate in the receiving country culturally and economically. Research is also focusing interaction between the simultaneous involvement of migrants in mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic associations (Otten *et al*, 2007: 4).

Formal social networks

The central issues that arise in relation to formal social capital include processes of identity building, political representation, visibility and participation. All of these factors are dynamic: the three elements affect each other through the effort the migrant community makes in finding a good way to reconcile the *here* and *there*, the *them* and *us*.

Community networks indirectly reinforce migrants' social identity and efficiently contribute to shape their roles within the majority community. In the case of Moroccan immigrants their nationality represents the cornerstone of their social identity. Most of them make their living by providing services to the community (e.g., ethnic shop owners, cultural mediators), which in turn reinforces their ties with their co-nationals and thus their identity as Moroccans (Community Force, 2007: 64).

The process of identity designation takes place at all levels, in the private as well as in the public sphere, responding to events and the context within and around minority communities. The social identity of migrant communities is the result of a continuous negotiation based on the process of differentiating and opposing the *self* to the *other* (Remotti, 1996 in Brustia Rutto, Ramella Benna, 2003: 187) and harmonizing the multiple *selves* that arise from the process of adapting to life changes. The definition of an identity is an open, essential and urgent process. "*We do need someone to tell us who we are, don't we*?" (Community Force, 2007: 65). To know who one is reassures and orients the individual in his/her personal and social space. This urgency somehow increases as stereotypes prevail (in the larger community) over a genuine attempt to know the *other*. This is the case of Moroccans in Italy who, after September 11 have faced a wave of suspicion causing the Moroccan community to take a defensive position. In fact, some of the research participants have expressed their preoccupation over the possibility that the current political climate can foster Islamic integralism.

Both the Moroccan and Turkish communities are prolific in creating associations that can be seen as an attempt to formalize community networks and to

go beyond the local sphere. Despite the criticism and the conflicts that arise around these associations, especially in regards to leadership and representative functions – common issues in associational life *per se* – umbrella associations have been created in both settings. These umbrella associations serve to: strengthen community identity at a national level, identify institutional leaders who can represent the community, and prepare the community to become a political actor (*ibid.*, 2007).

In addition to these institutional purposes, umbrella associations also play an important role in the process of strengthening the community's organisation by improving its internal information and resource network, therefore developing community resources. The Confederation of Moroccan associations in Italy, which facilitates the creation of new connections among the gatekeepers at a national level, provides one clear example[9]. Confederation members form a selected network that cuts across all other community networks. Through associational life gatekeepers living and working in different contexts can be in contact on a daily basis, experiences and ideas can be exchanged easily and everybody is informed about activities and initiatives taking place in other cities. As a result, more information and resources are available for community members with a positive outcome in terms of bonding and, especially, bridging opportunities.

Below umbrella organisations there is a lively landscape of a multitude of associations that Turkish migrants in Germany and Moroccans in Italy participate in. In Germany in particular migrant associations have a long and well-documented history, dating back to the 1960s. Help and self-help organisations were first founded then for the first "guest workers" arriving, often initiated by German welfare organisations such as AWO (*Arbeiterwohlfahrt*). A significant number of these organisations still exist today, now run largely by migrants themselves (Weiss in: Weiss/Thränhardt 2005, Wolpert 2003: 95). Turkish migrants clearly use social capital to establish organised structures. These structures have the effect of reproducing and increasing social capital.

Two thirds of Turkish migrants who participate in organisations do so on a voluntary basis. These findings from the ZfT study on voluntary civic participation of Turks in Germany (*Freiwilliges Engagement von Türkinnen und Türken in Deutschland*, 2005) support the findings from the "volunteer survey" (*Freiwilligensurvey*), which arrived at similar figures for the average population in

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[9] The Gatekeepers in ethnic community networks are individuals who can give or deny access to the resources of the network and are considered by other community members as having the authority and the capabilities to do so. Well-known within the community, in most cases gatekeepers also know each other. This is one of the prerequisites/indicators of a community. In someway gatekeepers can be said to represent a specific network/community as they somehow act as local leaders. As a consequence, gatekeepers are key-actors in the process of shaping both ties (within the community) and bridges (with other communities) (Breton, 2003).

Germany (Freiwilligensurvey 1999-2004). However there are differences in the participation of migrants and the autochthonous population: For once, migrants engage in German organisations less often. Moreover, their participation is strongly motivated by the desire to solve existing problems (Freiwilligensurvey 1999-2004). The nature of migrant organisations themselves is extremely diverse and quite well documented in Germany. In 2001, a survey on "Immigrant Culture, Networks and Integration" evaluated the over 16,000 registered migrant associations in Germany. Over 11,000 of them are Turkish associations. The survey showed that the associations were still strongly differentiated by country of origin. In this study 86.6% of all associations were mono-ethnic, meaning that all board members belonged to the same ethnic group. Among the Turkish associations, this percentage rose to 91.6% - only 8.4% of Turkish associations had board members belonging to different ethnic groups. The analysis also showed that the primary aims of the associations were: to nourish the culture of the home country (25.5%), to provide meeting space (17%), for religious purposes (9.8%), for sports (9.3%), to provide advice (8.8%) or counselling (7.8%), and for political endeavours (5.4%). Among Turkish associations, religious purposes were more prominent than average: 22.9% of all Turkish associations were religious associations, followed by sports associations, cultural associations and meeting centres (approx. 14% each). This prominence of religious purposes was mirrored by other migrant associations of a non-Christian background. The authors of the study suggest that migrant groups of non-Christian background have a stronger need to create spaces and surroundings to practice their religion (Hunger, 2005: 240). This is supported by the fact that most mosques in Germany are run by registered associations. The authors further state that religion, the preservation of cultural habits and traditions and information services are the most important activities practiced in migrant associations of virtually all ethnic backgrounds.

Migrant organisations fulfil important functions in their members lives. To understand their roles more clearly, they are often distinguished into different groups:

- "Self-help organisations": advice and help organisations of multiple outlook and offer of services (e.g., help with school problems, legal advice or language courses). Associations that primarily focus on offering various types of aid for integrating into the country structurally are sometimes called "receiving-country-oriented."

- "Home-country-oriented associations" are centred around the culture, politics or religion of the country of origin. They are mono-ethnic.

- "Ethnic associations": referring to associations whose members belong to the same ethnic group. They may be of a recreational, religious, occupational, or political nature.

- "Multi-ethnic organisations" of a political, religious, work or recreational nature (e.g., trade unions, activist organisations, sports clubs).

These categories are not mutually exclusive. An association may well fulfil several of the above criteria, e.g., be an ethnic self-help receiving-country oriented organisations – like a Turkish parental group. Furthermore, distinctions are not clear cut. All organisations fulfil important functions for their members. Self-help organisations help the person new to the country acquire necessary skills and knowledge to participate in the receiving country culturally and economically. This is especially useful for older migrants to whom the associations offer sources of social recognition, and a space to meet and engage in cultural activities with others (Enquete-Kommission, 2002: 220, 222). Additionally, many ethnic organisations offer advice and help, e.g., in legal matters (Diehl in: Diehl/Haug, 2005). Recent studies indicate that younger migrants more often engage in multi-ethnic organisations, especially in sports clubs (Otten *et al*, 2007; Enquete-Kommission, 2002; Diehl in: Haug/Diehl, 2005)[10]. As stated in the Enquete-Kommission's report on social civic participation in Germany, engagement in sports clubs varies greatly between small clubs primarily run by volunteers, to major clubs that do not really differ from private companies and primarily offer an exchange of money for services to their members (Enquete-Kommission, 2002).

In current research, increasing attention is being paid to the interaction between the simultaneous involvement of migrants in mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic associations (Otten *et al*, 2007: 4). In a recent article, Koopmans and Berger formulate their research assumption that "social capital, understood as the existence of, membership in, and informal relations to civic organisations, is said to have a positive impact on society as a whole, because it connects the micro and the macro-level" (Koopmans and Berger, 2006: 70). Similar to Putnam (1993; 2000), the authors suggest that people learn civic skills, participate in discussions and voice their opinions in public spaces. Guided by this assumption, Koopmans and Berger investigate the interplay of integration politics, ethnic civil institutions and interest and trust in politics and political participation in their respective host countries. Comparing samples of Turkish migrants in Berlin and Amsterdam, they found that a low standard of integrative politics correlated positively with a low level of ethnic associations and their interconnectedness (as in Berlin). Somewhat surprisingly, they also come to the conclusion that a proportionally larger number of migrant associations (as in Amsterdam) does not correlate positively with a greater involvement in politics. On the contrary, Turks in Berlin, who were confronted with a less dense network of ethnic associations that were less interconnected, showed

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[10] It remains open for discussion if participation in sports clubs may be of a different nature to other organisations, because many sports clubs are becoming market-oriented providers of services, without much difference to commercial providers.

greater interest in politics generally, active involvement in political activity (e.g. going to demonstrations) and less trust in politicians than the Amsterdam community. Turks in Amsterdam, Koopman and Berger suggest, seem to rely more on their network of representatives: "A small ethnic elite is active in organisations, which are often subsidised and sometimes initiated from above. They are well integrated into the political process and pass on this grown trust to the Turks in Amsterdam. But this social capital seems to have little effect upon the overall participation of the Turkish population in Amsterdam." (*ibid.*: 78). They suggest that a negative effect might exist: "a dense network of elites accompanied by a passive population" (*ibid.*: 78). [11].

In a recent essay, Claudia Diehl examines the interplay of political interest in German politics and engagement in associations in a sample of Turkish migrants. Her analysis is based on the quantitative "integration survey" of the "Bundesinstitut für Bevölkerungsforschung" (*Federal Institute for Population Research at the Federal Statistical Office*) conducted in 2000. While Turkish, Italian and Greek migrants have a similar level of involvement in associations in general (although lower than Germans), Turkish migrants have the lowest level of involvement in German associations. Most Turkish associations in the survey operate at local level and focus on cultural or religious issues of the home country ("home-country-oriented"). Additionally, the majority of Turkish associations exist in order to offer advice and help to their members on everyday issues (e.g., legal issues, dealing with authorities). Only a small minority of Turkish associations engage in issues related to equal participation of Turks in the German society. In her analysis, Diehl connects empirical data from different studies. She finds that Turkish migrants show an increased interest in German politics if they participate both in Turkish *and* German associations, or if they participate solely in German associations. Those Turks that participated only in Turkish associations were neither less, nor more interested in German politics than their inactive counterparts. Diehl comments: "However, regarding the great scepticism, that Turkish associations are regarded with in Germany, it is in itself a remarkable finding to understand that members of Turkish associations are politically neither inactive nor disinterested." (Diehl in: Haug/Diehl, 2005: 305).

While some studies indicate that under certain circumstances, some associations can have detrimental effects to the integration of their members into the

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[11] Their methodology consists of: (1) measuring the level of integration politics in the two countries by comparing legislative prerequisites and executive practice (number of years after which migrants can apply for citizenship; risks of denationalisation; enforcement of these standards), the encouragement of ethnic civil organisations (institutionalised contacts and funding) and the tolerance towards Islamic cultural practice (allowing mosque calls); (2) counting the number of ethnic civil institutions and their interconnectedness (number of people chairing in several); and (3) evaluating the level of individual participation and trust in political matters (percentage of voters; levels of trust in political representatives; personal feeling that political participation is meaningful) (pp. 72-75).

"host" society, other studies point to the positive effects of voluntary engagement, independent of the type of migrant organisation (Otten *et al*, 2007: 5). Findings that lead to more abstract conclusions are rare, for in many studies distinctions based on the type of association, organisational structure, aims and ethnic and socio-economic composition of its active members are not made (Diehl in: Ansgar *et al* 2005, Hunger, 2005: 224). A distinction between different migrant groups and types of organisations (e.g., women's groups, trade unions, cultural associations) is essential to come to meaningful conclusions (Otten *et al,* 2007: 3, 10).

For example, when speaking of the social capital in ethnic associations in their aforementioned study, Koopmans and Berger wrongly conflate it with "bonding social capital". This is an inadequate simplification: ethnic associations do not necessarily have a homogenous membership, i.e., a *socio-economically* homogenous membership. Due to their focus on socio-economically cross-cutting issues such as culture and religion, ethnic associations have the potential to cross-cut different social strata[12].

The integrative effects of migrant associations cannot be regarded independently of the social conditions surrounding them. Talking about the political participation of migrants, Otten *et al* (2007) write: "Last but not least, participation means taking a share of power, especially in a democratic society, so here having access to economic resources may be essential" (Otten *et al,* 2007: 13). Thus, economic capital, access to power and resources cannot be ignored in the evaluation social capital. Additionally, cultural capital is essential for migrant associations to know how to network and deal with political administration.

The image of alleged "parallel societies" regularly appears in public and media discourses, reflecting the host society's fear of the parallel worlds migrants allegedly live in. These parallel systems are believed to be closed-off from the norms and regulations of the host society and from contacts with the "majority society". As the research carried out demonstrates, the notion, or rather image, of "parallel societies" is largely fostered by the media, which contributes to a media scare that demonizes certain groups.

While segregated communities exist, they cannot be described as "parallel societies". Gestring, Janßen and Polat (2006) discovered in their aforementioned study that the communities they investigated in urban Berlin lacked "institutional completeness". The number of Turkish entrepreneurs was lower than the average, communities were not closed-off or self-sufficient. The local centricity of the networks they examined was less a decision to limit contacts to the community, and more a means to maintain strong family ties: "There is rather a retreat into the core

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[12] However, there are many studies that are quite lax in their definition of "bonding" and "bridging" – they refer to Putnam's definition but use it differently (e.g., Otten *et al*, 2007: 6).

family than into the community" (Janßen/Polat 2006: 16). In conclusion, 'segregated communities' can rather be understood as the *consequence* of economic, local and social marginalization, than as the *cause* of segregation.

As discussed in Chapter One, social capital is inseparable from other forms of capital like cultural, economic or human capital. On the one hand, the concept of social capital is helpful in that it sheds light on the importance of interpersonal and community relations. On the other hand, the concept is important neither for distinguishing this discussion from "hard indicators" of access to resources, inequalities and discrimination, nor for ignoring cultural differences between different groups and the openness or closedness of the receiving society. Where segregated communities exist, the current situation must be regarded in light of a long history of marginalization, insufficient integration policies and a partial blindness to the reality of migration.

CHAPTER 3

Policy Recommendations on Migrants' Social Capital

These policy recommendations draw from the literature review looking at the linkages between social capital and immigration in Germany and in Italy presented in Chapters One and Two of this report. Further inputs were provided by a review of the Italian and German policy documents on social inclusion and integration and by the focus group participants (one focus group was held in each country) that discussed social capital as a resource for migrants in these two countries.

Summary of main issues

The starting point of our analysis is the assumption that migrants' social capital endowment is not limited to the connections within the social networks of the majority that migrants slowly acquire during the lengthy process of making their way in the receiving society. Most of the migrants' accumulated stock of investment in "relational goods" travels with them all the way from their home country and adapts to the new context.

As early as 1918, the pioneers of immigration studies, the sociologists William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, emphasized the mediation role that ethnic networks' play in the migrants' settlement in the host society. Thomas and Znaniecki associate the migrants' capacity to negotiate a new identity in the host country and, more generally, the ethnic communities' capacity to reorganise themselves to meet the new conditions, with the incidence of mutual help, spatial concentration, use of the native language and to the presence of public socializing spaces. The theoretical analysis carried out in the previous chapters of this document provides further evidence of the relevance of social capital within the context of migration.

Increasingly, the view that immigrants are merely *hands* for work (Frisch, 1945) is being rejected, in favour of the view that these are *men and women*, with valuable experience and knowledge, migrating from one country to another. This is especially true in light of: societal changes that are driven by the exponential development of information and communication technology, the impact of distant events and forces and the local context (Robertson, 1995) and the increasingly active role of transnational communities and ethnic entrepreneurs. The people who have joined our societies are not merely new workers, but men and women who bring with them different affective, cultural, and symbolic dimensions, cultures and histories, relational networks, nested networks of tangible relationships, and therefore

communities. These different communities in turn belong to transnational social networks "connecting present, past and future immigrants" Massey (1988: 396).

Following the literature review on social capital and on social capital and immigration in Germany and Italy (project phase 1), current policy documents at European and National level were monitored with regards to how they take into account the relevance of social capital for the immigrant population. German and Italian policies in the area of social inclusion and poverty, in particular, were reviewed to asses whether and to what extent they have benefited from the insights offered by the theoretical analysis on social capital and immigration.

Finally, a focus groups was conducted in each country (Germany and Italy) with immigrant representatives, policymakers and experts (project phase 3) during which the participants were presented the following questions:

- Do you believe that social capital embedded in migrants' informal and formal networks is a resource to facilitate the integration of migrants into mainstream society?

- How do you see the subject of social capital being treated in politics and policies?

- What should be done to effectively use social capital as an instrument for the integration process?

The results of the policy review and the focus group are provided in Annex 1 and 2 respectively. Here we will only briefly touch upon some of the main aspects that have emerged during project phase 2 and 3 and that have guided us in the development of the policy recommendations provided in the second part of this chapter.

The relevance of a social capital perspective - of both formal and informal social capital - in the design of inclusion policies targeting the immigrant population is not given proper consideration in the policy documents analysed, perhaps with the only exceptions of the Enquete-Kommission's report on the future of Social Civic Participation (*Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements*, 2002) in Germany, and of the work of the Commission on Poverty for Italy (2003 report). In most documents a social network approach is adopted while an explicit reference to the concept of social capital is often missing. For example, the German National Integration Plan highlights the relevance of formal networks and associations and cooperates with such organisations as partners in the integration process. Both in German and Italian inclusion and integration policies, immigrants themselves are targeted primarily as individuals whose involvement is mainly related to their participation in the measures taken and to their willingness to integrate into society, especially within the education and employment systems. Although informal networks (e.g., self-help initiatives) are generally regarded as a means to achieve social inclusion for the majority

population—this is especially true in Italy—migrants are mainly considered as target groups of the interventions, which are still largely designed without the participation of immigrants. Nevertheless, a plurality of social actors, NGOs, experts, politicians, increasingly devote attention to more informal types of social capital.

In Germany, the 2002 Enquete-Kommission report *Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements*, as other German policy documents analysed, highlights the relevance and role of relatively more formal social networks (migrants' associations, networks between state and private organisations, churches and charity initiatives, networks between public and private service providers, NGO networks) in fostering civic participation and social inclusion, coherent with the adoption of a theoretical perspective on social capital based on Putnam's ideas. Nevertheless, increasing attention is devoted to the role of informal social networks (e.g., self help groups and grassroots initiatives). These networks operate on the basis of solidarity and cooperation, support the development of self-help capacities and flexible approaches in dealing with local communities' concerns, and move away from a paternalistic mode of operating focused on giving advice rather than helping the individual develop his/her own capacities.

Programmes promoting social inclusion on the local level, like the "Social City" programme in deprived urban areas and "Local Capital for Social Purposes", both in Germany, seek to empower communities, strengthen neighbourhood ties, direct decision-making and planning procedures onto the local level, and increase the self-help capacities of local communities. The intended consequence is an increase in local social capital.

In Italy, informal networks (e.g., care and support networks, social safety networks, family and other solidarity networks, community networks) traditionally play a prominent role in the provision of support, information and services to the migrant population, although their relevance is only scarcely represented in the policy reports. In Germany, these informal networks also play very important roles for migrants.

Since the early stages of immigration in Italy the so called *third sector* (e.g., volunteer and community organisations, charities, social enterprises, cooperatives) has played a significant role in filling in the gaps in the Italian institutional infrastructure, legislation, administrative structure, and financial resources in facing this new phenomenon. The *third sector* is able to accomplish this thanks to its organisational flexibility and capacity to both assess local needs and design adequate intervention strategies. The *third sector* in Italy is still asked to play an significant role in the area of social services design and implementation and in sustaining the development of an integrated network of social services and interventions that link and create synergies between the formal and informal support systems. Therefore, the Italian *third sector* can be said to be at the border of formal and informal networks; it

plays a mediating function as it is able to mobilize local capacities and funding in the face of increasingly diverse local needs.

In order to recognize the dignity and importance of migrant communities' private and informal sphere our societies must overcome their suspicion against what is still commonly perceived as alien and beyond their control. This is a very sensitive issue that is discussed at length in the focus group reports. The reports raise the following themes:

First, mono-ethnic initiatives are discredited due to the suspicion they raise within the majority community in terms of fostering the creation of so-called "parallel societies". Because in-group relationships prevail in informal community networks, anyone wanting to get to know the network's structure, functions and main actors, has to make active efforts to become part of it. In the current political climate, especially in Italy, the need to control ethnic community's activities risks to destroy all that has been achieved in terms of the local investment in mutual trust that has been built up through the creation of relationships between partners (e.g., the territorial institutions, local community, local groups), through which the partners offer access to their respective networks of relationships and opportunities.

Second, despite the fact that more "formal" social capital - where it exists - is usually more visible, able to attract external resources and to create bridges towards other communities, than informal social capital is, informal support networks are a prerequisite for any formal organisation to effectively contribute to the social capital endowment of a community. To represent and be able to talk *for* a community, formal associations should be connected with and able to express the interests and concerns brought about by a network of lively formal and informal community support systems. Informal mediators who "possess" a lot of social capital and access many information channels within the community could be recognised more by policy makers.

Third, associations and networks are sometimes supported not for their intrinsic value to communities, but for other-directed instrumental reasons. Focus group participants warned against the tendency of policy makers to use social capital in an instrumental way ("exploitation of solidarity") that is to "use" migrant networks to promote an integration process that aims at targets defined by other actors (e.g., policy makers), but not by the concerned migrants themselves.

Depending on the resource endowment of the group, community groups can be effective in helping their members to "get by" (this is often said of "bonding" social capital) or even to "get ahead" (which is usually connected with the accessibility of "bridging" social capital). Nevertheless, ethnic communities might need external support to open up more opportunities, besides those offered within the group, for their members. This is the area where support strategies can be envisaged.

Ethnic communities, as any social system, display some dysfunctional aspects and forms of social injustice (gender and intergenerational issues, forms of exploitation of weaker community members, deviance). Actions to counteract these and guarantee equal rights to everyone should be designed and implemented taking into account that what makes ethnic groups and their members particularly vulnerable is the fact that they suffer both from specific forms of discrimination that are distinctive of their ethnic networks and from prejudice exercised by the majority society.

Policy recommendations

1. Make policy makers and society aware of the prominent role of social capital and of the creation of bridges in preventing individual and community distress and in developing individual and collective efficacy.

This is not an easy task when little prominence is given to the importance of investing in relational goods even within majority societies. Hence, migrant communities are primarily considered in terms of their shortcomings[13], and less for the strengths and potential of their relationships. Shared spaces, experiences and resources between migrant communities and the so-called "majority society" provide opportunities for interaction, cooperation and synergies for the benefit of all[14].

2. Promote and finance action-research activities aiming at mapping community social networks and the existing resources at the community level.

Assessing the prevalent type of social capital in place (e.g., bonding, bridging, formal and informal, role of the family and wider community networks) is a precondition for defining the type of support to be provided. This is to identify areas where bonding relationships need to be counterbalanced by bridging relations or vice versa. The mapping of the actual resource endowment of ethnic communities should assess the directions of resource flows, the opportunities and hindrances associated with the type of resources accessible to community members, community gatekeepers' positions and roles, community socializing spaces and their functions with regards to the satisfaction of individual and community needs, the role of ethnic associations and other institutional and social territorial actors (e.g., public service provision, activities and role of NGOs). Furthermore, by assessing the resources of ethnic networks it is possible to link the social capital in place with the type of services to be provided

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[13] See Annex 2: The German focus group participants critisised the deficit-oriented formulation of integration policies.

[14] See Annexes 1: CIES, 2003

(e.g., employment, education) and service provision strategies. Individual success stories and entrepreneur initiatives can be studied from a social capital perspective for the benefit of the community. Better data on the civic participation of migrants (e.g., where/how/why/why not/who?) should be made available[15].

3. Facilitate the creation and professionalisation of local and self-help groups and develop the capacities of key persons (gatekeepers) to develop community resources and create bridges between communities and sub-groups.

Strengthening the community's capacity for self-healing entails recognizing and sustaining self-help initiatives[16]. Self-help groups should be supported by providing them spaces/rooms, help with infrastructure and financial resources for events and projects. To make the best use of communication channels and the potential of the migrant community – its social capital –self-help groups should be professionally coordinated. Individual migrants allied with local or self-help groups who are potential "spokespersons" of their groups, should be regarded as multipliers within the community. They can transport messages and support activities within the group, using existing communication channels, which will then increase the social capital of the group (social capital becomes more when used). The quality of social networks becomes a key safety factor with a crucial role in determining people's well-being.

Informal core agents can be found in every local community. These individuals are important mediators, multipliers and opinion-makers on local level whose roles are currently only marginally recognised by policy makers. Gatekeepers and individuals at the intersection of resource and information flows can be mediators to facilitate two-way communication between authorities and communities, act as mediators, increase resource flows and develop community capacities. Nevertheless, only some of these aspects are being taken into account in current integration policies.[17]

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[15] See Annex 1: A research recommendation formulated by the Enquete-Kommission in their 2002 report on social civic participation.

[16] See Annexes 1: CIES, 2003.

[17] Recent integration policies in Germany formulate the aims to professionalise individuals and integrate key persons from associations in order to facilitate the aims of integration, inclusion and education policies (see Annex 1 conc. the NIP). Specifically trained "integration counsellors" and "parent advisers" are intended as key actors to advance education and integration. Existing informal key persons as described above do not play a role.

4. Involve representatives of migrant associations in the design and implementation of public service provision strategies.

Thanks to this cooperation, public services can be better tuned to meet the needs of ethnic communities, can be made more flexible, *client oriented*, aware of and able to use existing ethnic networks, and therefore more efficient.

The provision of good quality services can create an environment where social capital can grow. The existence of strong bonding relationships within the ethnic networks can help service providers reach a significant number of people. That is to say, in the area of service provision bonding social capital can make bridging easier (you reach one, you reach many). In turn, access to the public services by the migrant population is an indicator of information circulation and trust. Effective service provision encourages access, and stimulates the "pass the word" process and the use of linguistic and cultural mediation activities.[18]

Measures to be taken include the integration of migrant organisations in the design, provision, implementation, and communication of policies, measures and strategies, and an intercultural opening of other service providers.[19] It is important to consider that the intercultural opening of public services is a process in need continuous stimulation and regular reinforcement.

5. Stimulate cooperation and the creation of networks between territorial institutions and with immigrant associations and self-help organisations.

The creation of networks among social actors at the territorial level should involve the integration of primary informal networks (e.g., relatives, friends, neighbours) and secondary informal networks (e.g., volunteer services, self-help groups) with formal secondary networks (e.g., service providers, social institutions, migrant associations). The resources of the entire community are activated jointly with other formal and informal assets through the coordination of the three levels. This also implies the direct involvement of the person or group in need. This perspective embraces *help* and *self-help* and creates synergies between the two dimensions of social support. By overcoming the model based on the dichotomy helper-helped, the immigrants are seen as active players and masters over their lives who share in the task and responsibility of problem solving (Serra, 2004 revised)[20].

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[18] A reluctancy to use public services is common among the migrant population (see Chapter Two and Annex 2).

[19] Concrete measures are for example recommended in the German NIP (e.g. training, information in different languages, etc., see Annex 1). Furthermore, the German focus group stressed the importance of integrating migrant organisations as providers of services.

[20] See Annex 2: The Italian focus group report.

6. Support the establishment of public spaces where local knowledge and resources can be shared by community members.

Trust among community members (bonding social capital) is a powerful trigger of resource exchange and should be stimulated. The existence of *communities* of immigrants should not be viewed in negative and suspicious terms. *Neutralizing* the communities would counteract social cohesion.

Spaces for socializing in public help strengthen the social fabric of ethnic communities (bonding social capital) and therefore trust within the community. This may be even more true for spatially dispersed communities in a city. Bridging opportunities similarly increase since members of other communities have easier access to public spaces. The design of spaces should be mediated and communicated with different actors, including the people to use the space. Issues of regulation also need to be considered carefully, handled with flexibility and reflect the actual use of the space, so as to not obstacle or prevent social and cultural activities. One must take into consideration the fact that the actual use of spaces may differ from the original intentions, but nevertheless facilitate positive interactions and intercultural contacts[21].

7. Create resources and develop organisational and human capacities to position schools as sources of both bridging and bonding social capital and promote the creation of networks between the schools and other local actors.

When viewing society as fabric consisting of interwoven networks, some nodes emerge because of the key role they play in the process of creating bridges among communities and of translating integration strategies and policies into concrete actions. Schools are one of these nodes. However, despite their central role in the area of intercultural work, they are often not equipped to fulfil their tasks. Schools are an important arena of intercultural socialization where children of different backgrounds are educated together (for example in primary schools)[22]. They are original sources of social capital development, yet, this potential is so far not managed satisfactorily. The school setting can confirm existing boundaries or reduce such distances by promoting forms of cooperation. Increased linkages are recommended, between pupils of different origins, teachers, and increased cooperation within the local area. For the latter, cooperation with other local actors (e.g. providers of youth education and social work, sports clubs, advise services) is desirable. Schools could thus perform the functions of local mediators for communities. This, however, is dependent on the

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[21] See Annexes 1 + 2: Communal design of spaces is for example realised in the "Social City" programm. The regulation of space is most commonly associated with the prevention of deviant behaviour. However, over-regulation can also prevent positive interaction taking place. See also the Italian focus group report on this topic.

[22] See Annexes 1: CIES, 2003.

provision of additional resources – personnel, time, finances – and continuous management and training measures[23].

8. Intervene on factors that create barriers for immigrants to access the resources created and shared within the larger community

Prejudice and institutional barriers continue to limit migrants' opportunities and ability to fully participate in the majority society. Support is needed for initiatives and projects that address these issues and develop strategies both to increase sensitivity to xenophobia and to counteract it[24].

9. Increase local social capital not only in problem areas

The strengthening of existing local networks, the creation of (new) "bridging" relationships, the regeneration of existing local resources and creation of access to resources that are not yet accessible to the local community(s), is central to the development of local social capital. Local social capital is essential for a community's well-being, stability and highly interacts with other forms of trans-local social capital. To increase local social capital, more investment into projects oriented towards the common well-being in an area is needed, and projects and strategies that incorporate the local population as agents and actors should be initiated. Aims are to increase civil commitment, diffuse social conflicts, improve resource flows, and promote cooperation and positive interaction between different social and ethnic groups. Measures that promote local social capital are already being implemented in several programmes like "The Social City"[25], but primarily focus on areas with specific developmental needs and problems. It is moreover desirable that areas where conflicts have not (yet) broken out and the economic situation is at the time stable should benefit from the promotion of local social capital to develop local potential.

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[23] The German NIP intends measures to transform schools into "district schools", to bundle up local activities and host measures. The focus group participants agreed that the potential of schools to generate bridging and linking social capital was not sufficiently utilized. See Annexes 1 and 2.
[24] Support to projects against xenophobia is one recommendation of the German NIP. Although still a central element of theories of integration and inclusion, combating xenophobia has decreased in relevance in some EU member states and/or is not part of integrated "holistic" integration strategies. See Annex 1
[25] See Annex 1

10. Sensitisation strategies should be developed to increase public awareness of the importance of informal (ethnic) networks.

Today, although political agents increasingly recognise the importance of ethnic networks, of formal and informal nature – the first often being a mediator or communication channel to reach the latter – the suspicion towards ethnic networks in the public discourse remains great. A general and diffuse fear of "parallel societies" as causes of social unrest exists in the public conscience. Lack of knowledge and lack of contact feed into the autochthonous population's suspicious attitudes. Sensisitisation campaigns should address these issues, via the media, the publicising of policies and non-ambiguous political positions. It is unacceptable if individual politicians from respected mainstream parties use these diffuse fears in a populist manner and paint dramatic pictures of "parallel societies" in order to gain wide-spread attention and stir public opinion. Sensitisation campaigns should outbalance these fears, and raise public awareness of the importance of ethnic networks for the migrants, their integration process and society as a whole. Attention should be paid to the relevance of informal networks in particular and their necessity in specific contexts (for example the important role of informal care and support networks for migrated residents).

Nevertheless, networks and relations should be respected and valued in their own right, and not primarily viewed as communication channels or "pathways into the communities" for policy makers. Relational ties and social capital can be valuable to individuals in a variety of ways, their "use" value is first and foremost open. One must refrain from an instrumental view of social capital, where social relationships are regarded under the perspective of benefitting the implementation of policies (e.g., of integration policies). Such a view would be met with resistance from the people concerned, for their social capital would be instrumentalised to achieve goals other than their own. To use communities' social capital to implement a process, which has aims defined by policy makers and not by the communities themselves, would be an undesirable instrumentalisation of solidarity.

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POLICY DOCUMENTS

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ANNEX 1

POLICY REVIEW

POLICY REVIEW

This section will discuss relevant policy documents concerning policies for social inclusion and integration policies. Several documents from Italy, Germany and EU level on social inclusion and integration have been analysed in detail regarding the relevance of social capital for policies. Documents which are fundamental to policies of social inclusion or integration at European and national levels were chosen:

- National Strategy Report on Social Inclusion 2006-2008 and NAP'incl 2003-2005, Germany

- National Action Plan on Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003-2005, Italy

- Governmental Report on the Implementation of the Italian NAP'incl on local level 2006, Italy

- Research Commission on Social Exclusion: 2003 reports on the policies against poverty and social exclusion, Italy

- Research Commission on Social Exclusion: 2004 and 2005 report on the policies against poverty and social exclusion, Italy

- EU Joint Reports on Social Inclusion 2002, 2004, 2007 and Implementation Report 2006

- National Integration Plan 2007, Germany

- The Future of Social Report on Social Civic Participation, Report of the Enquete-Kommission 2002, Germany (*Zukunft des Bürgerschaftlichen Engagements*) *(for a full reference list see Literature, p. 41/42)*

The majority of documents did not make any explicit reference to the concept of social capital. Not to exclude those relevant documents – including the German National Integration Plan and the National Strategy Report on Social Inclusion – it was decided to evaluate the role of formal and informal networks, as the basis for social capital formation, for policies of inclusion and integration. The core questions of analysis were:

(1) If the concept of social capital features in the document, what implicit or explicit definition is used?

(2) What relevance is assigned to social capital and/or networks for policies of inclusion and integration? Is social capital / networks regarded as a resource for integration and inclusion processes?

(3) What policies are applied to increase social capital and/or strengthen networks?

We acknowledge that formal and informal networks cannot be equated with social capital. While there is clearly a relation between the two, social capital does not automatically result out of network relations. It is the qualitative dimension of networks, like the type of relations within a network, strong and loose ties and relations based on trust, that determine the development of social capital[26]. So, when substituting "social capital" for "networks" in reviewing policy documents, this conceptual difference is kept in mind. Social capital bears an important resource aspect (resources embedded in the relations themselves), which is not captured when reducing it to the concept of networks. The area of concern of this analysis is then, how policies „make use" of network resources, and how policies seek to support and create resourceful networks.

National Strategy Report on Social Inclusion and Social Protection 2006-2008 and NAP'incl 2003-2005, Germany

In alliance with the Lisbon-Strategy the member countries of the European Union have since 2000 been devising National Action Plans, in order to exchange good practice and stimulate dialogue in the field of social protection and social inclusion. Renamed and reorganised, the National Strategy Report for Social Protection and Social Integration was produced for the period of 2006-2008. It was produced against the backdrop of the tightened Open Method of Coordination (OMC).

The National Strategy Report (NSR) combines the reporting on the tightened common goals set in the agreement on the OMC in the fields of social integration, security for old age as well as health protection and long-term care. In the report, the federal German government describes the strategies employed to reach the three goals of the OMC for Social Protection and Inclusion: encouraging social cohesion, equality and equal opportunities for all; effective interaction between the Lisbon targets for employment and economic growth, and improving governance. The report contains recent best practise and challenges of national politics for the period 2006-2008.

The NSR foci are on reforming social insurance systems in the fields of pensions, health and long-term care the one side. On the other side, the federal government stresses that general participation in all aspects of social life is the foundation for social cohesion. Education is seen as the key for innovation and social

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[26] Sandra Wallman (2005): Network Capital and Social Trust: Pre-Conditions for „Good" Diversity? http://www.feem.it/NR/rdonlyres/5B6FEBA2-EBCB-44E7-AF5E-C5D627D05934/1587/6705.pdf

development. Education and life-long learning are described as key strategies to prevent and counter-act unemployment, joblessness being one of the most important causes of social exclusion. The report furthermore stresses the key role of the education of children and young people. Since in particular young people with a migration background often achieve below-average participation rates and performance in the education system, their special promotion is an emphasis in the integration policies of the Federal Government.

Key concern of integration policies is the integration into the formal education system, into employment and German language learning. This can also be found in earlier versions of the National Action Plans for Social Protection and Social Inclusion (NAPs'incl). The NAP'incl 2001-2003 reads: "The emphasis and major tasks of the Federal Government's integration policy are offers to teach German and to encourage integration at work because knowledge of German and the involvement of immigrants in the labour market as well as their further training are considered to be important conditions for social participation." (NAP'incl 2001-2003: 12). In the NAP'incl 2001-2003 and 2003-2005 integration is considered as a two-sided process, where migrants are not merely passive recipients but active agents. The NAP'incl 2001-2003 reads: "Encouraging the integration of immigrants is understood as an interdisciplinary task in Germany. The Federal Government, the *Länder* and local authorities conduct diverse measures to integrate foreigners and late repatriates. The instruments for encouragement should address the immigrants' responsibility and their potential to help themselves. They should not just be passive participants in measures, but also be able to actively involve themselves in the integration process. In this connection, the existing strengths should be used as a basis much more than the deficits." (ibid.)

The NAP 2003-2005 appeared at a transitional period of migration and integration policies. While the previous statutory provisions and voluntary offers for integration still applied, the new Immigration Act was seen as an attempt to put the promotion of the integration of immigrants on a new legal footing. Existing measures were summarised and focussed towards a federal integration policy. In line with the principle of "promoting and demanding", integration courses became compulsory for all new immigrants with prospects of a long-term stay. The courses comprise basic and intermediate language courses and courses, designed to help the immigrants to find their way in German society and to be able to act independently in everyday life. As it is stated in the NAP, "The design of the courses has taken account of the fact that integration is an active process where the immigrants have to take action themselves and cannot be integrated passively."

Additional state counselling offers aim to promote integration and offer help with social problems and using social services, e.g. with social insurance, integration, raising and educating children and young people, as well as family and generational

conflicts. The integration of families with a migration background and designing appropriate living conditions that encourage integration is a special focus of integration policies as described in the NAP. As a model, the Federal Government supports local authority and social providers who design and practise innovative concepts for integration with this objective, and who, in particular, encourage the potentials and the commitment of families with an immigrant background and peaceful coexistence in non-migrant families. Special focus is on the development opportunities for children and young people (pp. 36-37).

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

The concept of social capital does not feature in the National Strategy Report, nor did it feature in the previous National Action Plans for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2001-2003 and 2003-2005. The following section will describe the relevance of social ties and networks for policies described in the NSR 2006-2008.

In the National Strategy Report 2006-2008 it is fundamentally acknowledged that social exclusion goes beyond the lack of financial resources. The integration of the vulnerable into society necessarily implies their participation in social life (p. 6). According to the report, participation in society, volunteering and a strong civic culture are to be supported. In the field of social inclusion, the central challenges are policies to re-integrate excluded groups into society, fighting child poverty, supporting single-parent families, fighting unemployment, decreasing 50+ and youth unemployment and integrating people with a migration background. With respect to migrants, their inclusion into society is most pressing in the formal education system and working life, where their performance and participation rate is still much lower than that of the autochthon population (p. 16). Following this, measures and strategies to support the social inclusion of migrants focus on their integration into the education system and work. Measures taken include, amongst others, an extension of pre-school education to support early language acquisition and prevent any child from "falling through the net", "2nd chance-schools" to reduce the number of youths leaving school without qualifications, opening more chances for vocational training, e.g. through motivating ethnic entrepreneurs to provide training capacities. Further focus is on the inclusion of mothers and increasing their German-language capacities by designing special language courses.

These measures are largely targeted at individuals and, at times, at families. Information, advise and qualification networks run measures to reach those individuals in special need of further qualification and (school/professional) integration (p. 20).

Addressing the strategic goal to improve governance, the NSR describes that the Federal Government periodically draws up evaluation reports on its policy in the fields of old age security and social inclusion. Independent experts regularly draw up

reports on the situation of vulnerable groups. The expert public, umbrella associations, private business and trade unions are incorporated in designing German legislation. Their participation, according to the report, takes place in the form of hearings and round tables (p. 9/10). Local networks of NGOs are regarded as important partners in the implementation of social policies - e.g. local initiatives to increase the employment potential of vulnerable groups (L.O.S., p. 20) and "Learning Regions" (*Lernende Regionen – Förderung von Netzwerken*) to increase further learning on the job (p. 24).

Strategies employed in the programmes "The Social City – Urban Areas with Special Development Needs" (*Die Soziale Stadt*) and "L.O.S. – Local Capital for Social Purposes" (*Lokales Kapital für Soziale Zwecke*) have local orientation and create alliances in local networks and initiatives. The *Social City* programme focuses on the revitalisation of deprived neighbourhoods. It was established in 1999 and takes measures to re-vitalise targeted neighbourhoods socially, culturally and in their physical structure (urban development measures to improve the living situation). The citizens are actively involved in neighbourhood forums, local advise bureaus, meeting centres and activities (e.g. festivities, planning groups etc.). The "Social City" takes a cross-sectoral approach to address the spatial concentration of social exclusion, in order to re-vitalise the area and improve the living situations of residents. Participative measures and a people-oriented district management *(Quartiermanagement)* aim at integrating the local population, who are regarded indispensable agents of long-term revitalisation. It encompasses 450 largely de-privileged urban areas in 300 cities. "L.O.S." aims at improving work and social integration of people with particular disadvantages on the labour market and encouraging small, local initiatives for the greater use of the local employment potentials.

Specifically referring to the integration of migrants, the Federal Government supports projects oriented towards the common wellbeing. In 2006, 7,5 Mio € were drawn up for projects focussing on youth, and 19 Mio € on projects for all ages (p. 28). These measures aim at defusing social conflicts, increasing acceptance among the native population, improving contacts between late repatriates, foreigners and natives as well as strengthening civil commitment (p. 26, 28/29). Projects of the "Social City" are among those: they seek to gentrify urban areas by involving the resident population and creating meeting places (e.g. p. 59).

National Action Plan on Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003-2005, Italy

The strategy adopted by the Italian 2003-2005 NAP for social inclusion involve 3 main set of interventions:

1. Interventions targeting well defined groups (disability, elder people, minors, weak groups) No explicit reference here is no explicit reference, migrants appear to be considered as one of the weak groups suffering discrimination.

2. Interventions in the area of employment, considered as a means to achieve social inclusion (reforms in the area of women employment and retirement age).

3. Intervention targeting the family, intended as the core cell of society, main actor of the policies in the area of welfare and social inclusion, and of a new intergenerational solidarity.

The main pillar of the strategy is the third policy area: the family is seen as the main actor in the effort to solve the Italian demographic crisis and the "segmentation" of the welfare system. The family is seen in relation to the other social actors, and becomes the recipient of a coherent set of interventions targeting disable and elder people, drop out, public nursery schools and maternity services.

A sustainable social integration is founded among other things on the precondition that a level of income is granted allowing access to a minimum vital set of services and relationships.

The is no reference about the concept of social capital anywhere in the document.

Nevertheless, the report mentions formal and informal solidarity networks as a necessary means to achieve the universal access to services by groups at risk of social exclusion and to guarantee that specific target groups are effectively reached by measures to reduce social vulnerability. The existence in Italy of relatively structured social and family support network is documented (mutual help). The family is seen as the cornerstone of the efforts to face social exclusion which are also founded on an integrated system of interventions based on the coordination of the institutional and non institutional actors involved (local *welfare mix system*) by means of creating networks. Organized initiatives by the families are given particular reference. Nevertheless, no specific reference is made about the families of immigrants. A key role in the programming and delivering social services to the local community, is assigned to the *third sector*. Actions to develop the *third sector* capacity to work for a balanced social and economic development are carried out (mainly training activities).

No mention is made in the report of the concept of social capital of migrants, who are mainly regarded as a target group and recipients of public interventions. Nevertheless, interventions targeting the nomad population in Italy (Roma and Sinti) seem to follow an approach which recognizes the importance of creating and sustaining social support and solidarity networks, and of networking social service

providers and private and public actors which work in the field with different expertises.

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

The non-profit organizations active in the provision of services to the immigrant population and in the creation of a synergic network of service providers are supported through funding from the European structural funds (e.g. in the area of entrepreneurship and self employment, integration of foreign minors in the national school system).

A European funded project by the Italian Ministry of Employment ("Promoting best practices for Immigrants' access to housing"), tackle the question of access to housing by the legal immigrant population by providing a map of the policies implemented at local level by the Regions, local institutions in cooperation with the third sector in this area. An analogous approach is adopted in the area of access to credit by the immigrant population and immigrant entrepreneurs.

With regards to minors, sports are used as a means to achieve social integration and prevent deviance targeting both foreign and Italian minors. The role of intercultural education in public schools is highlighted as well as the role of after schools programs run by non profit organizations in the area of social integration of the "weak groups". As well as the role of territorial services and volunteer initiative actively involving Italian and foreign minors and young people.

The National Office against Racial Discrimination, created in November 2004, run activities of prevention, sensitization, actual support of the victims of discrimination and conducts research activities on this topic. Though the office Contact Center gathers information about specific needs and reports of specific cases of discrimination to assess actual needs, awareness of own rights by the users, and set up *ad hoc* intervention strategies in each sector (housing, education, public services, etc.).

Governmental Report on the Implementation of the Italian NAP'incl on Local Level 2006, Italy

After providing an overview of the social situation in Italy, the report describes the Italian National strategic plan for social inclusion. Following the Lisbon strategy for growth and employment the plan underlines the centrality of human capital development (education and training, employment, health), the increase of the employment rates and the valuing of the social dimension as key areas in the overall national development.

The main objective of the Italian government economic and financial programming for 2007-2011 passed in June 2006, is to achieve economic

development, the reorganization of the public finances and social equity. In this process, the government's document states, the members of weakest social strata and the future generations must be adequately protected. The national strategy aims at rising the levels of wellbeing of families with minors and young adults which require urgent and priority intervention, by guaranteeing their access to employment, access and full enjoinment of the citizens' rights, the participation to the life of the country in every field and on the an equal base.

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

Social capital is basically linked to the concept of governance, cooperation and partnership between public and private actors for service design and provision, networking of institutions and associations.

The document stresses the importance of the recognition and valorization of the competences of each government level and of the cooperation among the different institutions. And again the centrality of civil society role is declared (stakeholders' associations, social parties, profit and non profit organizations: as intermediate organizations between the individuals and the institutions). The report describes how the planning procedures in the area of national public service provision set up by the Law reforming social services (n° 328/2000) and instituting the regional social planning and the zone plans, have been implemented including the social needs assessment, and the monitoring and evaluation of service provision.

A key strategy in the area of service provision is founded on:

Interinstitutional integration allowing competent entities in the social and welfare area to operate side by side even if there is no formal regulation about the joint management of the service provision in that area.

Professional integration allowing different operators to act in a coordinated way in the area of service provision in order to meet the needs of the citizens through integrated service provision strategies able to make a complete evaluation of the needs and set up individualized intervention strategies, (e.g. immigration help desk that provides help in different areas of migrant integration).

In addition the *Charter of Citizenship* is another means of participatory service provision design and implementation by defining a territorial "pact". The charter defines, documents and regulate the rights and duties of citizens and of the administrations in the area of public services to reinforce identity and a sense of community.

The intervention targeting the family are a priority area of the government (national plan for the family). Actions to facilitate mutual help and intergenerational solidarity are foreseen.

Immigration policies are mainly focused on the fighting of illegal immigration and on the regularization of illegal immigrants. Interventions targeting immigrants focus on increasing access to rights in the legal and social sphere (family reunification, health care, housing, employment, educational and training).

Following the principles of good governance and in order to harmonize territorial needs for workers and reception capacities on the one hand and supply of foreign workers on the other hand, participatory procedures, at territorial level, involving the institutional levels, the regions, local organizations are set up to program the number of foreign workers admitted in Italy every year.

The government intends to valorise the dialogue between the institutions and the associations active in the area of immigration issues by re-establishing the *Consulta* for the problems of immigrants in which social parties, associations, are represented. A monitoring Commission of integration policies will be re-established as well.

According to the report, the monitoring and evaluation of the actions carried out so far shows an increase in the quality of the interventions in the area of integration of migrant students in school thanks to local networks and networks of providers of youth education (exchange of material and best practises, information on local initiatives, the identification of schools that can function as poles of integration guaranteeing continuity of efforts) , the involvement of qualified teachers, direct and active participation of the families.

Research Commission on Social Exclusion (CIES): 2003, 2004, 2005 Reports on the Policies against Poverty and Social Exclusion. Between Exclusion and Solidarity Emerging Subsidiarity Issues and Policies, Italy
Rovati, G. (2003) (ed. by) Tra esclusione e solidarietà Problemi emergenti e politiche per la sussidiarietà, Roma

The report presents the result of the first year of activity of the Research Commission on Social Exclusion nominated by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policies, with a mandate for the period 2003-2005[27]. The mandate of the Commission is to provide information about poverty indicators at a national level, to examine issues connected with measuring poverty, to evaluate public policies and make proposals in the area of poverty reduction.

The report highlights the multidimensionality of poverty, stresses the importance of adopting adequate tools for measuring poverty and economic distress

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[27] The commission was created in February 2001, following the approval of the "framework law on an integrated system of social services and interventions", in November 2000

and to integrate currently available indicators of "objective" and "subjective" poverty. Following the reform of the title V of the Italian Constitution which has assigned direct responsibility to the Regions in the area of welfare, the report states that an assessment of the degree of poverty at regional level and of the efficacy of inclusion policies should concentrate both on the number of poor people and the length of time they remain trapped in a situation of poverty.

Among other things, the report highlights the frailty of the Italian educational system in the face of the cultural and social challenges posed by the migratory movements and second generations.

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

The report states that social exclusion, poverty and vulnerability have a "social" dimension since they are strictly connected with the quality of the interpersonal relationships of the persons at risk. Therefore, social capital (as defined by Bourdieu 1979; J.S. Coleman 1988, 1990) is a resource to tap into to combat different forms of social disadvantage. It can be briefly defined as the individual and common legacy of connections with the "relevant others" that strengthen identity, social cohesion and social integration of the involved actors. Both consensual and conflict relationships add up to this legacy of connections. The latter can generate positive outcomes in the formation of individual and group identity.

Therefore, following this approach, social exclusion consists, for individuals, in the "loosening" of social ties, for the community, in the weakening of social cohesion and of the sense of belonging to overall society for voluntary or non voluntary reasons (Giddens, 1999)[28]

The emphasis set on the subjective and relational elements of social exclusion has clear implications in the inclusion policy area. These policies should set up interventions capable of recreating social ties between those who provide help and those who receive it, not by creating passive dependency, instead by developing the individuals' self-esteem, sense of responsibility and the initiative of those who are caught in the enclave of exclusion or are at risk of being excluded (in addition to providing material, cultural, employment resources to help them exit the state of need). This complex task can only be carried out if a plurality of different entities form a network to establish a cooperation and create synergies among the intervention of the public institutions and the diverse organized profit and non profit entities which form civil society. New forms of collaboration at regional level should be found between the public sector, the market and the third sector.

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[28] Giddens A. (1999) La terza via. Manifesto per la rifondazione della socialdemocrazia, Il Saggiatore, Milano.

As for the economic, human and cultural capital, the social capital is both inherited and acquired through merits. The individuals eventually are responsible of transforming the opportunities received into real benefits for themselves. The capacity to make ones' social capital bear fruits is also learned during primary and secondary socialization. Particularly important are the values and norms that are acquired through education and professional and associational experiences.

The family, founded on solidarity and cooperative relationships among the generations, is a key actor in the effort of achieving social cohesion. Therefore, the weakening of the family leads to a deterioration of the microsocial cohesion and of the solidarity among the generations. Equally important are the other arena of ordinary social relationships, which are the school, the peer groups, the neighbourhood and the city of residence, the place of work and all the fields of individuals' voluntary involvement. The characteristics of the context (defined by the openness or closeness of local communities, the particularistic or universalistic orientations of the social actors, the separateness or open exchange among the groups, the degree of the individual mobility and of the information circulation) also impact on the quality and returns of social capital as well as the characteristics of the individuals (attitudes, circle of people visited, relational networks and level of participation). Therefore the fate of social capital is linked to the micro and macrosocial dynamics where social actors operate.

Besides adding to other available resources, social capital can also be a surrogate to cover up for the deficit of other resources (e.g. economic role of family networks, formal and informal self-help groups). A deficit of social capital implies that people facing a stressful event might be at risk of becoming isolated and more vulnerable.

The report stresses the role of the non profit sector as extremely positive and essential in the process of developing a welfare society or welfare community according to the principle of *horizontal subsidiary*. The non profit sector (dense network of groups, associations, foundations, social enterprises active in the a promotion and social reintegration of disadvantaged people because of economic, educational and relational problems) coincides with a form of social capital that should be supported and sustained if a serious policy is to be enacted to prevent social distress and develop social support. The response of the political and administrative institutions alone to social distress is inadequate without the active involvement of civil society (the social entities that mediate between the individuals and the State; the so called *horizontal subsidiarity* is there to support the design and implementation of the policies drafted by the institutional actors at different territorial levels - the *vertical subsidiarity*). There has been a relevant change in the way the no-profit sector is being viewed in Italy. In the past the no-profit sector was assigned a residual role as it was basically considered as a remedy to compensate for the failures of the state and

the market. Today it is assigned a primary role as there is a broad awareness about the fact that beyond market and contractual logic, our societies need an "investment in trust" in others, gratuity, relational goods, reciprocity to foster a new civicness and more active participation in pursuing the common good.

The level of the human, professional, organizational resources of the third sector is related – as both the outcome and the cause - to the degree of development of civil society from which depends the capacity of society members to take direct responsibility (and the associated risks) in meeting the needs weaker individuals and groups express.

The non profit sector is also a source of necessary information and data about poverty and provides their precious support to policy makers in the drafting of social policies.

The report refers to bridging social capital more than bonding and stresses the importance of informal solidarity networks between Italian and foreign families to help the individuals and families in need and combat social exclusion.

The policies in the area of poverty and social exclusion must take into account social networks (with their positive and negative implications) but can also intervene to make them more solid and virtuous through the provision of additional resources, provided by institutions or associations (e.g. services in support of the family and of the relationships among its members, interventions within the educational setting, the neighbourhood and the community). Nevertheless social capital cannot develop without a true internalization of its symbolic code by the individuals. Therefore, no intervention will reach their goals if a sense of responsibility by the side of the recipients is not activated.

In the face of the problems of unemployment, insecurity, environmental degradation that often affect in Italy the areas which display rising levels of poverty and social exclusion, the development of social capital will start from improving local resources, starting from those found within the "building block" – as an arena of cooperation and supply of resources – up until the neighbourhood where the establishment of a wide network of relationships can create virtuous development. Interventions in developing local communities capacity of being "inclusive" must be tailored on the local reality and driven by civil society. The political and administrative institutions should mainly act as civil society subsidiary bodies (Donati 1999, 2000)[29].

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[29] Donati (2004) Oltre la crisi dello stato sociale. Dal codice inclusione/esclusione al codice relazionale/ non-relazionale, in "Sociologia e politiche sociali", II, 3, 1999, pp. 195-220. La cittadinanza societaria, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2000 (2^ ed. ampliata).

The report mentions a few self-help initiatives which have been set up at a local level to benefit the local community and which do not specifically serve the immigrant population (e.g. the Solidarity Centres in Milan).

Among the initiatives run by the no-profit sector in favour of the immigrant population, the report selects a few activities specifically targeting the family with its needs, relationships, resources (e.g. *Community centres for immigrant families and women Health and other types of support targeting migrant families*). The main areas of interventions of these initiatives are, among others: the reconstruction of relational and mutual-help networks among autochthonous and immigrant families and among the families and the service providers, cultural and language mediation, support of the most vulnerable (unaccompanied foreign minors, victims of prostitution).

In the case of *Multicultural and educational centres for children 3-6*, families are asked a contribution for their children attendance to the centre in order to be able to meet the needs of the poorest among them. Beside recognizing the importance of learning Italian to be able to attend the Italian schools, these organizations encourage the use of the native language by the children attending the activities. The children are encouraged to name things in different languages, so that the use of Italian is no imposed onto them but is the result of a free choice driven by the desire to communicate with the teachers and schoolmates. The organizers try to avoid that the centre becomes a ghetto for the children of the immigrants by favouring intercultural socialization and freedom of expression.

With regards to activities aimed at facilitating the integration of foreign students in the Italian schools, the report highlights the importance of a good communication between the families of these students and the school (thanks to cultural mediators and facilitators). In addition, the report stresses the importance that any activity aimed at supporting foreign students integration is part of the ordinary school activity and it is not run outside the school setting. This is asserted by the authors of the report in reaction to the establishment in Milano of 25 "alphabetization posts" providing an information service, aggregating need holders and coordinating local schools activities in favour of foreign students (and defending their right to their national language and to a good communication in school). Intercultural Education should be provided in the classes, with the participation of the class as a group. Intercultural Education is to be seen as a process whereby student's capacities to communicate, to share, to value differences are conceived as a key resource in the process of achieving a joint outcome, are developed.

Research Commission on Social Exclusion (CIES): 2004 and 2005 Report on Policies against Poverty and Social Exclusion, Italy

Although in the 2005 report the development of formal and informal solidarity networks is considered a key factor in the achievement of access to social services by all (law 328/2000 and *White book on Welfare* - the social agenda of the government for the period 2003-2006), the focus of the reports by the Commission is increasingly set on the role of the Italian no profit sector, which is recognized to play an important role in promoting social cohesion among individuals and families, through the development of social networks capable, on the one side, to activate intergenerational solidarity, on the other hand, to favour the inclusion of individuals and groups at risk of social exclusion. In this regards, the attention is set on the legal requirements that allow the collaboration between the associations active in the social sphere and the institutional actors.

As a consequence, there seems to be less recognition of the role of immigrants as active agents in combating social exclusion in the 2004 and 2005 commission report, when compared to the 2003 report (see above). No mention is in fact made of the social capital of migrants. Migrants are in fact mainly regarded as target group and recipients of public interventions that are primarily in the area of first assistance upon arrival and legalization.

On the contrary the 2005 report describes an interesting project implemented in Sicily in the area of self help networks and social development (the "Protobanco" initiative promotes networking among Institutions, NGOs, and charity organizations – formal social capital –to combat social exclusion) which has actually reached members of local migrant groups, although it is not targeted specifically to immigrants it is an interesting approach in the area of through creating bridges among the individuals who ask for help and the social territorial actors (s) and amongst the latter.

EU Joint Reports on Social Inclusion 2002, 2004, 2007 and Implementation Report 2006

The Joint Reports for Social Inclusion and Social Protection present strategies taken and measures implemented in the EU member states combating poverty and social exclusion. The report assesses progress made in the implementation of the open method of coordination, identify good practice and innovative approaches of common interest to the Member States and promote mutual learning. Unlike in the National Reports on Social Inclusion, the concept of social capital does find a mention in the Joint Reports on Social Inclusion of the years 2002, 2004 and 2007.

The creation or loss of social capital appears in the following contexts:

- regenerating deprived urban areas which experience a loss of social capital

- supporting local projects and initiatives to develop social capital

- access to transport - loss of transport options meaning loss of social capital

- access to culture, especially for deprived communities to create social capital

- increasing the human and social capital of migrants, specifically referring to Roma

- creating sustainable employment which will increase social capital

Where the concept of social capital appears, no definition of the term is given. Univocally, social capital is described as a positive outcome of certain measures and an aim of certain policies. In the 2002 Joint Report, supporting local projects, such as "community development projects, women's groups and community arts projects, which aim at involving people experiencing poverty" are said to "help foster and build social capital" (p. 69).

The concept of social capital features most prominently in the 2004 Joint Report and the 2006 Implementation Report. Certain urban communities which experience multiple deprivation are described as suffering a "decline of social capital" (Joint Report 2004, p. 34). This loss of social capital is also manifest in reduced transport opportunities, because lack of transport options "forces people on low incomes to have and an increasingly local and restricted lifestyle" (Joint Report 2004, p. 77). Urban regeneration measures such as the German "Social City" Programme and "Learning city and regions" seek to find integrated solutions to the problems of multiple deprivation, combining economic, social and employment responses and involving a multitude of actors. According to the Joint Report, measures are designed to "rebuild[ing] social capital by mobilising [and empowering] local people themselves (Joint Report 2004, p. 37). Projects involving and empowering residents, ICT provision to children and parents involving schools and local communities and integrative cultural projects are described as conducive to the building of social capital, positive community identity and improving human capital (Joint Report 2004, p. 72, 79).

While in the 2007 Joint Report on Social Inclusion the above-mentioned programmes addressing urban regeneration and support to local initiatives also play important roles, the concept of social capital does not find a mention in those contexts. Instead, it is introduced in conjunction with the creation of sustainable employment, unemployment being one of the main causes of social exclusion. Employment, especially creating "high-quality jobs" (p. 6) is described as a sustainable way out of poverty and social exclusion. On top of providing economic security, employment means participating in society, helps build a "social network" and "enhances human and social capital" (Joint Report 2007: 18, 51).

The considerable gap "between immigrants and ethnic minorities and the rest of the population with respect to employment and unemployment, income, education, early school-leaving, health and poverty", as illustrated in the German Reports on Social Inclusion, is reflected in the Joint Reports (Joint Report 2007: 56). The social inclusion of migrants is consequently a priority in most member states, the authors of the Joint Report 2007 stress.

In this context, the creation of social capital is sporadically mentioned. Both in the Joint Report 2002 and the Implementation Report 2006 the Integrated Action Plan for Roma (ROM) is given as an example of a good practice active employment measure which "entails measures relating to infrastructural investment combined with investment in human and social capital (Implementation Report 2006: 50, Joint Report 2002: 107). On a more general level, it is positively acknowledged that "the holistic approach concerning the various dimensions of the integration process [of migrants] - labour market participation and promotion of participation in social, cultural and political life, etc. - is a positive development" (Joint Report 2007: 56). In contrast to this, the authors of the Implementation Report 2006 observe that in many member countries, measures for "improving the human and social capital of the migrant group, particularly language ability and civic orientation" are given priority over measures addressing the issue of equal rights or discrimination (Implementation Report 2006: 135). A good practice example for a "holistic" approach is the UK strategy of integration which rests on three pillars: equality and non-discrimination; participation in social, cultural and work life, and interaction between communities and localities (Joint Report 2007).

Report of the Enquete-Kommission on The Future of Social Civic Participation, 2002, Germany
Enquete-Kommission: Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements (2002)

"Social civic participation is an indispensable precondition for the cohesion of society" – based on this conviction, the German Bundestag created the Enquete-Kommission "The Future of Social civic participation" (*Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements*) in 1999 and ordered them to develop concrete policy recommendations to support voluntary, public-welfare oriented, non-commercial social civic participation in Germany.

The Enquete-Kommission, which consisted of politicians and researchers, published their report in 2002. The report contains an overview on the state of the art of social civic participation in Germany, taking into account its enormous diversity, encompassing self-help-groups, membership and participation in associations (incl. sports clubs), churches and charities, local neighbourhood initiatives, exchange circles, NGOs, direct democracy initiatives, parties and trade unions and foundations, to name but a few. Common to all this participation is that it is voluntary, not aiming

at material gain, public-welfare oriented, taking place in the public sphere, and is usually practised in cooperation with others (p. 38). The report evaluates social civic participation by looking at the participation in different fields (e.g. churches, sports, culture) and by different groups (e.g. women, migrants, employed/unemployed). Furthermore, the report investigates the relations between social civic participation, paid employment and the welfare state. From this analysis, 150 central policy recommendations are constructed which aim at creating the political, economic, social and cultural preconditions for social civic participation to flourish and sustain (Enquete-Kommission 2002: 2-5).

Robert Putnam's concept of social capital is introduced by the authors. On the effects of social civic participation, the authors state that "day by day, citizens are renewing the cohesion of society by their voluntary engagement. They are creating an atmosphere of solidarity, belonging and mutual trust. In short, they are preserving and multiplying what we today call 'social capital': the solidarity and understanding between members of a society, the reliability of shared rules, norms and values and last but not least their trust into state institutions." (p. 2) Social capital is said to comprise three main components: "networks of social civic participation, norms of generalised reciprocity and social trust" (p. 34). Social capital is described as both a "public and private good". As a private good, it can be used for an individual's benefit, as a public good it is accumulated in social networks. As a public good, social capital has external benefits, like trust, which is accessible to all individuals and groups. It is part of the well-functioning of institutions. Thus, political action, the state of institutions, their openness to the public and their transparency has great influence on the formation of social capital (p. 34).

The authors further state that the beneficial effects of social capital are usually ascribed to "bridging social capital". By this, they mean social capital that connects networks of different ethnicities, generations, social strata, genders or religions. In contrast, bonding social capital is said to connect people of the same "skin colour, social status, origin etc." (p. 34).

The report further states that, according to Putnam, social capital in modern societies can best grow out of the "worry about strangers". This worrying, which can be found in social work, is based on at least a minimum of social trust (p. 34). The authors mention Bourdieu's definition of social capital as an individual resource. As such, social capital describes mechanisms of social distinction. Different groups possess different types of social capital, which can be converted in economic or cultural capital.

The authors distinguish social civic participation from "uncivic participation". By this they mean forms of civic participation and associations which oppose the values of the modern democratic state. This means totalitarianism/despotism, corruption, ethnocentric nationalism, barbaric action, religious fundamentalism,

violence and other forms of social or political exclusion. These forms of participation also produce a form of social capital, but exclude or oppose other citizens and destroy social trust (p. 35).

Social civic participation is not a thing of the privileged but can be born out of necessity and an unfortunate condition. Self-help groups are an example. However, studies have shown that marginalised groups also experience a decline in social capital – along with the belief, that their activity can actually "make a change". Social capital is linked to socio-economic factors. The authors state that history has shown that marginalised groups can improve their socio-economic or political position by civic action (e.g. history of the workers' movement, p. 48). Social capital is thus linked to empowerment. Social civic participation should take into account the different life situations of different groups, not to explain a lack of engagement, but to address the problems of access, create spaces for communal activity and give back self-confidence to marginalised people (p. 49). It is understood, that the state should "enable" social civic participation. It thus makes possible autonomous organisation of citizens and "lets social capital unfold". However, this must not be confused with a state that simply withdraws from regulations and thus leaves the filed open. That state would not care, if the offers are taken up or not.

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

The authors acknowledge that social civic participation is strongly connected to the idea of citizenship. "Citizenship in the sense of a guarantee of citizens' rights is a necessary precondition for all types of social civic participation. Social civic participation is based on certain preconditions which are linked to civil, political and social rights" (p. 33). The idea behind a civic state is that it is not the state and its institutions alone which carries the responsibilities for the future of the community, but its citizens.

Several studies have shown, that compared to the autochthon population, social civic participation of migrants is of a different nature. For example, migrants engage less often in German civic organisations. The fact that many migrants' live in Germany with insecure residence status and that many migrants who do not possess German citizenship are excluded from political participation rights (the right to vote) certainly leads to a lower interest in engaging in public-welfare oriented activities (p. 104). Refugee initiatives are one of the few examples of social civic participation which have come out of communal efforts of migrants and the autochthon population (p. 104).

Family and informal networks, family self-help groups are mentioned as examples of migrant social civic participation. Members of the community help each other in dealing with the demands of the receiving-society. Children regularly help their parents with language problems, whereas the elderly assist with child care and thus make the integration into the job market easier for the younger generation (p.

104). Associations centred around the home country of the migrant, its religion or culture ("home-country oriented associations") are also recognised as important driving forces of integration – especially for first generation migrants. They offer practical advice to their members, offer sense of orientation, provide sources of recognition and confidence offer spaces to for leisure, contacts and networking. Social capital is produced, because social skills are being trained, contexts to realise minority rights are being created, and activity is being mobilised. Younger migrants, the report states, are organised more often in "receiving-country-oriented" associations, especially sports clubs. But ethnic entrepreneur initiatives and civil rights organisations, who pursue minority rights, also play important roles. Turkish and Italian migrants tend to engage even more often in trade unions than their autochthon counterparts (p. 104/105). The authors also recognises the importance of social civic participation of migrants in religious associations. For those religious communities who do not have state organised networks and financial resources, social civic participation is indispensable.

The Enquete-Kommission formulates concrete policy recommendations to support the social civic participation of migrants and consequently increasing their social capital. Self-help groups should be supported, since they are indispensable sources of communal identity, create contacts and help with orientation and integration. Policy makers should enable family self-help groups to get spaces/rooms, help with infrastructure and open financial resources for self-organised events and projects. The authors reject the suspicion self-help groups are often confronted with, for their mono-ethnic participation is potentially regarded as promoting "parallel societies". Parallel societies, the authors state, can only develop if contacts of a migrant community are limited exclusively to their own ethnic group over a long period of time. The report states that especially those groups that address migrant issues and work together with the autochthon population should be supported, for they produce "bridging social capital" (p. 105). On communal/municipal level, social services for youth, family and the elderly should open to migrants. This also means intercultural training for the people working in services and employing more people with a migration background (p. 105) Furthermore, better data on the social civic participation of migrants (how this participation takes place, where, with what motivation and by whom) should be made available and qualitative and quantitative research needs to be conducted (p. 105). The authors state that the contribution of migrants' civic involvement towards trust in the institutions of the receiving country should be looked at in much more detail. On a political level, has been neglected in the past and this should gain more relevance in the future (p. 59, p. 104).

National Integration Plan 2007, Germany
Der Nationale Integrationsplan – Neue Wege, Neue Chancen (2007)

The National Integration Plan is the result of a one-year process, which was intitiated by the German Federal government at the first federal integration summit in July 2006. The aim was to produce a national plan for the integration of migrants in one years' time. Ten task forces on different subjects relevant to integration politics were created. These task forces consisted of migrant representatives, representatives of the local, regional and federal government and other NGO representatives. In July 2007, the reports of those task forces, including policy recommendations and self-commitments of the actors involved, were published as the first National Integration Plan.

The task forces addressed the following subjects: Improving integration courses; Promoting the German language from the very start; Ensuring good education and vocational training, Improving labour market opportunities; Improving the life situation of women and girls, achieving gender equality; Supporting integration in the communities; Living cultural diversity; Integration through sports; using the diversity of the media; Strengthening integration through civic commitment and equal participation; Science – open-minded.

All task forces went to draw up policy recommendations, addressing the different levels of political action (federal, regional *Länder*, local) and measures to be implemented through migrant organisations and associations. The binding character of these recommendations varies greatly. While some recommendations are concrete self-obligations by members of the group, other recommendations address measures already being implemented projects, while yet others do not have a time-frame for implementation, may have an insecure funding structure or are not yet agreed upon by the relevant political bodies.

Education and qualification, early language learning and extending integration courses are important elements of the NIP. Here, these strategies, goals and recommendations will not be described in detail. Instead, only those policy areas of particular relevance to the project focus on social capital and networks will be described.

Social Capital and Policies of Inclusion

The concept of Social Capital does not feature explicitly in the NIP. Social capital, the potentials and resources embedded in certain network relations is nevertheless of relevance. Firstly, effort of creating the NIP is the result of a network of different actors, including political stakeholders, experts and representatives of migrant organisations. "Federal Government, Länder (Federal States) and local authorities provide important conditions for the success of integration. Government alone, however, cannot master the entire society's task of integration – this can only

be achieved with an active civic society." (flyer of the NIP) The inclusion of "state and civic groups, media, culture, science, trade and industry, as well as migrant organizations" is fundamental to the design of the NIP.

Secondly, policies promoting networks or use networks for implementation play more or less important roles in the recommendations made in the different task forces.

The NIP task force on "Supporting integration in the communities", addresses integration in the local community as essential to the integration process. It is on the local level that integration takes place, where it can be achieved, seen, and its failures become obvious first. A crucial aspect to ensure local integration is the development of holistic communal integration strategies. Integration policies should be mainstreamed and strategies should transcend political departments and involve all relevant local actors. Strategies should be drawn up locally on the highest administrative level, not only in cities, but also in rural communities and small-cities which host a large percentage of migrants (*ibid*. 110). This implies an intercultural opening of all administrative levels, through employing people with a migration background and offering intercultural training for all employees. The federal state, the regional authorities (Länder), local authorities, NGOs and the private economy formulate a set of declarations of intent to achieve this. Measures recommended are, amongst others, local integration conferences and support to civic participation. Representatives the private economy declare the intention to employ more people with a migration background. All these measures should be sustainable and institutionalised.

Living conditions in communities must be improved. It is acknowledged that while mixing ethnic communities remains a goal of urban planning, a certain percentage of ethnic segregation cannot be prevented and may be voluntary. Some migrants wish to live in among members of their ethnic community to participate in existing networks and access structures of help and self-help. The authors acknowledge that this voluntary segregation can help in the early stages of integration and reduce potential conflicts among different communities. Still, a solidification of "parallel structures" and habits imported from other countries must be prevented, "for example regarding the role of women and girls" (*ibid*. 113).

Special attention should be paid to deprived urban areas where several criteria of deprivation accumulate (low income, high unemployment, low education standards). Here, a spiral of degeneration and decline (reverse gentrification) must be prevented. The programme "Social City" is an important tool to facilitate good living conditions and prevent undesired segregation. Part of this is a participative and activating "quarter management". The steering and financing is shared between national and local levels, financing also comes from EU sources. Further recommendations and declarations of intent address the improvement of local

infrastructures, the creation of common ground and spaces for neighbourhood and communal activities and intercultural contact, leisure grounds for children and youths and multifunctional meetings spaces (*ibid*. 114). The local ethnic economy should be supported through advise services, start-up credits and the strengthening of business networks. It facilitates integration through generating economic revenue and providing local job and training opportunities and enlivening areas.

Schools and pre-schools are ascribed important functions as meeting spaces in the local community. Consequently, their roles should be expanded to become "district schools" and "district kindergartens". Schools should be more integrated into local integration strategies and be spatial accumulations of communal activities. They should offer their infrastructure to the local population and cooperate with other actors in the area, like the local "quarter management", youth organisations, sports clubs, hosting parent cafés or family centres.

Parents should be increasingly involved in educative measures, both for their children and for themselves. Social outreach workers and moderators from the communities should become mediators and multipliers to reach parents. The task force acknowledges that the new tasks assigned to schools will require extra financial resources and additional training and time capacities for school staff. (*ibid*. 117)

In the NIP, sports is considered a special field of integration. In sports, social integration will take place because people of different ethnicities come together, get in contact and develop relationships. Cultural integration will take place because cultural techniques, like the language, are learnt. Everyday Integration will take place because people participate in an associations and exercise voluntary democratic participation (*ibid*. 140). Migrant and non-migrant sports organisations should liase stronger, migrants should be trained as sports teachers and multipliers and sports organisations should network locally with other actors and structural measures, for example from the "Social City" programme. Sports should be offered for specific groups, like female migrants. Civic volunteering in sports should be promoted. As good practice examples in the field of sports, several street football projects are mentioned, where young people play in socially and ethnically mixed teams, which set their own game rules and watch their obedience communally. (*ibid*. 151-153).

The task force for Increasing Civic commitment and Equal Participation incorporates some aspects of the concept of social capital, roughly as introduced by Putnam. The definition of social civic participation draws on the definition spelled out by the Enquete-Kommission (see above): social civic participation is characterised by voluntary commitment, a public taking over of responsibility and networking. It is said to have beneficial effects on identity formation and increases the decision-making and acting abilities ("*Handlungskompetenz*"). Social civic participation is seen as beneficial to integration because it makes knowledgeable and

competent and increases abilities to learn and act. Civil society creates structures which enable the acquisition of knowledge and skills (*ibid*. 173).

The integration plan recognises that social civic participation of migrants takes different shapes to that of the autochthon population, due to different traditions of social civic participation in their home countries, different education systems and different residential status and length of stay in Germany. Social civic participation is said to foster integration when it is oriented towards the common good and not creating segregation from the receiving country. Social civic participation which is successfully rooted in the migrants' culture, religion or language can create "bridges" towards the receiving country's society (*ibid.* 173/74).

The aims to be achieved, as stated in the NIP, are an intercultural opening of organisations; strengthening the equal participation and self-responsibility of women and men in the integration process; access to qualification and learning in social civic participation; shared public responsibility through the networking of German associations and migrant associations; strengthening social civic participation against xenophobia; strengthening PR work of associations to increased media coverage on activities by and with migrants; develop a culture of recognition. The task force formulates several policy recommendations to achieve these aims. These recommendations not yet agreed upon on governmental level. (The following excerpt focuses on those recommendations with relevance the concept of Social Capital):

Associations should conduct intercultural opening (traditional associations, churches, religious communities and migrant organisations. The federal state should devise an expertise for migrant and autochthon associations on how migrants can participate, on how to network their organisational structures. Furthermore, the subject should be mainstreamed in Federal Programmes and infrastructural projects. Subsidised organisations should be required to be integrative in their human resources strategies and projects. Best practices of intercultural strategies and projects should be drawn up. Migrant organisations conducting intercultural projects/oriented towards integration should be specifically supported. On local level, special target-group oriented measures should be taken to open civic commitment to migrants (events, information services, multi-lingual info-flyers etc.)

In order to participate in the drawing up of local and regional integration policies, representatives of migrant organisations should be participate in topical and advise councils. On local level, existing networks should be extended to include migrant organisations. Migrant associations committed to democracy and inclusion should be financially supported, further training and qualification measures should be made available. Networking between migrant and autochthon associations should be an award criterion for financial support. Projects and civic commitment encouraging intercultural and interreligious learning and combating xenophobia are to be specifically supported.

On an individual level, the aim is to guarantee equal participation of people of migrant origin in decision-making councils, local councils and in all areas of civil commitment, not just as "helpers", but as designers of projects and strategies. Quarter management and urban regeneration process as implemented in the "Social City" programme are mentioned as examples of local representatives involvement on local level.

Specifically trained voluntary "integration counsellors" ("Integrationslotsen") and "education godfathers" ("Bildungspaten") should act on local level. The federal government wants to build up a nationwide network of "education godfathers", who should promote the local implementation of the concept to support children and young people's education. Additionally they help young people into the job market through being networked to vocational trainers. "Integration counsellors" who are trained mediators should assist migrants in the integration process (*ibid*. 175/76).

The NIP task force furthermore recommends to support research on the restricting and enabling factors of civic commitment. To develop a culture of recognition for civic commitment, awards, competitions and similar measures should be drawn up on regional level (*ibid*. 176)

Additionally, the federal state seeks to evaluate the issue of communal suffrage for non-naturalised migrants. After an initial request in the Bundestag, it was established that the necessary two-thirds majority for a change of the Basic Law is not foreseeable in the near future. Thus, the evaluation is conducted "without time pressure" (*ibid*. 176).

Associations should conduct intercultural opening, integration and qualification of migrants up to management level. They should become "bridges" between the migrant and the autochthon population. They should be target group oriented and address the individual needs of migrants. Furthermore, they should offer advice services to migrants on their options for civic commitment. For example, the German Red Cross started a campaign in May 2007 to engage more migrants and the "Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der freien Wohlfahrtspflege" BAGFW is working on strategies to open civic commitment to migrants, engage them on all levels and appoint relevant contact positions with migrants. Migrants should be designers of strategies and projects, not just helpers and volunteers (*ibid*. 179). The private economy is asked to conduct corporate sponsorship and specifically promote and support projects involving migrant organisations.

The European Commission

Discussion of Policies Regarding Social Capital

As a public resource – as opposed to an individual resource – social capital only works with a concept of community. As a public resource the individual needs to know in which contexts they can use their social capital, i.e. from whom they can expect help, or whom they can trust. To make use of the beneficial aspects of social capital the individual needs to know where the boundaries of their communal social capital are, to prevent breach of trust and limit the free-rider effect. The group must thus be recognisable as a group, for example a neighbourhood, an ethnic group, a district or a national state. Thus, there needs to be careful consideration with speaking about "migrant communities". As was stressed also in the focus group discussion, there is no "Turkish community" or "Moroccan community", but Turkish and Moroccan migrants are too diverse to be considered a community. In fact, on the level of formal associations, several organisations compete for the role of being a spokesperson of alleged communities.

The policy review carried out in the phase 2 of the project allow to say that, to a certain extent, the concept of social capital has really entered policy making, in the sense that social ties are univocally regarded as a form of capital. This is well expressed in the wording of the *2003 report of the Research Commission on Social Exclusion*, which clearly links social exclusion to the breaking of social ties.

Social exclusion is seen as a *process* at the end of which people find themselves in a condition of extreme isolation. Exclusion is not only connected to the economic sphere, but also to the juridical and psychosocial area, it is linked to the new forms of poverty (psychical distress, dependency from alcohol and drugs, homelessness) but also to the adverse effects of globalization. Social exclusion is then not only seen as a particularly serious outcome of persistent economic and social inequalities but as the result of breaking *social ties* leading to an identity crisis and a paralyzing lack of self esteem. According to this view the difference between the poor and the excluded is not necessarily in their standards of living, measured in economic terms, but the type of relationships they have with society (Ballet, 2001)[30]). A poor person can be employed, participate in the productive process, be actively in contact with the context around him/her and be capable of finding a way out from her/his condition of (comparative) disadvantage. An excluded person does not participate in anything, is not able of retaining social relationships which would help change her/his status. The excluded are in a kind of enclave in the social stratification and cannot walk the social latter upward (Ibid.: 30-33).

This is also reflected in the German NAPs and the Joint Reports, the core issue being "social exclusion is more than a lack of money". Nevertheless, this

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[30] Ballet J., *L'exclusion: définitions et mécanismes*, Editions L'Harmattan, Paris 2001.

approach only rarely leads to actions that unambiguously explore the potentials of the social networks of the immigrant population, foster their social networks strengths and cooperate with the immigrants groups as social actors in order to pursue integration and social inclusion.

The importance of informal networks as sources of social capital is only explicitly acknowledged in the report of the Enquete-Kommission and in the abovementioned 2003 Report of the research commission on Social Exclusion. There, informal networks like family networks and self-help groups are discussed as source of solidarity, community identity, civic virtues and trust. An increased consideration of informal networks can also be found in individual programmes such as the "Social City" and "L.O.S". However they are not strategically integrated in the German NAPs'incl and the NSR.

In most cases, integration policies such as outlined in the NSR and the NAPs'incl, and in the Italian inclusion policy documents, primarily target migrants as individuals. Although the concept of integration featured in the reports explicitly addresses migrants as active agents of inclusion and integration, their activity is mainly related to their participation in the measures taken and to their willingness to integrate into society, especially the education and employment system. As active agents they are only very rarely involved in the design of the integration process. Informal networks in particular do not play a role in the NSR and NAPs'incl.

In the 2006 Italian Implementation Report of the NAP on local level, migrants as active agents also play little role. Even as the report recognizes that the presence of immigrants in Italy represents an opportunity not only for economic and employment reasons (see the well-known Italian demographic imbalance) but to achieve social and cultural development of the overall society; even as the report calls for the consolidation of a culture that welcomes and recognizes all "diversities", immigrants are considered as target groups of public interventions more than active players. Nevertheless the report states among the objectives of the national immigration policies: "the consolidation of a culture of reception and the recognition of *diversity* in the integration process". The interventions briefly referred to in the report are in the area of the recognition and of citizenship rights, legalization of illegal immigrants, social integration, second generation integration within the Italian educational system.

In Italy, the informal networks like self- help groups are traditionally assigned a relevant role in fostering social inclusion in the case of the majority population. The family is seen as a driving factor of intergenerational support and the node of social support networks. Nevertheless, despite the evidences in the literature about the relevant role of the immigrant families within the ethic groups social support networks, no specific reference can be found in the Italian documents on social inclusion about the immigrant's families.

In most of the documents reviewed, social capital is basically linked to the concept of governance, cooperation and partnership between public and private actors for service design and provision, networking of institutions and associations.

In the field of governance, it is a positive trend that civil society representatives and people affected by poverty and exclusion become more and more involved in the design of policies. However, the authors of the Joint Report 2007 remark, the "quality of this inclusion" could be improved. The people affected should also be involved in the implementation and follow-up of policies (Joint Report 2007: 3).

Associations have become increasingly important in the design of policies of integration in Germany – a development which is reflected in the design on the NIP. Associations are not only involved in the design of policies, but are partners for their implementation. Associations are considered to be pathways into the communities, mediators between policy-makers and civil society and actors of implementation of policies. The alliance between policy-makers and civil society representatives potentially creates bridging social capital, helps to promote a culture of recognition which values civic participation and promotes gate-keeping positions, which can create access to resources previously unavailable to embers of the community (and also policy-makers). These additional, more hidden benefits for the communities is not explicitly addressed in the NIP[31]. In the policy documents, an instrumental perspective of associations dominates over their intrinsic valuation as sources of social capital. Associations are not only organisations which pursue certain purposes, but accumulations of individuals possessing social capital. For their members, they fulfil more social and resourceful functions than their official designation. The social capital acquired in associations is a convertible resource for their members. This intrinsic value of social capital accumulated in associations which goes beyond its instrumental use is not acknowledged in the documents.

The Joint Reports on Social Inclusion and Social Protection state that in many member countries intervention focusing on developing migrant groups' human and social capital are given priority over interventions to guarantee equal rights and fight against discrimination, which seems to adhere to an approach which sees migrants as partaking in wider social networks and not as isolated individuals (e.g. Implementation Report 2006: 135).

Plans as formulated in the German NIP to qualify voluntary "integration counsellors" and "education godfathers" potentially tap into the social capital of a

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[31] German Integration Minister Böhmer addresses this issue in the discussion of the task force on social civic participation. She stresses that involving migrant organisations in the NIP is already one practical strategy to publicly acknowledge the work of associations. (Unterausschuss "Bürgerschaftliches Engagement" Kurzprotokoll 6. Sitzung, Berlin 18. Oktober 2006 (http://www.bundestag.de/ausschuesse/a13/buerger_eng/arbeit/protokolle/prot06.pdf).

community and help to increase their social capital. Integration counsellors and education godfathers are potential gate-keepers which can increase a communities social capital by creating bridges. The practical implementation of these plans, which is still in an early stage, will have to take into account existing network structures and identify individuals at the major intersections of social relations. If this is achieved and volunteers from within the communities can be identified social capital can be brought to flourish.

Certain measures applied under the "Social City" and "L.O.S." programmes and in the 2003-2005 NAP for Italy strategically aim at creating local networks. Support to and reliance of neighbourhood networks, promoting alliances between different local actors and civil society and integrating residents into decision-making procedures are strategies conducive to social capital, although the concept is only addressed explicitly in the Joint Report. Thus mostly implicitly, social capital is regarded as a means to regenerate communities suffering from multiple disadvantages. One example of this are the interventions targeting the nomad population in Italy (Roma and Sinti) as referred to by the 2003-2005 NAP for Italy. These interventions seem to follow an approach which recognizes the importance of creating and sustaining social support and solidarity networks, and of networking social service providers and private and public actors which work in this field with different expertises.

A great hurdle to the promotion of the social capital within and among migrant communities is a general lack of recognition for voluntary activities and a latent mistrust in migrant organisations. Qualitative studies have shown, that migrants themselves are aware of this ambiguous position and feel a lack of recognition of their activities (Unterausschuss "Bürgerschaftliches Engagement",18.10.2006). A certain ambivalence towards migrant organisations can be found in all policy documents including the German National Integration Plan. On the one hand, the inclusion and equal participation of migrant organisations is stressed at many instances. On the other, the authors stress at several instances that migrant organisations must be committed to the basic law and not aiming at segregation from German society. This apparent general suspicion that migrant organisations are subject to creates ambivalence and tension, which seemingly cannot be sufficiently released on the level of policy making.

As it is remarked in the discussion on migrants' civic participation in the Enquete-Kommission (Unterausschuss "Bürgerschaftliches Engagement", 18.10.2006), a greater level of cooperation between migrant and autochthon organisations is often prevented by a lack of knowledge. Often, ideas about the actual work of mono-ethnic organisations are dominated by a certain ignorance, prejudice and lack of knowledge. The scope of federal policy-makers to change appears limited in this context. The local level is crucial to facilitate more information, intercultural

cooperation and knowledge. On a general level, more intrinsic valuation of social capital as a resource for individuals and groups is needed.

ANNEX 2

FOCUS GROUP REPORTS

FOCUS GROUP REPORT
Germany

The focus group discussion took place on the on the 5th of November 2007 in Kiel. Present were nine women and men from politics, migrant organisations and universities. Several of the participants had a migration background themselves, most of them Turkish.

The participants were given a brief introduction to the concept of social capital, its beneficial and controversial aspects, and its constitution in formal and informal networks and relations. They were then confronted with three questions, each of them allowed a discussion time of approximately 30 minutes. A lively discussion ensued, to which all participants contributed. Although differences in opinion occurred, the atmosphere of the discussion was characterised by respect, politeness and mutual understanding. The questions given to participants were:

(1) Do you believe that social capital is a resource for (Turkish) migrants to facilitate the integration into society?

(2) How do you see the subject of social capital being treated in politics and policies?

(3) What should be done to use social capital as an instrument for the integration process?

All participants agreed that migrants possessed social capital und that social capital could generally be regarded as a resource for the integration process. Only one participant argued that social capital could also hinder the integration process, when it meant that for example female members were isolated within a large family network and did not have any contacts outside the network. This issue was not discussed in more detail in the participant group – it was indicated by another female participant however, that the women would probably feel unwelcome in the host society and thus were thus lacking the foundation to establish networks in the host society.

The participants stressed that it was not possible to make generalised statements about "the" Turkish community, because life-styles, political orientations, levels of integration and assimilation, generation and educational backgrounds of Turkish migrants[32] in Germany were too diverse to be grouped together. A recent milieu study of Turks in Germany showed that there was a diversity of different

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[32] For reasons of simplification, in this text, the terms „Turkish migrants", "Turks", "Turkish" and "Turkish population" refer to naturalised Turkish migrants as well as non-naturalised Turkish migrants of the first, second and third generation.

milieus, which ranged from very assimilated milieus to segregated groups. One participant explained that many Turkish migrants were organised in small groups and associations which often did not withhold any contacts with each other. The issue of social capital should thus not only refer to creating "bridges" between migrants and the autochthon population, but to foster connections between different milieus and organisations of the Turkish population. The fact that many Turkish migrants, especially youths in larger cities, were suffering from multiple deprivation, was considered a particular problem. Insufficient knowledge of German, high levels of early school-leavers and high unemployment restricted their chances for participation in society. One participant referred to a recent study among Turkish migrants of lower secondary school education in environments of high unemployment. Their networks were primarily characterised by family centrality, social homogeneity and locality. These networks were characterised by strong ties within the socio-economic group, but lacked weak ties reaching further which are of particular relevance to finding employment and accommodation. The chances to use social capital for integration and better the socio-economic living situation of the individual is restricted in these contexts.

The fact that Turkish migrants were on average suffering from relatively worse living conditions compared to the average of the population was acknowledged by all participants. This underprivileged position was understood as resulting not merely from individual failures to integrate, but from a multitude of reasons. Although one reason was deemed to be the fact that many first generation migrants originated from little educated rural backgrounds and consequently did not pass on a culture of learning and education to their children, major causes were classed with the history of integration policy in Germany, German society and perceptions of migrants. German society and politics, which for long until recently rejected the notion of being an immigration country, had apparently not succeeded in providing a home for these youths. The participants agreed that integration was a two-sided process, which was, although officially described as a two-sided process in policy-making, still often not executed as such. A certain discrepancy between what is written in policy documents and public and (populist) political expression can be observed. The concepts of "integration" and "assimilation", although describing very different processes, were at times confused in the public discourse. Due to this many migrants experienced the term "integration" as threatening. They feared loss of their cultures and forced assimilation. One participant referred to the German Law of Immigration (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) as an example of a threatening use of the concept of integration: Achieving integration was there used as a pressurizing concept to implement certain norms, he believed. Migrants seeking to follow their family or future spouses need to have knowledge of the German language prior to arrival. However, the Immigration Law differentiates between different nationalities of immigrants. "The Immigration Law concerning family straggling is clearly against

Turkish migrants. I suggest that it is not about the care-taking of the legislator, but about pressure," he stated.

In conjunction with this, it was discussed that integration politics was often deficit- oriented, instead of relying on the positive resources of migrants, their networks and their social capital. In the public discourse and especially in the mass media, migrants' networks were often viewed for their negative aspects and suspicious of segregation, ghettoisation or even terrorism.

Among the focus group participants, uniform opinion was that integration should not aim at assimilation but allow individuals to maintain cultural specifities. At the same time, the "host" society would be influenced by the integration of migrants. At several instances, participants referred to the uneasy relation of the host society towards Turkish migrants, where stereotypes still played a great role. Several examples were given, about how Turkish migrants were presumed to be uneducated if they did not speak German or how they were presumed not to speak German if they dressed in traditional ways (i.e. wearing a headscarf). One female participant stated that she believed that there was too much concentration on the issue of German language speaking in the discourse on integration. Problems would not be solved if all migrants learned to speak the German language, she stressed. In many respects migrants did not feel part of (German) society, which was also linked to stereotypical perceptions in the host society, and learning German would not eradicate these problems on the side of the host society. Being Turkish meant having a low cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu), one participant remarked. This was linked to the fact that Turkish migrants still have an "image problem", being perceived as former "guest workers" of low educational standards and traditional views.

Concerning the concept of social capital, one participant explained that in a certain understanding, the term "integration" could be equated with "social capital". Social capital then means having access to "forms of socialization". It implies meaningful relations to others, which are an essential part of the process of integration into society. Viewing social capital and integration in this way allows for a more flexible understanding of the importance of interpersonal relations and networks. In this context some participants argued for a different understanding of identity and, in consequence integration. Understanding "identity" primarily as belonging to an ethnic or national group was described as reductionist and reproducing stereotypes. Identity should be understood in more fluid terms and every individual should be understood as having multiple and flexible identities. One participant explained that identity could not be understood as something "pre-political". For example Turkish migrants in the United States would have very different identities than in Germany. Identity was not static, but produced by cultural and political forces. Provocatively, one participant stated that "every law that treats one group differently to another will lead to a manifestation of group identities".

In this context, the issue was raised that demanding any sort of "communal identity" from Turkish migrants, just because they or their families were of Turkish origin, was inappropriate. Although earlier in the discussion the issue was raised that contacts within the Turkish population should increase, several participants expressed doubts if this was practically possible. There was a rejection to group people together merely for their national origin. Just like indigenous Germans, Turkish migrants were very diverse. Networks and alliances formed not primarily on the basis of national identity, but on account of cultural background, socio-economic conditions, political orientation, capacities and aesthetic choices. Although linked to national origin, it could not be reduced to that. The opportunities to use social capital for the individual followed from these conditions of network creation. Different networks would allow for different uses of social capital; while certain resources would be available in one network, they might not be available in another. Using an example from his own life, one participant explained, that he would have no problems getting advice from an attorney of a sociologist in his circle of friends, but would not be able to find anyone to repair his car.

One participant argued that education was the prerequisite for network creation. He believed that the better educated an individual, the more network contacts they would have. This view was disputed by another participant who stressed that formal education was not a prerequisite for network creation. Participation for example in a football club would also enable network creation. Another participant expressed concern that in his opinion, Turkish youths were not organised sufficiently, only in small private groups. Several participants insisted that it was both parents, political parties and society as a whole who should encourage youths more to engage in associations, in political parties or in other forms of voluntary participation.

Networks among the Turkish population were considered to be diverse. A distinction between formal and informal networks could not always be upheld, one participant argued, because membership in associations was also about trust and informal contacts. With reference to the issue of "using" network relations for integration, it was argued that policy-makers still had a hard time trusting informal network structures as communication and information channels. It was described that every local community had unofficial multipliers. Especially in the Turkish communities these people had important functions, were consulted in disputes, were mediators and multipliers. However, one participant stated, these people were rarely addressed as multipliers of information (for example on up-coming events) and as communicators by policy-makers. "My local political party has problems if someone does not have an official sign on their door with title and job-description", she stated.

Several suggestions were made concerning an improved interaction between migrants, their formal and informal networks and policy makers. It was discussed that compared to the indigenous population, migrants did not have the same knowledge of

and participation in public services. To overcome this distance, migrants should be met where they stand: opening the doors of an institution to migrants was apparently not enough. Instead, it was suggested, that public services should employ more people with a migration background, involve migrant organisations increasingly in their provision and creation of services and conduct target-group-oriented information campaigns. Concerning the last point, it was argued many migrants associated public services rather with control than with help. Employing more migrants in social services was also considered necessary, although one participant expressed that he would also want migrants in "hard" occupations as judges or lawyers. It was considered essential to integrate migrant organisations as independent executors of projects and measures in social programmes. This integration would send important signs to the communities and migrant population. However, due to the strong competition among established institutions running projects in these state programmes, this was deemed quite difficult. On the other side, the necessity of some (small) migrant organisations to professionalise was discussed. There was a need to communicate more clearly what activities were pursued in the associations and what the tasks of their members were. Migrants should be trained to become professional networkers with the communities.

Generally, participants were very sceptical towards the idea of "using" migrants' social capital for integration. One participant warned against this "instrumentalisation of solidarity". Instead of seeking to "use" migrant networks to promote an integration process, whose aims were essentially defined by other actors (i.e. policy makers) but not the concerned migrants themselves, policy-makers should rather seek to improve the living situation of migrants. One participant argued that politics should not seek to instrumentalise the intimate spheres of networks.

Nevertheless, concrete measures could be taken to promote bridging social capital, increase contacts, foster positive models of identification *for all people* and promote a process of integration, which was emphasizing interaction and allowed mutual changes – both of the host society and the migrant population – to take place. Schools were mentioned as examples where traditionally social capital would develop. One participant remarked that in this context, the potential of primary schools was by no means valued high enough. In primary schools, children of different background would still spend time together and "bridging" networks could be established and promoted. In schools, diversity of ethnic origin was still considered rather as a problem than as a potential.

Public spaces should be designed to allow spontaneous contacts to take place. In this respect, one participant remarked that the question was not only to ask what politics should *do* to promote integration and social capital, but also to consider what policy-makers should *refrain* from doing in order not to destroy social capital. Often, restrictive regulation destroyed public cultures where people of different origins

mixed. He used the example of a park in Berlin, where it had become habitual over the summer for Thai women to sell Asian food every Sunday and a multi-ethnic leisure culture had developed– until public authorities stopped the unlicensed gatherings.

It was discussed that successful migrants and new visions of identity and society should play greater roles in public and political discourses. Turkish entrepreneurs already employed 400.000 people in Germany, one participant argued but were rarely presented as success stories and employers in public.

It was suggested that artists, like film makers and writers of migrant origin should be promoted, not as "instruments" or "spokespeople" for integration, but for their ability to create and express visions of society, be thought-provoking, and reach many people with their products. Turkish film-maker Fatih Akin was mentioned at several instances, whose films portray Turkish networks in German society and escape traditional classifications. Established notions of identity and mutually exclusive dichotomies like "German" vs. "Turkish" or "traditional" vs. "modern", could not easily be overcome in an official political dialogue. In conventional political dialogues the terms of the discussion were set, it was clear which terms were used and which were not, what positions could be taken, what was acceptable and what was not. In contrast to this, many migrants were already living with identities, in realities and in cultures which defied standard classifications.

List of Participants (anonymised)

Member of the German Liberal Party (FDP) (female)

Member of the German Social Democrats (SPD), Member of the Regional Parliament (*Landtag*) (female)

Member of the German Green Party (Bündnis 90/Grüne), Member of the Regional Parliament (*Landtag*) (male)

Representative of the Turkish Parent Association Kiel (female)

Representative of the Turkish Association Neumünster (male)

Representative of the Turkish Association Schleswig-Holstein (male)

Researcher/Professor from the Free University Berlin, Department of Sociology and Latin American Studies (male)

Researcher/Lecturer from the University of Oldenburg, Department of Urban Studies (male)

Representative of the Schleswig-Holstein Regional Parliament (*Landtag*), Commissionary for Refugee, Asylum Seeker and Migration Issues (male)

FOCUS GROUP REPORT
Italy

The focus group took place in November 26, 2007 in Rome. The following questions where given to the participants

(1) In your opinion, is social capital – formal and informal networks of migrants – a relevant resource for the integration of migrants?

(2) How do you regard these subjects being treated on the political level – for example, in national policies for social inclusion?

(3) What should be done – and how – to regard social capital as a resource for integration?

All of the participants agreed that the social capital embedded in the social networks of the different immigrant groups in Italy, can effectively contribute to their integration within the majority society as a valuable resource. Nevertheless, being the concept of social capital e very complex and dynamic notion, before any decision is taken about whether social capital can be a resource to invest on and how this investment should be made, it is important that the notion of social capital is clarified and its relevance is well understood. Therefore, most of the discussion which took place during the focus group, occurred around notions and questions which are closely associated to the concept of social capital and constitute an essential part of it, such as community and social networks, the role of associations, the linkages between associations and social networks, community representation, the notion of integration. This concepts and the existing connections among them where broadly discussed, to lay the grounds for suggestions in the policy area.

About Social Capital the participants have said that:

"It consists of the network of relationships that forms a shared asset";

"It becomes a capital only when it produces value for the whole community or group";

"It is by definition dynamic and evolving or it is not a capital"

"A resource owned by the individuals and the communities which helps them face stressful events by sustaining their individual and collective capacity to find out coping strategies".

Before deciding whether and how social capital can be a resource for the integration of immigrants – one of the participants said – a common understanding

should be reached of the meaning of individual capital vs. social capital, community vs. social networks as well as a shared definition of the concept of integration. Each of these processes occur at the same time, in a specific territory, in a specific moment in history.

The same participant offered some possible definition or explanation of the aforementioned concepts. Firstly, there is no social capital without individual capital, the former proceeds from the latter. Secondly, what is a community then? Is it a nested set of networks at various level? Or shall it be defined after the classic notion "an homogenous group of persons, in a specific territory, sharing specific interests and norms which regulate community life"? The second definition cannot be maintained in our increasingly diverse local contexts. While, by adhering to the first definition, a separation cannot be made between *autochthonous* and *foreign* networks, which is what occurs in the case of a "local community". Individual connections might be named *foreign*, the same does not hold true in the case of a network linking individual networks with community informal networks with public service providers with associations, etc….This kind of network benefits the entire local community which is composed of both foreign and autochthonous members.

About the notion "immigrant communities", the same participant reported about a project run by the Municipality of Rome instituting a consultative body composed of members from 14 different foreign communities in Rome. This body worked during six months to provide a common definition of community but did not find an agreement which would satisfy all of them. Their final word is that there are no communities in Rome, only national groups.

Another key distinction made by some of the participants is between social capital and social networks. Informal social networks do not necessarily add up to the social capital of a community. One participant explained this by saying that informal networks are activated by the individuals when necessity arises, everyone takes but without necessarily investing in the development of the resources of the network. Instead, the social capital increases when every member in the social network participates in developing the community's relational investment stock behaving just as a stock holder. This is why social capital develops while the type and number of informal connections of the individuals might not change over time.

Following Putnam's theory, the same participant highlighted social capital integrative and segregation potentials. Social networks can foster integration, or on the contrary, limit available opportunities for the individuals. When moving to Italy immigrants become part of a set of well structured relationships that can offer opportunities but may also consign people to a static situation.

Social capital becomes an obstacle to individual advancement when the members of an ethnic social network loose the capacity to participate in the life of the

local community, playing a primary role and taking decisions for themselves. Instead they belong to a social system which offers them a set of fixed solutions and answers to their needs. This solutions can be either accepted or ejected at once. In other words, the individuals might have full access to the information and resources provided by their social networks, yet might not be able to use these resources to achieve their own personal goals.

The same participant briefly reported the results of a research conducted on a sample of 80 asylum seekers in Italy. Shortly after arrival in Italy, the people in the sample perceive themselves as belonging either in a "weak system" or in a "strong system". A weak system is characterized by a situation where only informal networks exist and individual can only count on personal acquaintances, on the pass-the-word mechanism, etc. to answer immediate, material needs. On the contrary a strong system is by definition a mixed system where informal social networks are complemented by the existence of a more formal system consisting of territorial associations and services provided by the local institutions (e.g. the municipality). Therefore a "strong system" - perceived by the individuals as capable of providing support to their members - is founded on two dimensions or type of relationships: a set of connections based on interpersonal affective relationships of mutual support and a more formal networks of relationships established within a more rational and organized support system.

Another key question posed during the focus group is why do social networks always exist while associations don't? The answer given is that social networks are autonomous, networks develop unintentionally out of personal relationships. On the opposite, associations are formed by certain groups with specific objectives and organizational norms. Associations are not necessarily social capital because they might not result out of a social networks. To produce and therefore be considered as social capital, an association, must first express the needs and concerns of a specific social network, and secondly must join their networks of relationships with other associations' social networks on an equal base.

How can then informal social capital be turned into formal social capital?, asked another participant. The question of the recognition, representativity and political role of the immigrants organizations was found by the participants to be inextricably bound to this question. The very notion of social capital is strongly related with the concept of representativity. The immigrants in Italy are not granted any representation at the institutional level. The role of the "consulta" of immigrants at Municipal level [a merely consultative body of the Municipal legislative and executive councils] is very limited. Another participant highlighted that the legal context in fact strongly determines the reasons why associations are formed, what interests they represent, whether they work to answer contingent or instead multiple and interrelated needs - whether they can help turn individuals' social capital into a

resource for the whole community. This was found to be one of the reasons why it is difficult to find organized entities among the immigrant communities in Italy.

According to a participants with a Moroccan origin, one of the key characteristics of his co-nationals in Italy (the Moroccan community is one of the largest in Italy) is individualism, there is no collective will or action. This is also due to the Moroccans' historical and cultural background, to their relationship with the local and central authority in Morocco and the role of civil society there. In Morocco associations were not allowed in the past, now a democratic process is underway. The Moroccan community in Italy tries to get organized. Nevertheless, in most cases groups emerge that aim at specific objectives often driven by personal interests. Attempts to organize and set up associations for these to emerge as the Moroccan community's social capital in Italy do not generally succeed. Beyond historical explanations, there is another reason for this: the Moroccan immigrants in Italy perceive formal associations – the so called *third sector* – as just another entity that gets organized to do, plan, design *for* them, but without offering them a space in order to have a primary role in programming their lives and in participating actively in the design of social policies in favour of the immigrant population. Most of this associations are formed to offer a solution to specific problems (permits to stay, entrance in school, public social services,…). According to this participant, this also occurs in the case of other migrant communities in Italy, and this is also why it is difficult to incorporate immigrants as members in the trade unions.

Regarding social capital and community representatives, a participant noted that the discussion at the focus group were actually following a very typical line of though coherent with our typical western approach: in order to establish a relationship with a counterpart that is composed of multiple actors we always nees to have someone to talk to and therefore searche for a representative for the whole community. The community social capital (the capacity of its networks to produce resources for its members) it is then often mixed up with the community's capacity to express representatives. These are on the contrary two very different thinks.

Moving away from theory to analyse the present situation of immigrant communities in Italy, the participants seemed to agree that now because of the current political climate, founding an association in Italy is even more difficult. The current discussions and legislative initiative in Italy around the issue of public security are targeting members of specific immigrant communities as responsible for the current climate of insecurity and forget that Italy is one of the country in Europe with an historical organized crime that reaches with its tentacles the whole country. It this way the majority society in Italy is giving a sign to the immigrant groups that all the efforts exerted to agree upon a common set of values and norms to regulate our life together is worthless. Therefore, as a consequence of the attitude of the majority

population and of the media the social capital of the immigrant population is being eroded.

Another participant added that now the police wants to know who the associations' members are, where the registered office is located, today the freedom of expression in Italy is hindered. Furthermore, this situation is having an impact on Moroccan immigrants search for a community identity. Islam was not an issue in the past . Now, many serious questions have arisen brought about by the immigration experience and the obstacles experienced in the new context. These questions need an answer and people prepared to provide it: e.g. the relationship between father and son in Italy, the relationship with other religions and with one's own country.

Another participant added that the role that Italian charity and mainly catholic organizations played to face the first migration wave, must now be taken up by the different confessions, which can become key actors in the social sphere. The members of the foreign communities in Italy are feeling closer to their history and recuperating their tradition, also in the religious sphere even when they were hardly believers in the past. In this context providing socializing spaces where the members of immigrant groups can practice their religion, but also receive an education in their language and their culture, will certainly help new immigrants find their way through in our societies.

The participants generally agreed with the statement that in order to decide whether the social capital of immigrants can have a positive outcome in terms of integration, first, the meaning of "integration" should be agreed upon. Second, who and what should be supported to this end should be decided. When it comes to designing national social policies, the majority of the policy makers in Italy still equate "integration" with "social inclusion". This is a misleading simplification, generally leading to the support of actions that further mutual help (e.g. support of self-help initiatives) a certainly useful approach but one that is more similar to offering charity than to fostering community empowerment. Instead, efforts should be exerted to create a conducive environment for ethnic groups in Italy to actively participate in the social and political life of the local and national community. About who and what should be the target of public interventions in the area of social capital development, policies to support associations might not bear fruits if the support is provided to associations that do not produce social capital and therefore cannot have any positive role in fostering integration.

Another participant added that the prevalent approach in Italy is still some sort of "do-it-yourself" integration model, where immigrants are left alone to face their destiny, they are the one who have to find a way to co-exist with others. Despite this, there are no attempts to involve the immigrants in defining an integration model that can be a common basis to build on.

One of the participants with an immigrant background and an African origin, warned about the risk of delegating to the community social capital the responsibility to fill in the gaps created by inadequate policies. Being among the first to arrive in Italy from his community, 26 years ago, he feels that there are strong expectations that his group is able to produce social capital and resources for the newcomers. The problem is that the first to arrive in Italy are in the same conditions than the immigrants who arrive today. This creates an enormous pressure on them, a pressure than need to be eased. Firstly**,** in the past there was no interest in supporting the development of ethnic communities' social capital. Secondly, community empowerment is necessary since national communities need to acquire the capacity to get organized in order to contribute to the improvement of their communities and of the host societies.

Moving on to the question how to effectively develop the immigrant social capital potential as a means to achieve integration, one of the participants suggested that when designing public policies to support the development of social capital, a systemic vision should be adopted that takes into account the development of human capital, the relationship between the individual, the group and the community, the culture and institutions of local communities and groups, political representation, entrepreneurship, etc.

Another participant added, the development of the immigrant social capital should go hand in hand with the development of the social capital of the autochthonous population.

The key question is then how institutions can help social capital stay a dynamic process, whereby new opportunities are created by and for the individuals in the network. Social capital by definition is dynamic and evolving or it is not a capital. If it does not grow, the risk is that it becomes an obstacle for the individuals in the network causing various types of segregations (professional, residential, etc…). The first answer to the question about the role of the institutions is "to cultivate trust": when the dialogue between territorial institutions and a local community or group is based on trust, each partner enters the relationship by offering access to their respective networks of relationships and opportunities. As a result of this encounter a net of networks is created.

Another participant agreed that there is no possible integration strategy in Italy if policy interventions do not aim at empowering the existing immigrants' communities. On the contrary, local authorities often tend to open a dialogue with the immigrant communities only in the context of the provision of public services instead of fostering cultural and intercultural development.

In Italy, there has been a number of attempts to create social pacts for participatory local development. These experiences have thought many lessons:

- For any social pact to be foreseeable, the two parties must be equal partners in the dialogue process (in terms of decision power and resources);

- An open dialogue between the parties should be established for the parties to agree on a set of common values and objectives;

- Communities might need to develop a capacity to join individual's resources for the advancement of the whole community and not only for the benefit of the individuals.

Social capital should be nourished as a means to achieve development (also cultural development) not as an end. This can be done by working with small groups. Nevertheless, it is also important that adequate public policies are enacted and public services provided which take into account community specificities and allow facilitated access to the necessary resources for the disadvantaged groups, thus avoiding that an ever growing gap is created between the life condition of the minorities and the majority. This situation would hinder any real opportunity for dialogue.

While agreeing with this approach, another participant stated that a precondition for the development of the social capital of the immigrant communities is that the pathological aspects are disentangled from the healthy ones. This is only possible if appropriate policies exists which create facilitating conditions for the most disadvantaged.

The participants agreed that public policies and interventions should emphasize and sustain the capacity of national groups to create lively networks, then help these networks to form associations and recognize these association as representatives for their network by providing them with the necessary decision and executive power and adequate resources. Instead, often, nowadays associations who claim to represent the interests of a specific network, do not proceed from it.

A participant emphasized that this process is perceived as potentially dangerous as it makes the social actors independent. It is in fact a common attitude nowadays to fear informal social networks when it is discovered that they actually exists and that their members are interdependent. With a formal entity opening a dialogue is possible. Formal associations as well as human capital can be controlled by the local and central government. Conversely, an individual's network escapes control and it is stronger the more it runs transversally in various contexts and groups…If one is outside a network, can exert no control on it, he or she must step into the network to be able to open up a relationship. Instead, today we are used to take decisions *for* the immigrant population and not *with* them.

Immigrants' social networks can be supported by providing them with space and funding. Cooperation should be established between the members of the network and territorial institutions on specific objectives (e.g. school text revision, places of

worship, etc.). Once the "spider" of the network has been identified – intended as an entity having a prominent and steering role within the network – the local and national institutions should grant such organization a formal recognition and sign a formal partnership agreement on specific issues and with precise objectives.

Following the same line of thought, another participant added that beyond interventions targeting the immigrant population, the creation of networks that connect the various social support systems is a way to develop the social capital of a "local community". In order to create a synergy between the efforts carried out by the different social actors, whether informal or institutional, members of foreign or autochthonous networks, a number of "tables" should be opened around which these different actors can dialogue.

List of Participants (anonymised)

Senator (male)

Representative of Major of Rome for the Policies on Multiethnicity and Interculture (female)

Representative of the Assessorate for Social Policies of the Municipality of Rome – "Integra" Programme (male)

Representative of the Service Centres for immigrants in the Province of Rome (female)

Advisor in the Municipal Council of the city of Rome (male)

Representative of the National Association Beyond the Borders (Associazione Nazionale Oltre le Frontiere - ANOLF). Member of the Council for Islam in Italy at the Ministry of Interior (male)

Representative of the Municipality of Rome, Policies for Multiethnicity and Interculture (male)