

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

MASTER'S THESIS

**CURRENT 'WELCOMING' AND RECEIVING
COMMUNITY INITIATIVES AS AN
IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION STRATEGY:
COMPARING SELECTED CITIES OF THE
U.S., CANADA, AND EUROPE**

Author: JoEllen Lukavec Koester
Subject: Transatlantic Studies
Academic Year: 2014/2015
Supervisor: doc. PhDr. Francis Raška, PhD.
Date Submitted: May 15, 2015

Bibliographic Record

LUKAVEC KOESTER, JoEllen M. *Current 'Welcoming' and Receiving Community Initiatives as an Immigrant Integration Strategy: Comparing Selected Cities of the U.S., Canada, and Europe*. 68 pages. Master's Thesis. Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of International Studies. Transatlantic Studies. Thesis supervised by doc. PhDr. Francis Raška, PhD.

Abstract

This thesis aims to demonstrate that recent trends in immigrant integration efforts in selected North American cities can be applied to European cities with the expectation of success. The first section of this thesis considers recent trends in immigrant integration theory, emphasizing those directed at host or receiving populations, and summarizes the approach the Welcoming America organization takes in terms of the integration of immigrants. The second major section of the thesis compares immigrant integration strategies used in Austin, Nashville, Dayton, and Halifax, and speculates as to which of these strategies could be applied with the expectation of success to the European cities of Birmingham and Prague. These European cities have been chosen for comparison specifically because Prague and Birmingham are presently at a critical juncture in the reception and integration of their immigrant populations. Immigration strategy employed in Birmingham and Prague in the next several years will determine, for better or worse, future trends in immigrant integration in these cities. This thesis concludes that by adopting models used in North American cities such as Nashville, Austin, Dayton, and Halifax, the European cities of Prague and Birmingham would strengthen the success of their immigrant integration efforts.

Keywords

migrant integration, migrant acculturation, migrant incorporation, migrant assimilation, receiving community, host population, native population, welcoming community, Welcoming America, immigrant, migrant, foreigner, third country national

DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. The thesis as submitted is 123,144 keystrokes long (including spaces), i.e. 68 manuscript pages.

JoEllen Lukavec Koester

In Prague, May 8, 2015

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	5
Literature Review	6
Definition of Terms	12
Methodology	14
1. Theories of Immigrant Integration and the Role of Host Societies	15
1.1 <i>About ‘Welcoming America’ and Other Receiving Community Initiatives</i>	17
2. Austin, Texas	23
2.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	23
2.1.1 <i>Current Austin Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	25
2.1.1.1 <i>Current Austin Welcoming Initiatives</i>	26
3. Dayton, Ohio	28
3.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	28
3.1.1 <i>Current Dayton Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	30
3.1.1.1 <i>Current Dayton Welcoming Initiatives</i>	32
4. Nashville, Tennessee	34
4.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	34
4.1.1 <i>Current Nashville Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	35
4.1.1.1 <i>Current Nashville Welcoming Initiatives</i>	38
5. Halifax, Nova Scotia	40
5.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	40
5.1.1 <i>Current Halifax Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	40
5.1.1.1 <i>Current Halifax Welcoming Initiatives</i>	42
6. Birmingham, United Kingdom	44
6.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	44
6.1.1 <i>Current Birmingham Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	47
6.1.1.1 <i>Current Birmingham Welcoming Initiatives</i>	48
7. Prague, Czech Republic	51
7.1 <i>Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes</i>	51
7.1.1 <i>Current Prague Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes</i>	54
7.1.1.1 <i>Current Prague Welcoming Initiatives</i>	57
Conclusion: The Prospect of Success for Welcoming Initiatives in Prague and Birmingham	61
Bibliography	64

Introduction

Disaffected immigrants are a pressing national security issue for the United States, Canada, and all other countries which receive migrant populations. From a security point of view, we may say that the problem is primarily a cultural one, at least in terms of the failure to integrate recent arrivals into communities of long-established residents. Attempts to compel immigrants to assimilate into the majority population have proven to be unsuccessful in many cities. Despite the fact that provisions for language lessons and courses on local culture are demonstrably insufficient for integrating immigrants in the transatlantic zone, the predominant strategy for coping with immigrants to North America and Europe is to focus on the behavior and cultural knowledge of immigrants themselves.

There are, however, new initiatives which attempt to reconcile majority populations to growing immigrant populations, recognizing that successful integration involves not only efforts on the part of the migrant but also acceptance from the host community that receives them. This thesis will examine these rising initiatives which are thought to contribute to both economic growth and violence reduction within cities, and which are said to facilitate trust and community closeness without needlessly adding to government bureaucracy. The task of this thesis is to evaluate the results of a limited number of ‘welcoming initiatives’ and similar efforts, eventually determining whether or not such novel methods should be pursued in Europe as an effective means to combat immigrant alienation. Three U.S. cities, Dayton, Nashville, and Austin, together with Halifax, Canada, will serve as the primary case studies in this thesis. Each of these cities represents a different approach to engaging the host community in the pursuit of successful immigrant integration, and will therefore allow us to compare these approaches and consider which tactics would be most appropriately implemented in European cities. On the European side, I will examine deficiencies in immigrant integration efforts in Birmingham and Prague, speculating as to how these cities

could benefit from introducing a ‘welcoming initiative.’ Both Prague and Birmingham are at a critical juncture in regards to relations between immigrants and receiving populations. Devoting a significant part of the thesis to Prague is a justified choice, given that relations between native Czechs and third country immigrants, particularly those from Muslim backgrounds, are increasingly strained. Roughly three quarters of Czechs surveyed report that they are against the idea of a more open immigrant policy for the country.¹ Birmingham is likewise in the midst of dramatic shifts in its population demographics due to immigration. It is widely predicted that those of white British origin will be a minority in Birmingham in the next decade.²

Literature Review

Anxiety about immigrant arrivals at the city level is more often explored in articles by major news outlets than in academic journals or scholarly books. For this reason, my exploration of the topic, local immigration anxiety and its remedies, originated with David Bornstein’s *New York Times* article³ about new approaches in American cities to the issue of immigrant integration. I followed this with several articles in *The Economist*, including one entitled, “What have the immigrants ever done for us?”⁴ This article addressed similar themes, including resistance on the part of the host population to the arrival of new immigrants, as well as strongly held but unsubstantiated beliefs about the harm brought to cities by immigrants.

While the contemporary nature of the subject of this thesis demands a reliance on news media in addition to academic journals, the major source for my theoretical section was

¹ Daniela Lazarova, “Czechs not open to foreign migrants.”

² See, among others, the BBC’s “White children in Birmingham to be a minority – report” from January 21, 2011.

³ David Bornstein, “Immigrants welcome here.”

⁴ The Economist, “What have the immigrants ever done for us?: Rather a lot, according to a new piece of research.”

Welcoming America and its various distributable materials, including the toolkit designed by Susan Downs-Karkos.⁵ This toolkit explains not only the philosophy and approach of the Welcoming America organization, but also describes how key elements of a welcoming society can be implemented in various city contexts. This resource was key in developing an argument for how a welcoming initiative could borrow from the approaches of North American cities and be implemented in Birmingham and Prague.

Again, due to the contemporary nature of this thesis topic, writers at several think tanks proved instrumental. Here, sources cited range from Rinus Penninx at the Migration Policy Institute⁶, who focuses on how city-level communities can cooperate with government agencies and NGOs to forward the cause of immigrant integration, to Tomas R. Jimenez⁷, also of the Migration Policy Institute, who studies cases of immigrant integration success and failure in the United States. Emily Skop⁸, whose works focuses on Austin and will be discussed below, writes for Brookings, and Michael Jones-Correa⁹ writes specifically about how receiving communities contribute to immigrant integration at the Center for American Progress. My consultation and citation of these sources, which reflect left, center, and center-right political leanings in the U.S., is an attempt to strike a balance in terms of my approach to sources about immigrant integration.

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)¹⁰ is used as a source which highlights important elements of immigrant integration, from “political participation” to “access to citizenship” and others. The source was also used to provide data about the Czech Republic in comparison to other European countries. Unfortunately, the 2015 version of MIPEX was

⁵ Susan Downs-Karkos, “The Receiving Communities Toolkit: A Guide For Engaging Mainstream America In Immigrant Integration.”

⁶ Rinus Penninx, “Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State.”

⁷ Tomas R. Jimenez, “Immigrants in the United States: How Well Are They Integrating into Society?”

⁸ Emily Skop, “Fueling Austin’s Boom: The New 21st Century Immigrant Metropolis.”

⁹ Michael Jones-Correa, “All Immigration is Local: Receiving Communities and Their Role in Successful Immigrant Integration.”

¹⁰ Migrant Integration Policy Index 2010.

being produced and gradually released during the final months of the writing of the thesis, and more updated information about the Czech Republic was not available at the time of writing.

In the theoretical section of the thesis, journal articles used include Dell Champlin's article¹¹ that specifically defines immigrant economic contributions to cities and advocates for an information campaign which would educate host populations about the role of immigrants in a healthy economy, and Jeffrey G. Reitz¹², who offers an introduction to several journal articles related to the role of host societies in immigrant integration. Reitz' work proved highly useful for this thesis, as it defined trends in immigrant integration research and therefore served as a basis for my research into the topic. He names and evaluates not only current lead researchers in the field of host societies and in host society effects on immigrants and immigrant integration, but also outlines major avenues for future investigations into this research field. Additionally, Reitz' article was used as justification for my choice of comparative methodology, given that he views this methodology as among the most promising for future studies of host societies and their role in immigrant integration.

There are several sources related to immigration policy and immigration history in the United States which I have chosen not to cite in this thesis. The reason for this is simply that most research on immigration is situated beyond the bounds of welcoming initiatives and research about host societies. One example of this is Aristide R. Zolberg's *A Nation by Design*.¹³ Despite being a major name in research on American immigration, this leading scholar, among many others, does not focus exclusively enough on the topic of immigrant integration and the role of host societies, or immigrant integration at the city level, to be

¹¹ Dell Champlin, "Institutionalist Perspectives on Immigration Policy: An Update."

¹² Jeffrey G. Reitz, "Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants: Research Themes, Emerging Theories and Methodological Issues."

¹³ Aristide R. Zolberg, *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*.

relevant to this thesis. Instead, city-specific sources proved to be more relevant to this thesis. I have utilized these types of sources for the practical comparative study section.

Austin: This type of thesis necessitates a reliance on local government sources. For this reason, I have cited resources from the city and county of Austin, Texas, especially in regards to welcoming initiatives which are offered in cooperation with the Welcoming Austin branch of Welcoming America. Where other information was not available or insufficiently available, such as information about the history of immigration to Austin over the past centuries, I again relied on city and county resources. While this is not ideal, I have attempted to be transparent about the source of my information, and to approach these government or government-sponsored sources with appropriate skepticism. With more time and resources and in the context of a larger project, I would travel to Austin and attempt to secure more independent sources about Austin's immigration history.

Additionally, I did not depend exclusively on government sources for my information about Austin immigration. Emily Skop¹⁴ provided important information about what she refers to as the "incorporation of immigrants" in Austin, and the extent of demographic changes in the city due to immigration. Mary C. Waters, together with Tomas R. Jimenez¹⁵ (mentioned above) also evaluate the nature of recent immigration to Austin, in addition to highlighting difficulties in measuring immigrant integration. Finally, Ricardo Gambetta and Zivile Gedrimaite¹⁶ of the Sustainable Cities Institute were used to verify certain claims made by the Austin government about the success of their immigrant integration efforts.

Dayton: The Welcoming Dayton parent site was used in conjunction with several newspaper articles from the *New York Times*¹⁷, *Time Magazine*¹⁸, and *Fox News Latino*¹⁹ to

¹⁴ Emily Skop, "Fueling Austin's Boom: The New 21st Century Immigrant Metropolis."

¹⁵ Mary C. Waters and Tomas R. Jimenez, "Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges."

¹⁶ Ricardo Gambetta and Zivile Gedrimaite, "Municipal Innovations in Immigrant Integration: 20 Cities, 20 Good Practices."

¹⁷ Julia Preston, "Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants."

determine the aims and successes of Dayton Welcoming initiatives. Dayton presented a similar challenge to Austin in terms of locating high-quality, relevant sources about the history of immigration to the city. As with Austin, I had to rely on information about previous immigration to Dayton distributed by city and state-based sources.

Nashville: For Nashville, this thesis again utilized Welcoming America sources in addition to those of cooperating NGOs, such as the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition²⁰, to determine the nature and approach of Nashville welcoming initiatives. Jamie Winders' book chapter²¹ about race relations and Latino immigration offered helpful information about the demographics of immigration in Tennessee, and how new immigration interacts with established race relations in the state. Rowland T. Berthoff²² focuses on approaches to immigrants in the southern United States in previous centuries, and thus offered useful observations on previous relations between Nashville residents and immigrants.

Halifax: As with the other cities of North America, sources produced at the city and province level proved useful for evaluating initiatives similar to those found in Welcoming America cities. These sources include not only websites which define services offered to immigrants in Halifax, but also city-sponsored research reports about Halifax successes and failures vis-à-vis immigration. NGOs, such as the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre²³ and the Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia²⁴ also offered helpful information about NGO contributions to immigrant integration in the city. Finally, newspaper articles were utilized to capture both the successes and criticisms of Halifax' immigrant integration efforts.

¹⁸ Alex Altman, "One Ohio City's Growth Strategy? Immigrants."

¹⁹ Andrew O'Reilly, "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

²⁰ Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition, "The Welcoming Tennessee Initiative."

²¹ Jamie Winders, "Nashville's New 'Sonido': Latino Migration and the Changing Politics of Race."

²² Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914."

²³ Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre: Annual Report 2004-2005.

²⁴ Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia.

Birmingham: Myriad NGOs were consulted for information about services available to immigrants in Birmingham. Due to Birmingham's notoriety as a city which has struggled to integrate its immigrants since the end of WWII, numerous academic journal articles were here employed in order to evaluate the reasons behind Birmingham's immigrant integration failures over the past several decades and in today's Birmingham. Sources which examined Birmingham's housing market and its relation to immigrants, such as that by Ian Cole and Ed Ferrari²⁵, were also used in addition to an article about Birmingham immigrants' access to the labor market by Lydia Lindsey²⁶.

Prague: To find information about immigrant integration services in Prague, I consulted several NGOs which are active in the city and which offer services to Prague immigrants. Prague's Concept for the Integration of Foreigners²⁷ was also examined, primarily in order to better understand the city priorities in integrating immigrants, most of which are not focused on the Prague host population. Finally, various articles and lectures, such as those by Lenka Šišová²⁸, Milada Anna Vachudová²⁹, Dusan Drbohlav³⁰, and Radko Hokovský and Jakub Janda³¹ were cited for their valuable insider information about the current climate for Prague and Czech Republic immigrants. These sources also included information about Prague's shift from transit migration city to destination migration city.

In general, my greatest challenge was to locate high-quality sources specific to the city concerned and which could provide information about immigrant integration approaches throughout the history of the city. Sources also frequently generalized about an entire period

²⁵ Ian Cole and Ed Ferrari, "Connectivity of place and housing market change: the case of Birmingham."

²⁶ Lydia Lindsey, "The Split-Labor Phenomenon: Its Impact on West Indian Workers as a Marginal Working Class in Birmingham, England, 1948-1962."

²⁷ Ministerstvo vnitra / Ministry of the Interior, "Koncepce hl. m. Prahy pro oblast integrace cizinců / Concept of the city of Prague for the area of the integration of foreigners."

²⁸ Lenka Šišová, "Czech Immigration Policy."

²⁹ Milada Anna Vachudová, "Eastern Europe as Gatekeeper: The Immigration and Asylum Policies of an Enlarging European Union."

³⁰ Dusan Drbohlav et al., "The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country."

³¹ Radko Hokovský and Jakub Janda, "Immigration and Integration of Minorities in View of Czech Political Parties."

of decades or centuries. Given more time, resources, and a larger project, I would travel to these cities to locate city historians or sources to enhance my project.

Definition of Terms

migrant integration: Together with terms such as *acculturation*, *incorporation*, or *assimilation*, the term *migrant integration* is defined by the Migration Policy Institute as “the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups.”³² This paper uses this term more specifically to refer to the extent to which immigrants fully participate in their host societies, including, among other elements, political participation, participation in educational systems, language acquisition, formation of social relationships, and involvement in the local workforce.

migrant acculturation: The term *migrant acculturation* is closely related to the terms *migrant integration* and *migrant incorporation*, though tends to emphasize the ways in which an immigrant’s culture is successfully altered to allow for full acceptance and participation in a host society. In this paper, these terms (*migrant acculturation*, *integration*, and *incorporation*) are used interchangeably.

migrant incorporation: The term *migrant incorporation* is closely related to the terms *migrant integration* and *migrant integration*, though it tends to emphasize the role of the host society in bringing or allowing migrants to enter that society. In this paper, these terms (*migrant acculturation*, *integration*, and *incorporation*) are used interchangeably.

migrant assimilation: While in the past the term *migrant assimilation* was used as a synonym for *migrant integration*, *acculturation*, and *incorporation*, the term is now largely considered to be outdated. This change in customary use of terminology to refer to the integration of immigrants reflects the reality that diversity is increasingly valued at the community level, and immigrants are generally no longer expected to abandon previous customs and cultures in

³² Rinus, “Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State.”

favor of total adoption of host society practices. The term *migrant assimilation* is not used in this thesis, except to express the idea that some people maintain that migrants should significantly conform to the traditions and cultural practices of their host community.

receiving community: The term *receiving community* is used in this thesis to refer to communities of various levels which are present in a location to which an immigrant relocates. Examples of these communities include city-level, state-level, or country-level communities, in addition to neighborhood communities, and various social communities.

host population: In this thesis, the term *host population* is used as a synonym for *receiving community* (see above).

native population: In this thesis, the term *native population* is used as a synonym for the terms *receiving community* and *host population*. It refers specifically to the group or community of people who live in the same community as an immigrant but who are more established in the community.

welcoming community: This term is used similarly to the terms *receiving community*, *host population*, and *native population* in this thesis. However, it is used to refer specifically to those cities, counties, and states which have exerted concerted efforts to make the integration process for immigrants easier and more navigable than it has been in the past, and which include efforts focused specifically on the host population of an area.

immigrant: The term *immigrant* is used in this thesis to refer to someone who has moved to another country for any reason, and who plans to settle in an area of that country for an extended period (generally longer than one year). The term is distinguished from *tourist*, or short-term visitors to a country who intend to return to their home countries after a short period of time.

foreigner: The term *foreigner* is used in this thesis largely to refer to *immigrants* (see above). This term additionally emphasizes that the immigrant has or had a nationality or citizenship

other than that of the country in which they live. Although the term *foreigner* can also refer to short-term visitors or tourists, in this thesis it is generally used to refer to immigrants.

third country national: The term *third country national* is used in this thesis specifically to refer to immigrants living in Europe whose origin is outside of the European Union or affiliated countries with similar rights to free movement, such as Switzerland or Norway.

Methodology

This thesis employs a comparative methodology in order to determine whether new approaches to immigrant integration which have been tried in various North American cities can be applied to selected cities of Europe with the expectation of success. More specifically, characteristics of the various cities' long term residents are compared alongside approaches to immigrant integration and immigrant services which are offered in the cities. The thesis is also a comparative study in another sense. It briefly touches on historical conditions for migrants arriving in various cities, and contrasts the experiences of immigrants who arrived decades or centuries in the past with immigrants arriving in cities today. This approach is justified by scholars such as Jeffrey Reitz, who contends that "Developing a theory of immigrant reception taking proper account of the impact of host societies is greatly aided by comparative perspectives."³³ For Reitz, comparing the experience of immigrants and the conditions of host populations across national borders is a justified approach to this field of research, given that "Cross-national differences raise significant issues not identified as prominent in debate within any given country."³⁴

This study primarily utilizes qualitative data, due to the fact that the extent to which immigrants integrate into their host societies is challenging to quantify. However, some quantifiable statistical data is evaluated alongside qualitative accounts of immigration in the

³³ Reitz 1007.

³⁴ Ibid. 1007.

various cities investigated here. All data used in this thesis is secondary; I have not collected any original data myself. However, my own experience as an immigrant in Prague, Czech Republic certainly informs the approach I take in my exploration of the topic. Finally, this thesis takes a deductive approach to the question, wherein a theory (in this case the theory of Welcoming America cities in the approach to immigrant integration) is applied to a particular situation (the cities of Prague and Birmingham) to determine if the theory is substantiated by that particular circumstance.

Theories of Immigrant Integration and the Role of Host Societies

While past approaches to immigrant integration “have tended to focus on services and overlook the relationship-building process,”³⁵ recent research trends highlight the role of receiving populations in immigrant integration success. This is a result, fundamentally, of the changing nature of immigrant settlement destinations. According to David Bornstein of the *New York Times*, “Unlike the immigrants of the past, the new immigrants are more diverse and more scattered — many living in midsize cities like Boise, Idaho; Louisville, Ky.; Dayton, Ohio; and Memphis, where, until recently, the foreign-born populations were small.”³⁶ The arrival of immigrants since the 1990s in cities of established, long-term residents has led to a rise in tensions in most cases, and sometimes to acts of violence. Regardless of efforts on the part of immigrants, from learning English to engaging in typical American social customs, these smaller American cities have generally failed to cope with rising immigration from new parts of the world. This phenomenon led to a rise in what has been termed ‘welcoming initiatives.’ By generating circumstances under which immigrants can interact directly with the receiving populations of their cities, native residents of those cities begin to let go of their stereotypes and long-held prejudices against people different

³⁵ Bornstein, “Immigrants welcome here.”

³⁶ *Ibid.*, “Immigrants welcome here.”

from themselves. For Bornstein, the general theory of group integration for immigrants is that “People have to get to know — and come to like or respect — individuals from different ethnic or religious groups. Then they become more positively predisposed towards those groups as a *whole*.”³⁷ Connecting individuals of different backgrounds has led not only to greater tolerance of immigrant populations as a whole in these cities, but has allowed the immigrants to more fully contribute to and participate in American society.

The notion that receiving populations play a critical role in the success or failure of immigrant integration is also supported by Jeffrey G. Reitz, who argues that “The impact of immigration on the economy and on society is shaped not only by characteristics of the immigrants themselves but also by basic features of the society that those immigrants have joined.”³⁸ In fact, according to Reitz, research on characteristics of what he calls “host societies” is an increasingly popular avenue in immigration research. For Reitz, there can be no “constructing a theory of immigrant reception and incorporation” without “taking proper account of the impact of host societies.”³⁹ Such research tends to be focused on host societies in the following dimensions:

“1) pre-existing ethnic and race relations, 2) labor markets and related institutions, 3) government policies and programs both for immigration and for broader institutional regulation, and 4) the changing nature of international boundaries, part of the process of globalization.”⁴⁰

Moreover, according to Reitz, this investigation into the characteristics of host societies is not bound by any particular time period, for “Immigrants in the 1990s and the new millennium face conditions that differ in many ways from those encountered by immigrants only a few years earlier.”⁴¹ Host societies have always played a significant role in the acculturation of newly arrived migrants to any city, and recent trends are no exception.

³⁷ Bornstein, “Immigrants welcome here.”

³⁸ Reitz 1005.

³⁹ Ibid. 1005.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 1005.

⁴¹ Ibid. 1006.

As for measuring the success of immigrant integration and the degree to which receiving populations play a role in this integration, quantitative data is scarce. However, one think tank source, the Migrant Integration Policy Index, aims to build a comprehensive tool for evaluating the success of migrant integration in various countries across North America and Europe. The organization measures immigrant integration against 8 indicators: “labor market mobility, education, political participation, access to nationality, family reunion, health, permanent residence, and anti-discrimination.”⁴² In general, the organization operates on the theory that if a country ranks very highly in terms of policy in each of these eight areas, immigrants in that country will more easily integrate into the host society. Although focused primarily on government policy and government actors in the immigrant integration equation, “The index is a useful tool to evaluate and compare what governments are doing to promote the integration of migrants in all the countries analysed.”⁴³ This index will be utilized in the section of the thesis concerning Prague.

About ‘Welcoming America’ and Other Receiving Community Initiatives

For many North American and European residents, initiatives which promote national security by focusing on the successful integration of immigrants may seem insignificant, particularly when compared with other elements of national security such as border protection, military readiness, or diplomatic relations with foreign countries. Such skepticism is compounded by the reality that studies show mixed evidence for the notion that immigrant populations commit more crimes than long-established ones, and in many cases dismiss such notions altogether.⁴⁴ If immigrant crime is of minor concern, why should we consider the failure of immigrants to integrate a national security issue?

⁴² Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) 2010.

⁴³ Ibid., About Section: “What is MIPEX?”

⁴⁴ Jones-Correa 11-12.

Michael Jones-Correa with the Center for American Progress reveals how easily false assumptions about immigrants may cause a rift in communities, citing, “For instance, when a long-time resident struggling to deal with labor market disruptions hears a foreign language spoken in the grocery store or sees signs he cannot read this may exacerbate his general sense of alienation.”⁴⁵ This sentiment is confirmed by the Welcoming America organization, which argues that while some communities like Chicago or New York City may have become adjusted to the reality of new immigrants, “demographic change may prove difficult for those who personally feel its impacts or are encountering a new cultural group for the first time.”⁴⁶ For this reason, Welcoming America has undertaken numerous projects in over 19 states, all of which not only focus on education for new immigrants, but which attempt to transform the attitudes of receiving populations to an equal extent. For Welcoming America, “. . .it is about fostering collaboration between immigrants and longer-term residents to reshape the boundaries of ‘us’ and ‘them.’”⁴⁷ In particular, the organization targets “the estimated 60% of Americans who have a mixed view of immigrants,” that is, the communities they call “the other half of the immigrant integration equation.”⁴⁸ Welcoming America criticizes traditional immigrant assimilation and integration programs, noting that advocates “have typically engaged in grassroots organizing to strengthen the voice of immigrant communities; provided services to immigrants to help them learn English. . .and fought for public policies that promote immigrant integration.”⁴⁹ Although such actions are important, they are not sufficient. The Welcoming America organization and other similar efforts diverge from traditional immigrant training programs by incorporating the receiving culture in three ways: “contact,” “dialogue,” and “joint projects.”⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jones-Correa 12.

⁴⁶ Downs-Karkos, “The Receiving Communities Toolkit” 1.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 1.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 1.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 1-31.

Turning to the reality of what these programs aim to do, it becomes clear that efforts focused on host populations around the U.S. and Canada are far from uniform. Recognizing that each host community carries its own set of challenges, long-instilled prejudices, attitudes toward openness, and possibilities for educating and influencing the native population, there is no singular strategy which may be applied to every community which receives immigrants. Rather, Welcoming America has issued a series of guidelines and first steps, all of which are adjustable to the needs of individual towns or neighborhoods. In general, the first principle of any Welcoming City is that it must coordinate public service elements, including “government, business, non-profit, and others” in order to “create a welcoming community climate that supports long-term integration.” Essentially, the efforts must extend above the level of city residents in order for Welcoming projects to succeed. Second, the city must pledge to “institutionalize strategies that ensure the ongoing inclusion and long-term economic and social integration of newcomers.” The third pillar of action for any Welcoming City is to “find common ground and shared leadership” opportunities, both for recent immigrants and long-established residents. Finally, the city should engage media outlets in order to “permeate the community” with “messages of unity and shared values,” while simultaneously focusing on long-term management and implementation of the above practices, “in order to ensure...the community’s economic vitality remains strong.”⁵¹

While such guidelines for defining a Welcoming City may be criticized as too general to be effectively applied to a particular city’s reform campaigns, the Center for American Progress highlights what Michael Jones-Correa refers to as “Key Strategies for Receiving Communities.” These include lobbying government and business in order to “Encourage leadership to address the changes taking place locally and manage them effectively,” increasing opportunities for “contact between immigrants and the native born” to the greatest

⁵¹ Welcoming America: “About” section.

possible extent, opening inroads for recent immigrants to access “state and local government,” and, finally, to “reframe the issues to counter misconceptions about immigrants.”⁵² If any of these elements of the integration process fails, it is unlikely that a new immigrant population would become an actively participating member of its host community.

Although Jones-Correa summarizes the requirements for successful integration more efficiently and specifically than the Welcoming America organization, it is necessary to recognize that these types of initiatives are certainly not without their obstacles to overcome. It may be difficult, for example, to encourage reticent members of the receiving community to participate in activities and events about new immigrants.⁵³ Additionally, relationships between immigrants and established residents may take a long time to develop,⁵⁴ often much longer than the span of a single conversation, educational presentation, or soccer game. We must also factor in the reality that it is problematic to measure success of these programs, as there is more qualitative than quantitative data available at present.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the projects require committed participation from local leaders, which may be difficult to find, even when top political, business, and faith leaders are sourced. Still, Welcoming America maintains that “Using our practical, proven approach, local affiliates empower supportive residents of local communities—immigrants and U.S.-born neighbors together—to transform their towns and cities into Welcoming communities.” The group argues, “With the help of Welcoming America’s tools and resources, affiliates can draw on a national network of support to advance their community-wide approaches.”⁵⁶ Considering the demonstrable benefits alongside obvious difficulties with welcoming initiatives, we must ask whether

⁵² Jones-Correa 15.

⁵³ Downs-Karkos 1.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 10.

⁵⁵ Jones-Correa 29-30.

⁵⁶ Welcoming America: “About” section.

similar tactics should be pursued elsewhere. Can such programs be applied successfully around the world, especially in the immigrant-wary cities of Europe?

As for the potential for Welcoming America and other similar initiatives to succeed on the American landscape, it is important to acknowledge the environment in which they attempt to effect change. Jones-Correa has determined that “Public opinion data illustrates that native-born residents hold deeply conflicting feelings about immigrants and their place in American society.” On the one hand, “Respondents consistently tell Gallup pollsters that they believe that undocumented immigrants cost taxpayers too much, and they strongly believe the United States needs to control its borders to stop illegal entry.”⁵⁷ However, this is not the end of the story for the American population at large. While Americans generally call for tougher immigration policy, “only a small minority believes that all undocumented immigrants should be deported, while two-thirds of respondents to Gallup polls believe that most should remain in the United States and become citizens.”⁵⁸

These contradictions in American public opinion extend also to conventional American ideas about immigrant integration. Tomas R. Jimenez contends that for immigrants, “speaking English is a virtual requirement, as is possession of the appropriate legal status.” That said, “Within these boundaries, Americans are able to imagine a national community with multiple origins and varied traditions.”⁵⁹ Essentially, Jimenez suggests that Americans *can* accept immigrants into their communities, at least eventually, with some variance depending upon the national origin of the immigrant and other factors. He holds that the established means of integrating immigrants has generally worked. This assertion, while confirming that Americans have the capacity to accept new immigrants into their communities, does not necessitate that Americans actually do so. I cannot agree that his suggested approach, wherein no action is taken to assist the process of immigrant

⁵⁷ Jones-Correa 11.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 11.

⁵⁹ Jimenez 21.

integration,⁶⁰ is appropriate in this case. Furthermore, waiting for attitudes towards immigrants to evolve naturally is an inefficient approach to the problem.

In fact, there is an established but destructive force in American politics which must be faced, and which Dell Champlin calls “a century of conventional wisdom regarding the impact of immigrants on the labor market.”⁶¹ Despite resounding evidence that the immigrant net contribution to the economy is greater than what immigrants absorb in social services, overturning rhetoric which has been cemented into American thought for decades has proven to be nearly impossible. The same is true for much of Europe.⁶² Champlin proposes “a more modest goal,” which is “to refute the mainstream economic assertion that what the United States needs to do is to reduce the supply of immigrants, a conclusion that fuels the disgraceful ‘war on immigrants’ that has long plagued reasonable debate over immigration policy.”⁶³ This counter-productive, false, and ingrained belief about immigrants is not unique to the United States, but can also be found in Canada and throughout the European continent. If the Welcoming America initiatives have found a way to counteract this “conventional wisdom,” then it is almost certain that similar techniques could be applied in other communities in the transatlantic zone.

In order to better determine the effectiveness of this new strategy for integrating immigrants and preventing the estrangement of new members of North American and European society, we will now take a closer look at four communities generally lauded for their reform efforts. Dayton, Nashville, Austin, and Halifax, Canada have been selected for examination in lieu of larger cities, given that “today, immigrants are more likely to make their homes in cities and towns without a history of immigration, such as Nashville, Boise, and Omaha, increasing the risk of misunderstanding, fear and divisions within these

⁶⁰ Jimenez 21.

⁶¹ Champlin 301.

⁶² See, among others, the Economist’s “What have the immigrants ever done for us?: Rather a lot, according to a new piece of research.”

⁶³ Champlin 301.

communities.”⁶⁴ Although immigrants do frequently settle in major metropolitan areas, smaller cities experiencing a rush of immigration may perceive the detrimental effects of such migration to a greater extent, given that the phenomenon is relatively new for them.⁶⁵

Austin, Texas: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

Academic and popular treatments of immigration in Austin, Texas generally focus on the most recent two decades. Mary Waters and Tomas Jimenez, scholars in the field of measuring immigrant assimilation, point to Austin as one of several “urban immigrant gateways” which “have virtually no significant history of immigration.”⁶⁶ These cities have recently been brought to the forefront of immigration studies due to the fact that “urban centers with very little or no previous history of immigration have seen a recent and dramatic increase in their foreign-born population.”⁶⁷

Austin’s history with immigrants extends far beyond the last twenty years, however. The lack of scholarly attention paid to Texas immigration in the 19th and 20th centuries likely stems from the reality that immigration during this period was viewed as less problematic, both for the immigrants themselves and for the people who were long term residents of the area. Austin County’s official website offers one interpretation of these early homesteaders. Austin’s first settlers, according to Austin County, were Anglo-Americans “who settled on the fertile land around the Brazos and its streams.”⁶⁸ Difficulties for these migrants revolved around a deficiency in effective farming practices.⁶⁹ These historical challenges differ widely from the struggles encountered by Latino immigrants in what is today a growing urban hub.

Scores of German immigrants followed soon after the Anglo-American settlement of the burgeoning city. This caused little disruption for the established settlers, as the

⁶⁴ Downs-Karkos, “The Receiving Communities Toolkit” 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 1.

⁶⁶ Waters and Jimenez 113.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 113.

⁶⁸ Austin County, Texas. “Austin County History.”

⁶⁹ Ibid., “Austin County History.”

newcomers were thought to be “of a more economical mind and settled successfully on land the Anglos did not want.”⁷⁰ The final pre-modern wave of immigration to Austin brought Czechs to the Austin area, though their arrival, like that of the Germans, was largely unremarkable (at least as far as the Anglo-American and German colonists were concerned). The county claims that “those Czechs who established their homes in Austin County were able to settle successfully on land left by the Germans.”⁷¹

I will refrain from accepting the account of Austin’s settlement history put forth by county officials or their historians at face value, as we can assume the county is motivated to propagate the best possible portrait of Austin. Undoubtedly, conflicts and disagreements arose between newcomers and established residents of the area, particularly during times of food shortages, droughts, or disease. However, there is a notable dearth of information about clashes between residents of differing origins in the Austin area in its two-century history of development. We can assume, therefore, that early immigrant assimilation and acculturation was a relatively uneventful process in comparison to the city of Austin today.

In fact, as regards the history of immigration to Austin, the next notable period of migration from outside the United States did not occur until the 1990s. Immigrant integration specialists Ricardo Gambetta and Zivile Gedrimaite highlight the historical development of the city in addition to the current challenges and concerns which are specific to Austin’s immigrant population. According to Gambetta and Gedriamite, Austin’s Hispanic population grew steadily but slowly until the mid-1990s, when the population growth of the city rose sharply and suddenly.⁷²

⁷⁰ Austin County, Texas. “Austin County History.”

⁷¹ Austin County, Texas. “Austin County History.”

⁷² Gambetta and Gedrimaite 5.

Current Austin Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

Immigration challenges faced by the city of Austin today are complex, centered not only on facilitating integration for the comparatively under-skilled Mexican migrant population, but also on offering services for highly skilled technology workers arriving from India and other countries of Asia.⁷³ Emily Skop is the leading expert in Austin's population growth due to immigration, and offers a number of useful statistics for understanding the magnitude of changes in the Austin population. She confirms the contentions made by Gambetta and Gedrimaite about the significance of the 1990s in Austin immigration, citing that "though Austin witnessed comparatively little immigration for most of its history, from 1990-2005, the metropolitan area has attracted an average of more than 12,000 migrants from abroad per year."⁷⁴ To present the figures from another, more totalizing perspective, Skop describes how "while fewer than 7,000 immigrants lived in the metropolitan area in 1980, by 2005 the metropolitan area was home to more than 190,000 immigrants."⁷⁵ Considering that Austin's total population registered at just under 900,000 in 2015, it is no exaggeration to claim that the landscape of Austin residents was dramatically altered by these few decades of immigration.

The rapid growth of the Austin immigrant population, according to Skop, likely derives from Austin's market for both those with advanced degrees and for less educated people willing to perform manual labor. Skop notes that given this discrepancy in the education levels of the arriving migrants, groups of Austin newcomers also tend to diverge in terms of "their English proficiency, and their income distributions."⁷⁶ In Austin, immigrants originating from Mexico and Vietnam tend to fall into lower-educated and lower-income groups, though Vietnamese migrants do possess an advantage over Mexican immigrants

⁷³ Skop 3.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 3.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 7.

when it comes to English language acquisition. Indeed, “With the exception of Mexican immigrants, over half of each immigrant group feels able to at least speak English well. Yet 54 percent of Mexican immigrants cannot speak English well or at all.”⁷⁷ Gambetta and Gedrimaite acknowledge that many immigrants are able to use English to a degree of working proficiency, but that given the recent nature of Austin immigration, “it is no surprise then that an estimated 240,943 people speak a language other than English at home.”⁷⁸ We may therefore assert that language skills are one significant barrier to immigration success, particularly for immigrants from Mexico. Even for those immigrants who have a working knowledge of English, however, children growing up in households where English is not commonly spoken may struggle to integrate with their peers in the early school years.

Language ability and national origin are not the only ways in which immigrant populations differ from the native population of Austin, however. Immigrants to Austin in the past several decades have been predominantly male, according to Skop, who explains that “nearly 59 percent of Austin’s Mexican immigrant population and 58 percent of Austin’s Indian immigration population is male.”⁷⁹ Skop concludes that these major differences between the immigrant and longer-term resident populations of Austin indicate that “such dramatic change in the social and cultural landscapes as a result of both legal and undocumented immigration has not come without some signs of strain and unease.”⁸⁰

Current Austin Welcoming Initiatives

The city of Austin has declared its intention to provide both education and information to new immigrants while simultaneously putting more focus on ways to involve the receiving community. Such action is taken primarily through its offer of “Welcome to

⁷⁷ Skop 8-9.

⁷⁸ Gambetta and Gedrimaite 5.

⁷⁹ Skop 7.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 14.

Austin Orientation Sessions” and the “International Welcome Ambassadors Program.”⁸¹ According to Austin’s local government website, orientation courses “explain how to navigate through Austin’s systems and are designed to help immigrant families feel more comfortable with local schools, law enforcement, public transportation, finances, housing, how to start a small business and how to access City resources such as public libraries.”⁸² This aspect of Austin’s efforts closely resembles the decades-long approach in most of the United States. Immigrants are taught how to mold themselves to American cultural expectations and given the tools to participate in democratic society and in the American economy. For Austin, this information for new immigrants is categorized under the Economic Development Department of the city, seemingly in recognition of the economic impact that new immigrants may have on the city. Regarding the Welcome Ambassador Program, the following goals are outlined: (1) “Provide international newcomers with a point of contact for any questions about life in Austin and to familiarize them with all that our community has to offer,” and (2) “Introduce international newcomers and all Austinites to community groups that contribute to the multiculturalism and cultural awareness of our city.”⁸³ This aspect of immigrant integration compliments efforts to alter the behavior and customs of the immigrants themselves, facilitating exchange between immigrants and the majority population in a practical, achievable manner.

A program similar to the Welcome Ambassadors program, known as the Community Facilitators Volunteer Program, engages volunteer liaisons and the Austin Police Department’s Office of the Community Liaison to work between and among various Asian communities in Austin, Mexican immigrant populations, and Austin’s police department. These efforts “allow the Asian community to interact with police officers in a non-threatening environment and discuss the issues and challenges that are relevant to these

⁸¹ International Welcome Program for Austin, Texas: Parent site.

⁸² Ibid., “Orientation Sessions.”

⁸³ Ibid., “Welcome Ambassadors.”

communities.”⁸⁴ This effort qualifies as a novel welcoming initiative primarily because it does not focus exclusively on training immigrants to interact with police officers in the United States. Instead, it also teaches police officers how to interact with immigrants who might be unaware of American customs in interacting with the police force. In addition to this type of integration education for new immigrants, “a cultural diversity panel made up of representatives from several Asian groups was formed to present diversity training to all new Austin Police Department Cadets.”⁸⁵ This program is an ideal embodiment of the aims of receiving community initiatives, as it approaches immigrant acculturation from both the immigrant and host community perspective.

Dayton, Ohio: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

Although Dayton’s current relationship with immigrant integration is rooted in a post-WWII economic crisis, immigration is hardly a new phenomenon in the city. This stands in sharp contrast with Austin, Texas, which was settled primarily by Germans and Czechs in the 19th Century and which thereafter experienced little immigration until the 1990s. Dayton, however, began to receive immigrants during the early post-Revolutionary period in American history.⁸⁶ The opportunity to perform manual labor has also proven attractive for immigrants in Dayton for centuries, as even in the 19th Century, many sought to contribute to the construction of “the numerous canals constructed during the 1820s and 1830s.”⁸⁷ These canal workers were primarily workers of Irish origin who sought to escape poor conditions in Ireland, as many were “unable to pay mortgages for their land due to the poor potato crop.”⁸⁸ The Irish continued to migrate to Dayton and Ohio throughout the 19th Century, when they were joined by immigrants from the rest of the United Kingdom, Germany, and Eastern

⁸⁴ Gambetta and Gedrimaite 6.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 6.

⁸⁶ Ohio History Central, “Irish Ohioans.”

⁸⁷ Ibid., “Irish Ohioans.”

⁸⁸ Ibid., “Irish Ohioans.”

Europe.⁸⁹ Ohio History Central, which creates online archives of primary source documents related to Ohio History, confirms that 19th Century immigrants arrived in ever greater numbers. The population of Ohio increased from 328,249 immigrants in 1860 to 458,734 in 1900.⁹⁰ During the same period of immigration increase, the percentage of Ohio's population born outside American soil decreased from 14% to 11%.⁹¹ We can assume, therefore, that more immigrants began to settle and raise families in the state of Ohio. The immigrants were permanent rather than migrant workers who eventually returned home.

When the industrial revolution reached the city of Dayton, European immigrants followed soon after. Despite this massive movement of migrants, however, Stanley R. Cichanowicz asserts that "little or nothing was written of these people."⁹² The little we do know centers on the nationalities of the immigrants, and Cichanowicz claims that factory work "enticed many Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Germans and Irishmen to come [to Dayton] and settle within its boundaries."⁹³ Aside from minor accounts about the origins of people who came to Dayton in the early 20th Century, we know little of the immigrants themselves or their experience with the process of integration with Dayton's native population.

Dayton's more recent history with immigrants is again connected with its reputation as a center of manufacturing and industry. World War II brought a welcome boost to the Dayton economy, when "Dayton's population rose 15.7 percent between 1940 and 1950 and another 7.6 percent in the next decade."⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the manufacturing boom did not last long after the war, and the city was no longer able to sustain population growth through immigration. Andrew O'Reilly notes that a jobs crisis arose and that "as more and more

⁸⁹ Ohio History Central, "German Ohioans."

⁹⁰ Ibid., "German Ohioans."

⁹¹ Ibid., "German Ohioans."

⁹² Cichanowicz, "The Kossuth Colony and Jacob D. Moskowitz."

⁹³ Ibid., "The Kossuth Colony and Jacob D. Moskowitz."

⁹⁴ O'Reilly, "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

businesses left for cheaper, non-union labor in the Sun Belt and overseas in the 1970s and 80s, Dayton's population began to hollow out."⁹⁵ Dayton's population declined more than 40% in the four decades between 1970 and 2010.⁹⁶

Current Dayton Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

Despite this dramatic decline in manufacturing and the subsequent devastation of the workforce, Dayton has once again begun to attract immigrants to the area. Although the city's comparatively liberal policies on immigration have generated controversy, the consequent rise in population is a welcome change for many residents and city officials. According to Andrew O'Reilly, the city's immigrant population is composed in large part by "a small but growing Latino community in Dayton, attracted by cheap housing, lenient immigration enforcement, and a city initiative meant to boost its population, and its economy, by welcoming immigrants."⁹⁷ Dayton is considered to be at the forefront of immigrant integration initiatives which focus not only on what the immigrants themselves can do, but also on making the city environment and residents as conducive to immigrant acculturation as possible.

Unlike Austin, whose immigrants are generally divisible into working-class migrants from Mexico and technologically skilled scientists from India, "Dayton has also attracted a large population of Ahiska Turks as well as a burgeoning refugee community from countries like Iraq and Burundi."⁹⁸ Julia Preston claims that the Turkish population is largely refugee in origin as well, for "most of the Turks in Dayton are refugees who fled persecution in Russia and other former Soviet Bloc countries."⁹⁹ Preston also explains that Dayton is far more diverse than is typically acknowledged, given that it has attracted "more than 10,000 Muslims

⁹⁵ O'Reilly, "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

⁹⁶ Ibid., "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

⁹⁷ Ibid., "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

⁹⁸ Ibid., "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice."

⁹⁹ Preston, "Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants."

from different countries; refugees from Burundi and Somalia; college students from China, India, and Saudi Arabia; Filipinos in health care jobs; and laborers from Latin America, many here illegally.”¹⁰⁰ Preston’s final assertion – that manual workers coming from Central and South America, together with Mexico, are often in the country without legal documentation – is one which disadvantaged Dayton residents find troubling. This resentment among the local population may decrease the effectiveness of welcoming initiatives pursued by the city and other local groups.

As for Dayton’s policy on illegal immigration, O’Reilly explains that “instead of checking people’s immigration status, Dayton takes the approach that as long as immigrants are contributing to the community and not committing crimes, the police and other local authorities won’t ask any questions.”¹⁰¹ Supporters contend that such an approach not only increases levels of trust between immigrant populations and the local police force, creating a safer community environment, but also means that limited financial and personnel resources are able to be devoted to more serious crimes. Opponents argue that these same resources should be devoted to long-term Dayton residents who are unemployed or otherwise dependent on social services. O’Reilly summarizes, “Despite the success stories and the jobs they created, some area residents wonder why the city is putting so much effort into attracting immigrants when there are so many long term residents unemployed and looking for work.”¹⁰² Despite the tensions between residents who are angered by the allocation of services and resources to new arrivals, according to O’Reilly, “Welcome Dayton is viewed used as a potential model for cities facing a similar plight, and is helping to change the perception of Dayton as a downbeat town to one on the move.”¹⁰³ The city’s welcoming

¹⁰⁰ Preston, “Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants.”

¹⁰¹ O’Reilly, “Dayton’s Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice.”

¹⁰² Ibid., “Dayton’s Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice.”

¹⁰³ Ibid., “Dayton’s Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice.”

initiatives may survive and succeed despite strong opposition from certain segments of Dayton's population.

Current Dayton Welcoming Initiatives

Austin, with its reputation as a liberal hub of Texas, is generally thought to be more able to solve the problem of disaffected immigrants as compared to working-class cities such as Dayton, Ohio. For this reason or others, Dayton has approached its immigrant population challenges in very different ways than Austin, though with similar intentions and successful results. One example is the way that the "Welcome Dayton" informational materials offer personal stories of both high and low-profile citizens and residents of Dayton who have come to realize the significance of immigration. Such accounts include one from the Dayton Chief of Police, a trusted community figure, who adeptly outlines one of the greatest challenges for law enforcement officials when it comes to new immigrants. He asks, "Laws vary from culture to culture. So what do you do when you're leading the charge to uphold the law in a community filled with diverse races and ethnicities? How does local law enforcement send a message of peace, respect, and cooperation to a diverse immigrant community?"¹⁰⁴ The Chief expands upon this challenge, stating how, for example, immigrants from some countries tend to interact with law enforcement officers in very different ways than the native population does. At a routine traffic stop, some immigrants may get out of their cars as quickly as possible. While such action may be routine or required in countries abroad, in the U.S. it might signal something more hostile to a police officer. To solve problems such as these, Dayton distributes informational pamphlets to new arrivals, instructing them about common ways to interact with the police and other authority figures. Additionally, every Dayton police officer undergoes training not only about the significant immigrant populations in the city,

¹⁰⁴ Biehl, "My Story."

but also about ways to make themselves perceived as a more “legitimate authority.” Mr. Biehl summarizes how for Dayton police, ‘How we do’ is as important as ‘what we do.’”¹⁰⁵

In addition, the Dayton Police Department has paired with local legal non-profits in order to provide greater assistance to immigrant crime victims who hesitate to report violations because of their illegal or undocumented status. Also, Dayton provides ESOL classes and links to various helpful resources, and also sponsors the “Dayton World Soccer Games” every year, in which immigrants of various backgrounds participate together with local residents. As for whether or not their approach works, “The research shows welcoming programs in Ohio (like Welcome Dayton) lead to more immigrant entrepreneurs living in the state, in turn creating more jobs.”¹⁰⁶ Other services for immigrants which help welcome them into the Dayton community include certain “Local groups [which] gave courses for immigrants opening small businesses and helped families of refugees and foreign students.”¹⁰⁷ This effort focuses on removing barriers to employment and financial self-sufficiency, which is also being pursued in conjunction with Wright State University. Julie Preston writes that “city officials worked with Wright State University, a public institution, to find ways for immigrant doctors and engineers to cut through bureaucracy and gain certifications so they could practice in the United States.”¹⁰⁸ Immigrants able to harness their skills and training are afforded the opportunity to interact with people of similar skills and employment positions, which in turn could positively affect the attitudes of native residents towards further immigration to the city. Moreover, these programs are especially cost-effective, considering that “city officials say the whole program cost them one salary for a program coordinator and some snacks for meetings.”¹⁰⁹ Some changes, such as “tutoring for foreign students, support networks to help entrepreneurs clear complex bureaucratic hurdles,

¹⁰⁵ Biehl, “My Story.”

¹⁰⁶ City of Dayton, “Research: Ohio Sees Economic Benefit from Immigrant Entrepreneurs.”

¹⁰⁷ Preston, “Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants.”

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., “Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants.”

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., “Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants.”

and translation services to help immigrants integrate into the community” focus more on the immigrants themselves. Other efforts, like the fact that “libraries began stocking books in new languages” and “police officers were directed not to check the immigration status of victims or witnesses of crimes, or of people suspected of minor offenses”¹¹⁰ are more ostensibly directed towards the native Dayton population. In either case, despite some resistance from Dayton’s low income and unemployed residents, the results of the implemented welcoming programs appear to have dramatically improved the lives of immigrants and the city of Dayton itself.

Nashville, Tennessee: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

Early immigration history in Tennessee (and Nashville in particular) is characterized by attempts to attract sought-after immigrants from “desirable” countries of Europe and to discourage migrants arriving from other countries, especially from Italy. Rowland T. Berthoff, specialist in approaches to immigration in the American south, notes that in the late 1860’s, in addition to creating “handbooks and [sending] agents to the North and to Europe,” Tennessee lawmakers “chartered companies in 1869 and 1870 to promote immigration and to secure a direct steamship line between Europe and the South.”¹¹¹ Acknowledging that Italians faced general discrimination throughout the United States, Berthoff describes how many in the American south distinguished between immigrants from north Italy, which were “more readily accepted,” and those from “south Italy and Sicily” who “were subjected to the most antagonism.”¹¹² This approach to drawing immigrants to Nashville continued for the next several decades. Even in 1906, Tennessee residents expressed a “preference for English, Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians and hostility toward Italians.”¹¹³ It is significant to note that the

¹¹⁰ Altman, “One Ohio City’s Growth Strategy? Immigrants.”

¹¹¹ Berthoff 337.

¹¹² Ibid. 344.

¹¹³ Ibid. 349-350.

Irish were more readily welcomed in the American south than in the north, where they frequently faced discriminatory practices in employment and access to housing.

The next major wave of immigration to Nashville did not occur until the 1990s. Jamie Winders, whose academic interests focus in part on the changing immigration landscape of Nashville in the past several decades, emphasizes the “speed and scope of changes that Latino migration precipitated in Nashville and the visibility that Latinos commanded in public discourse in the late 1990s.”¹¹⁴ Winders highlights how easy it was for Nashville residents to perceive changes to their city made by immigrants, citing how “By 1996, Nashville had thirteen Spanish-language church programs, almost thirty Hispanic-owned restaurants, twenty-two Hispanic soccer teams, two Spanish-language newspapers, and two Spanish radio stations.”¹¹⁵ By the end of the century, few people remembered the discrimination faced by Italians in the early 1900s. Therefore, the late 20th Century shifts in population seemed new and radical to residents of Nashville. For the long-term resident population of the city, “when Latino migration to Nashville began to accelerate in the 1990s, it constituted a rapid and unprecedented development.”¹¹⁶ This decade-long immigration wave set the scene for discrimination and resentment for Nashville’s growing immigrant community.

Current Nashville Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

Groups such as the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition contrast the difficulties faced in Tennessee as compared to other regions of the U.S. that have experienced similarly high rates of immigration. Although several American states underwent a surge of Latino immigration in the 1990s, the organization cites Tennessee as having “the sixth fastest rate of immigrant growth (169%) and the fourth fastest rate of Latino growth (278%) of any

¹¹⁴ Winders 257.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 257.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 256.

state in the country.”¹¹⁷ According to the advocacy group, the resulting “demographic shift has made many within the state uneasy.”¹¹⁸ Such “unease” however, appears to be a euphemistic term when applied to the state as a whole, for the approach to immigrants is deeply negative or discriminatory in certain cases. The Tennessee coalition holds that “this unease has been exploited by several different groups and individuals, including opportunistic politicians, white supremacist groups such as the KKK, and ratings-hungry radio talk show hosts.”¹¹⁹ The exploitation of immigrants by politicians for political gain is certainly not isolated to the state of Tennessee, and is found in particularly high concentrations in Nashville.

Mention of the KKK by the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition hints that attitudes toward immigrants in Tennessee and Nashville may be inextricably be tied to lingering racial tensions in the southern United States. The American Immigration Council describes how “in Nashville, many immigrant-owned restaurants representing many countries of origin have appeared.... Cuban, Indian, Kurdish, Colombian, Turkish, and Mediterranean foods, among others, are found in this south Nashville neighborhood.”¹²⁰ Immigrants from these countries and region represent, in large part, non-Caucasian populations and for this reason may further stand out to white-identifying residents of the city. Jamie Winders argues that discussion about the relationship between race and societal divisions remains taboo in Nashville society, and that “even getting key actors in immigrant and racial politics to discuss the topic proved to be difficult.”¹²¹ For Winders, “In southern cities such as Nashville, the complexities of racial and ethnic interactions sit uneasily within broad-brush claims about definite regional trends, not least because these patterns of ethnic and racial conflict and

¹¹⁷ Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition, “The Welcoming Tennessee Initiative.”

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, “The Welcoming Tennessee Initiative.”

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, “The Welcoming Tennessee Initiative.”

¹²⁰ “Tennessee: Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Innovation, and Welcoming Initiatives in the Volunteer State.”

¹²¹ Winders 258.

coalition are still under design and discussion.”¹²² Nashville’s status as a city whose racial, ethnic, and social identities are not yet solidified necessarily means that immigrants, particularly immigrants of color, are met with resistance when trying to locate a place in Nashville society.

While voices like those of Jamie Winders paint a bleak portrait of Nashville life for new immigrants, there are other scholars who assert that Nashville has undergone a significant transformation as a result of more recent welcoming initiatives. Lubell and Han argue that “between 2006 and 2009, Nashville’s climate for immigrants was transformed from one that was often hostile to immigrants – as was evidenced by the rise of English-only proposals by members of the metro council – to one that is arguably the most welcoming in the entire southeastern U.S.”¹²³ Other evidence also supports the transformation narrative for Nashville, praising the shift in approach to immigrants and the consequent economic and social benefits that have been reaped. Rachel Peric claims that “immigrants attracted to the region have increased the county’s housing wealth by nearly \$1 billion over a 10-year span...”¹²⁴ She adds that there is a demonstrable connection between the city’s recent increase in jobs and its growing immigrant population, and that “a more inclusive and diverse environment has also been a magnet for young people, helping reshape Nashville...”¹²⁵ Although not directly addressed, we can assume that Peric’s mention of “young people” implies that Nashville now has more young, immigrant workers to support its retired and unemployed than in the past. Lubell and Han add that “Immigrants are overrepresented among the self-employed: they make up 12% of the total population but 13.9% of small

¹²² Winders 267.

¹²³ Lubell and Han, “As President Heads to Nashville, Communities Across the U.S. Follow Nashville’s Lead in Welcoming Immigrants.”

¹²⁴ Peric, “Welcoming Immigrants Helps Cities Succeed.”

¹²⁵ Ibid., “Welcoming Immigrants Helps Cities Succeed.”

business owners,¹²⁶ meaning that immigrants in the city have proven to be successful as entrepreneurs.

Finally, Tennessee immigrants are said to “contribute to Tennessee’s economic growth and competitiveness by earning degrees in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields from the state’s research universities.”¹²⁷ In some fields of STEM higher education, new immigrants outnumber candidates who are natural-born American citizens. In fact, “In 2009... almost 60 percent of graduates earning PhDs in engineering in Tennessee were not born in the U.S.”¹²⁸ We may therefore conclude that as a whole, Nashville and Tennessee immigrants have proven beneficial to both the state economy and brain power. There is a division in scholarship, however, regarding the extent to which the benefits brought by immigrants in Nashville are recognized by the wider population.

Current Nashville Welcoming Initiatives

Having established that immigrants are net contributors to Nashville in terms of economics, it is necessary to analyze the ways in which Nashville pursues a welcoming environment for its immigrant residents. Nashville is the leading city of the “Welcoming Tennessee” initiative, and has adopted policies different from either Austin or Dayton. One example of this is Nashville’s recognition that because most of its residents are religious, events created in tandem with faith-based organizations have proven especially successful in integrating immigrants.¹²⁹ This is likely because people tend to have deeper trust in those with whom they worship and attend religious services, so an invitation to participate in immigration dialogue from a fellow church-goer may carry more weight than one that arrives, for example, in the mail. This approach also generates opportunity for city residents to

¹²⁶ Lubell and Han, “As President Heads to Nashville, Communities Across the U.S. Follow Nashville’s Lead in Welcoming Immigrants.”

¹²⁷ “Tennessee: Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Innovation, and Welcoming Initiatives in the Volunteer State.”

¹²⁸ “Tennessee: Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Innovation, and Welcoming Initiatives in the Volunteer State.”

¹²⁹ Welcoming Tennessee: Parent site.

interact with new immigrants in places with significant migrant populations of the Muslim faith.¹³⁰ Even the language of the Tennessee welcoming initiative website is remarkably inclusive, defining the state's goal as "increasing understanding of how new Tennesseans share our values, contribute to our economy, enhance our combined culture and strengthen our communities."¹³¹ In this case, immigrants are referred to as "new Tennesseans," rather than by labels which set them apart from the rest of the population.

Tennessee, like Austin, sponsors a "Welcoming Ambassadors" initiative through which "volunteer leaders serve their local communities by hosting conversations, organizing educational opportunities, and most importantly being a resource and spokesperson on behalf of Tennessee's newest neighbors." Other volunteers focus on pushing legislation through local and state governments, facilitating dialogue between new immigrants and the receiving community, or compelling the media to cease "dividing our communities with messages of intolerance and conflict." Among its more original efforts, "Welcoming Tennessee has collaborated with film makers like the BeCause Foundation and Nashville Public Television to help create educational documentaries about Tennessee's newest neighbors."¹³² Rachel Peric concludes that taken as a whole, "What we've learned is cities that intentionally plan for demographic change and focus on becoming more inclusive can reap economic benefits."¹³³ For Peric, Nashville is a stand-out example of immigrant integration success because "government, nonprofit and business partners have come together to invest in immigrant integration."¹³⁴ This multi-sector cooperation is likely an excellent model for other cities concerned about the integration of their immigrants.

¹³⁰ Downs-Karkos 6.

¹³¹ Welcoming Tennessee: Parent site.

¹³² Welcoming Tennessee: Parent site.

¹³³ Peric, "Welcoming Immigrants Helps Cities Succeed."

¹³⁴ Ibid., "Welcoming Immigrants Helps Cities Succeed."

Halifax, Nova Scotia: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

Given Nova Scotia's coastal location, it has historically been the first stop for many immigrants arriving to Canada by ship.¹³⁵ Halifax has also been host to a diversity of immigration over the past century, and also has a history of migration due to slavery. In fact, Nova Scotia is "the birthplace of Canada's Black community,"¹³⁶ and also claims a significant Jewish population. The Jewish collective was established and began to grow throughout the 1920s, and today is a self-described community which "continues to make history and struggle for a definition" in Halifax.¹³⁷ Aside from these brief mentions of historical migration to Halifax, there is little indication of any historical disruption in the city as a result of new immigrant populations. This may be due to the influence of the Canadian government, which largely attempts to present Canada in a positive light for immigrants, or it may be the case that past immigrant integration in Nova Scotia is an under-researched topic.

Current Halifax Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

At present, Halifax stands apart from the U.S. cities thus far explored in this thesis, in the sense that there is a notable lack of information available on the problematic nature of integrating immigrants in the Nova Scotia capital. This apparent absence of negative press about immigration could be a result of the Canadian government controlling public conversation about the topic of immigration, or a reflection of the reality that immigration is still a relatively new phenomenon in the city and has yet to disrupt the Halifax social fabric or attract significant negative attention.

In either case, the reality remains that Halifax population growth is in decline, and the city as a whole is eager to attract new immigrants who can curtail population loss.¹³⁸ The Halifax Regional Municipality portrays the city as highly immigrant-friendly and open-

¹³⁵ Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21.

¹³⁶ African Nova Scotian Tourism Network, "Cultural Assets of Nova Scotia."

¹³⁷ Atlantic Jewish Council, "The Jewish Community of Halifax."

¹³⁸ Bundale and Jeffrey, "Report: Population Plan Needed for Halifax."

minded city, citing that “as of the 2011 National Household Survey, there were 31,260 immigrants living in Halifax – 8.1 per cent of the total population. Of these, 26.6 per cent — 8,305 people in all — arrived between 2006 and 2011.”¹³⁹ This surge in recent immigration brought newcomers from “the United Kingdom, United States, other places of birth in Asia, Lebanon, China, India, other places of birth in Africa, Philippines, Germany, [and] other places of birth in Americas.”¹⁴⁰ Halifax’s greatest challenge in regards to immigration does not appear to be in attracting immigrants to the city or region.

The city does, however, experience difficulty in long term retention of the immigrants who do arrive. Morley and MacLeod describe how “migration west jumped significantly in the last year as more new labour market entrants opted to take their chances out West.”¹⁴¹ In order to preserve the health of the city, according to Morley and MacLeod “a population growth strategy for the city and province must focus on stemming the outflow of youth from the region and increasing the attraction and retention of immigrants.”¹⁴² While Halifax has managed to maintain 70% “of the 17,000 international immigrants that moved to Halifax between 2001 and 2011,” they admit that “immigrant retention in Halifax is still comparatively low.”¹⁴³ It appears that while Halifax purports to be an attractive city for immigrants and the message does initially seem to appeal to relocating immigrants, other factors eventually encourage these same immigrants to relocate soon after arrival.

There are indications that Halifax may not be as welcoming of a city as it claims to be. In a publication for a conference on migration edited by J.S. Frideres, scholars argue that “the same general processes that marginalize women, visible minorities, Aboriginal peoples and persons with disabilities, also marginalize immigrants. This encourages visible minority immigrants to move in order to seek more compatible life and work in more diverse

¹³⁹ Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, “Halifax Regional Municipality.”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., “Halifax Regional Municipality.”

¹⁴¹ Morley and MacLeod 2.

¹⁴² Ibid. 7.

¹⁴³ Ibid. 13.

environments.”¹⁴⁴ Nova Scotia and Halifax are said to have difficulty overcoming their reputation as “small, traditional, conservative centres” when it comes to immigration.¹⁴⁵ Academics Kronstal and Grant confirm this theory, arguing that “thick social networks that link locals and that absorb newcomers coming from within Canada may prove somewhat exclusionary to international migrants” in Halifax.¹⁴⁶ This challenge, according to the pair, has proven detrimental to Halifax’s ability to attract immigrants who could contribute to the province economy over a long span of time. I hypothesize that the social exclusion of Halifax immigrants is related to the fact that Halifax welcoming initiatives focus almost exclusively on gaining employment for new immigrants, and less on other social dimensions of the host community. This assertion will be explored further in the following section.

Current Halifax Welcoming Initiatives

Despite not being an official member of the “Welcoming America” parent organization, the city of Halifax has distinguished itself from others in Canada with its increasingly popular “Connector Program.” The homepage of the project explains, “The Halifax Connector Program is a simple but effective referral process that helps immigrants, international students and young and emerging talent build a professional network, and connect with job opportunities to help them settle successfully in Halifax, Nova Scotia.”¹⁴⁷ This program therefore focuses much more on incorporating immigrants with business potential into the local community and spreading awareness of the economic advantages immigrants bring to a city. This approach contrasts sharply with social integration efforts in Austin, Nashville, or Dayton in the United States. In the Halifax program, an immigrant is paired with a “Connector” figure, that is, someone with experience or contacts in the immigrant’s area of expertise or interest. The program does not end here, however. In

¹⁴⁴ Cassin and Divine 69.

¹⁴⁵ Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre: Annual Report 2004-2005, 3.

¹⁴⁶ Kronstal and Grant 5.

¹⁴⁷ Halifax Connector Program: “How It Works.”

addition, “Connectors are asked to refer the Participant to a minimum of three people in their network, and then each of these people is asked to refer the Participant to three more. These referrals may be potential employers, influential leaders within their industry or other people who will benefit from meeting with a skilled professional.” In this way, Halifax centers its efforts on the “contact” and “communication” elements of immigrant integration described in the Welcoming America program outline.¹⁴⁸ The aim of the project is also more specifically targeted than we find in the programs of Welcoming Cities in the U.S., in the sense that “as participants meet with business and community leaders in Halifax, they gain a better understanding of the local job market, learn about the community, and are exposed to business and career opportunities available in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This simple, yet highly effective process significantly increases the individual’s chances of finding employment in his or her field.”¹⁴⁹ All integration efforts in Halifax are based upon access to the labor market for immigrants.

Because the aim of the Halifax Connector Program is more clearly defined than the projects to promote tighter social integration in Austin, Nashville, or Dayton, the results of the program are also easier to measure. From July 2009 to March 2014, in a span of nearly five years, Halifax reports that “1,022 Connectees” and “641 Connectors” participated with an impressive result of “447 jobs found.”¹⁵⁰ While fewer than 500 jobs may not seem a significant victory, considering the fact that this program does not require increased government funding or bureaucracy, this method for immigrant employment placement is highly fruitful.

Halifax also offers typical immigrant services such as English language instruction.¹⁵¹ Other efforts focus not only on pairing immigrants with people who can connect them to job

¹⁴⁸ Downs-Karkos, “The Receiving Communities Toolkit,” 1-31.

¹⁴⁹ Halifax Connector Program: “How It Works.”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., Parent site.

¹⁵¹ Halifax Public Libraries, “English Language Learning.”

opportunities, but on following up with immigrants and their employers after contracts have been signed and the immigrant starts a new job position. The Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia interacts with the Halifax community primarily by providing a number of services to employers who already employ immigrants or who seek to do so. From programs such as “English in the workplace” to “On-Site Recruitment and Information Sessions (ORIS),” employers who seek new hires have the opportunity to “send their job descriptions to ISANS to meet their recruitment needs.” Additionally, the association recruits “practice interviewers,” or people from the city business community who can assist recent immigrants in preparing for interviews, and “cross cultural workplace training,” which educates people in an immigrant’s workplace to be more aware of cross-cultural challenges that often arise. On the social side of their efforts, the Immigrant Services Association supports “community building through gardening” in addition to an “immigrant health clinic project.”¹⁵² In sum, this organization, together with the government of Nova Scotia, focuses on “Welcoming Workplaces” which involve employers in the success of immigrants. Employers can receive assistance in cultural communication, developing inclusive HR policies, and with the legal requirements of hiring foreign workers.¹⁵³ All of these employer-focused practices would likely benefit European cities, such as Prague or Birmingham, which chose to engage them.

Birmingham, UK: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

In sharp contrast to the North American cities thus far explored, the United Kingdom’s Birmingham has a reputation for being anti-immigrant which extends as far back as the conclusion of WWII. Although Jewish and Irish immigrants received a fair amount of negative attention and disparaging treatment during this period, negative attitudes towards immigrants were directed in particular at workers arriving from the West Indies. Lydia

¹⁵² Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia.

¹⁵³ Nova Scotia Immigration, “Help for employers.”

Lindsey researches “the plight of the West Indian people who migrated from the Caribbean to Britain during the period of de jure unrestricted and high immigration, 1948 to 1962.”¹⁵⁴ At the time, she writes, Birmingham was attractive to West Indian immigrants “because it is the largest industrial city in England and was second only to London in the number of West Indians who lived there.”¹⁵⁵ However, despite the historical colonial relationship between Great Britain and the West Indies, West Indian immigrants experienced numerous economic and social challenges, including severe discrimination, upon arrival to Birmingham.

Lindsey explains that discrimination against immigrants reached such a high peak in the post-WWII decades in Birmingham that it resulted in what she has termed a “split-labor market within the parameters of the British work force,” wherein the “racial and economic barriers encountered by West Indian laborers” were so significant that there were essentially two labor markets operating in the city – one of native Britons, and one for immigrants of other races.¹⁵⁶ City officials recognized the issue and did take steps to remedy the situation for recent immigrants to the city. However, “Although Birmingham was considered a leader in race relations because of the appointment of a Liaison Officer for Coloured People, the first such appointment in the nation, its actions were limited.”¹⁵⁷ There are no indications in existing research that the Liaison Officer accomplished what the position was intended. Rather, relations between the native and immigrant populations in Birmingham remained tense and there were often “violent outbursts between white and West Indian workers.”¹⁵⁸ In many cases, black workers were also blamed for creating a housing shortage. The city tried to dispel this myth through the distribution of pamphlets, but failed to make any significant impact on the relations between West Indies migrants and white Britons.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁴ Lindsey 85.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 85.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. 83.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 87.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. 87.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. 88.

Birmingham is, in many ways, similar to North American cities such as Nashville, Austin, or Dayton. Rises in negative and even violent attitudes toward immigrants in each of these cities generally followed a period of rapid immigration increase. The same is true of Birmingham, where “during the immediate post-war period, Britain was largely a racially homogeneous society stratified by a rigid class system.” Because most Birmingham residents were white, “for the majority of West Indian migrants to Birmingham, the point of entry into the labor market, like the Irish and the Jewish immigrants, was at the bottom.”¹⁶⁰ The final outcome for Irish and Jewish immigrants was far better than that for West Indies immigrants, for eventually “Irish and Jewish workers were integrated into the British working class.”¹⁶¹ Those from the West Indies, however, have remained permanent outsiders in Birmingham society.

Integrating immigrants who differ from the majority of Britons in terms of their race has always been a priority for government agencies and other organizations working on immigrant integration in Birmingham. Economic downturns have proven to be particularly tense times in immigrant and race relations in the city, specifically since the end of WWII. Jeanette Money notes that the 1950s and later decades were an especially difficult time for immigrants who desired to work in manufacturing in Birmingham, given that post-war manufacturing in the city saw “manufacturers [who] either went out of business or moved to the surrounding counties.”¹⁶² The perceived risk of accepting immigrants to a city during a time of shortage in manufacturing jobs soon led to the creation of the Birmingham Immigration Control Association.¹⁶³

Roger Karapin points out the role of the Birmingham Immigration Control Association (BICA) in anti-immigration policies, particularly those aimed at black

¹⁶⁰ Lindsey 90.

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 90.

¹⁶² Money 696.

¹⁶³ Ibid. 696.

immigrants. Racist tendencies, including the “Conservative Party dissatisfaction with black immigrants” heralded the founding of several social organizations whose goal was to exclude West Indies immigrants in particular.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, although Irish immigrants tended to acculturate and find work in Birmingham more easily than did black immigrants in the second half of the 20th Century, IRA activities in the city, particularly the “pub bombs in Birmingham in 1974,” led to further mistreatment of the Irish immigrant population as a whole.¹⁶⁵

Current Birmingham Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

The current greatest challenge facing Birmingham in terms of immigrant integration is the widely reported prediction that by 2020, if not sooner, Birmingham will no longer be a majority white city. Ian Cole and Ed Ferrari point out that recent change in demographics has been drastic and rapid for Birmingham, which as of 2001 “had a population of 977,000, of which just under 30% defined themselves as belonging to a ‘non-White’ minority.”¹⁶⁶ The pair does emphasize that even when white Britons become the minority in Birmingham, “White British people will remain the city’s single largest ethnic group.”¹⁶⁷ This fact appears to be of little comfort to the native Birmingham population, however, which instead tends to focus on the loss of British identity they fear the city will experience. Cole and Ferrari highlight the way that such anxieties have already translated into housing segregation experienced by minorities, especially minorities of color.¹⁶⁸

Other academics, including Ludi Simpson, have focused on expected shifts in the working-age population of Birmingham over the next 10–15 years. Simpson summarizes, “The working age population will grow as whole by 62 thousand in the next 20 years, most of

¹⁶⁴ Karapin 431.

¹⁶⁵ Panayi 146.

¹⁶⁶ Cole and Ferrari 64.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 64.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. 57-58.

this growth at older ages. Black and minority ethnic residents will make up 50% of the population aged 40-64 by 2026, where they are 25% in 2006.”¹⁶⁹ For our study, these figures indicate that the future may hold an increase in negative attitudes towards non-white immigrants in Birmingham, particularly if economic struggles endure and non-white immigrants seem to native residents to compete for limited jobs. Going forward, pro-immigrant initiatives, especially those which are aimed at changing the attitudes of Birmingham natives towards immigrants, will prove to be more necessary than in the past.

Current Birmingham Welcoming Initiatives

Initiatives in Birmingham directed at improving the lives of immigrants in the city have been led by three primary groups: the West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership (WMSMP), a multi-denominational religious group known as Restore, and the Birmingham New Communities Network. These organizations, together with other groups, will allow us to make a determination as to the overall availability of services for new immigrants. The extent to which these services are aimed at the host population of Birmingham will also be evaluated.

The West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership (WMSMP) offers services to immigrants in arenas as varied as securing accommodation in suitable living conditions, legal counsel in disputes with landlords or owners of property where immigrants reside, enrolling children in school, supporting “Primary Care Trust Asylum Leads and other relevant health networks in the region,” and finding employment under suitable working conditions. WMSMP states one of their objects is “to dispel myths about displacement caused by migrant workers and communicate the benefit of up-skilling this group to local employers,” an effort which is particularly important in Birmingham, given the history of negative and even violent treatment of migrant workers. This is one effort directed primarily at the receiving

¹⁶⁹ Simpson 1.

population, and aligns with the goals and efforts of the ‘Welcoming America’ organization previously discussed in this thesis. Additionally, as with many other organizations for immigrants in English-speaking countries, WMSMP offers English language instruction to immigrants “ideally through working with their employers and local ESOL providers.” This, again, is an effort which attempts to influence the attitudes of the long-resident population of Birmingham. Finally, the group attempts “to respond positively to issues of community cohesion and tensions in areas where there are significant new migrant populations” and “to work with the media to challenge common misconceptions concerning new migrants.”¹⁷⁰ These final aims of the organization also focus on the receiving community of Birmingham, and indicate that the city is already moving in a progressive direction in regards to the integration of immigrants. Another organization, the Refugee and Migrant Centre (RMC) performs similar services which are targeted specifically at vulnerable migrant populations in Birmingham.¹⁷¹

Like Nashville, the city of Birmingham also has an organization which attempts to work through churches to promote better living conditions for immigrants in their city. The project is known as Restore, which is part of an organization called Birmingham Churches Together. The group describes its goals as “to welcome, include and assist integration of refugees and those seeking sanctuary from persecution.” Restore pursues this goal through “befriending, social activities, equipping refugees for work, [and] advocacy and awareness-raising.”¹⁷² Originally aimed at “Kosovans fleeing conflict and other asylum seekers arriving in our city due to the policy of dispersing them to be accommodated in cities across Britain,” Restore tries to change the minds of established Birmingham residents through “one-to-one befriending and [raising] awareness about refugee and asylum issues.”¹⁷³ A third organization

¹⁷⁰ West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership (WMSMP).

¹⁷¹ Refugee and Migrant Centre (RMC).

¹⁷² Restore. “Vision and Aims.”

¹⁷³ Ibid., “Vision and Aims.”

with a strong presence in Birmingham, the Birmingham New Communities Network, focuses almost completely on the immigrant him/herself rather than on the population of Birmingham. We may therefore conclude that while this organization offers valuable services to immigrants, such as advice about “benefits & housing,” “health activities” or “citizenship,” this immigrant-focused approach to integration is outdated and ineffective when evaluated in terms of overall impact on an immigrant’s ability to integrate into their new community.¹⁷⁴

Two other organizations active in Birmingham are more selective in terms of their target audience, though they do still contribute to immigrant integration. The Information Centre for Asylum and Refugees assists immigrants chiefly through its goal “to encourage understanding, public debate and policy making about Asylum and Refugees in the UK, grounded in accurate and academically sourced information.”¹⁷⁵ In comparison to other efforts taking place in Birmingham, this group is focused more directly on the receiving population of the UK. The Birmingham Asian Resource Centre – Care Champions Project is geared towards vulnerable populations in Birmingham who have originated in India, Bangladesh, and surrounding countries. It helps especially disabled persons and the elderly, and offers services in the native languages of these immigrants. This group’s efforts are aimed at the receiving population of Birmingham and offer “outreach services, support, guidance and advice” to caretakers of vulnerable immigrants.¹⁷⁶

Despite this apparent wealth of services for immigrants in Birmingham, most organizations still focus heavily on the immigrants themselves, rather than on changing entrenched, negative attitudes of native Britons towards immigrants. Wun Fung Chan highlights a pervasive problem in these organizations, even in those whose efforts are aimed at the receiving population of Birmingham. He points to flaws in the attempts to be more inclusive of immigrants in the city, accusing Birmingham of forcing immigrants to participate

¹⁷⁴ Birmingham New Communities Network (BNCN), “About Us.”

¹⁷⁵ Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR), “About Us.”

¹⁷⁶ Birmingham Asian Resource Centre: Home Page.

in integration efforts on the city's terms. Noting that Birmingham has recently pursued "a self-conscious effort to involve and reflect the city's diversity in the regeneration of what has officially been described as *cosmopolitan urban environment...*,"¹⁷⁷ Chan states that much of this effort has been focused on mere dialogue.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, writes Chan, "[Migrants] have found themselves recast as bridges to other worlds."¹⁷⁹ Essentially, in order to participate in Birmingham city life, immigrants are largely required to become public figures and representatives of the culture they have left. Chan suggests that "if Birmingham is to show its welcome, the city might consider showing its hospitality without asking for reciprocation or interrogating a migrant's identity."¹⁸⁰ While participating in cultural exchange events may be a strong priority for some immigrants to Birmingham, immigrants should have the opportunity to integrate into British life and to participate as residents of the city of Birmingham, not simply as representatives of their country or culture of origin.

Prague, Czech Republic: Historical Immigration Concerns, Challenges, and Successes

Radko Hokovsky and Jakub Janda, researchers for a Prague-based think tank, summarily describe Czech struggles with immigration prior to the end of Communist rule in 1989 as non-existent. They argue that "Czech asylum and immigration policies do not have a long history, especially given the political situation prior to 1989 that led to the former Czechoslovakia generating refugees rather than accepting them."¹⁸¹ Difficulties faced by immigrants in Czech society began, according to Hokovsky and Janda, in the 1990's, the same decade which saw significant rises in migrant populations in various North American cities. This assertion ignores the fact that the Czechoslovakia did experience immigration prior to 1989, particularly from other communist countries such as Vietnam and Russia.

¹⁷⁷ Chan 204

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. 205.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. 217.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. 217.

¹⁸¹ Hokovsky and Janda 1.

Viewing immigrant integration in Czechoslovakia as a non-issue prior to the end of the Cold War is misleading, and immigrant discrimination prior to 1989 may prove to be a fruitful field of research in the future. Such an investigation, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis, which does acknowledge that immigration to the Czech lands increased significantly after 1989. Since the fall of communism, the Czech Republic (formerly Czechoslovakia) has “changed from a country of emigration to a transit country and then a destination for immigration.”¹⁸² These shifts in the nature of immigration to the Czech Republic can be divided, according to Lenka Šišová, into three distinct stages which she describes as the “liberal, restrictionist, and new approaches periods.”¹⁸³ This paper will therefore focus on the post-1989 period which represents the most significant increase in immigration in Czech history.

Šišová characterizes the “liberal period” in Czech immigration as spanning 1990 – 1995, when the “Czech Republic was relatively open to foreign immigration.” During this stage, the Czech Republic faced a newfound need to create immigration laws that would both restrict and allow for beneficial immigration to the country. The period represents a time of economic transformation and a rapid transition into capitalism wherein immigrants were welcomed to contribute to the rising economy. Many immigrants entering the country in this period were of Czech ancestry and had decided to repatriate from Eastern European or Central Asian countries, among others.¹⁸⁴ Šišová claims that the second phase of Czech immigration, or the “restrictionist period,” lasted approximately 1995 – 2000. After the initial surge in the economy in the early 1990s, the Czech Republic experienced a “slowdown of economic growth and increasing unemployment.” According to Šišová, “unemployment was perceived as a result of immigration” by many Czechs during these years. This negative shift in terms of Czech attitudes towards immigrants coincided with Czech candidacy to the

¹⁸² Šišová 1.

¹⁸³ Ibid. 2.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 2-3.

European Union, which required Central European countries to secure their borders prior to becoming members of the union. These combined factors resulted in a far more limited immigration policy in general, and facilitated negative attitudes among Czechs towards the immigrants already present in their country.¹⁸⁵

The European Union became especially concerned with Czech border security due to the fact that “In the late 1990s, ‘Transit migration,’ defined as ‘migration to a country with the intention of seeking the possibility there to emigrate to another country as the country of final destination,’ became a significant problem for the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.”¹⁸⁶ Essentially, immigrants passed through these Central European countries with the aim of crossing unsecure borders into the economically stronger Western Europe. During these years, the Czech Republic’s status as an EU candidate country equated to having “no choice but to be vigilant in guarding their border to the West, and compliant with requests to take back illegal immigrants in order to stay in the good graces of EU governments.”¹⁸⁷ Secure borders essentially became synonymous with being “Western.”¹⁸⁸

Since 2000, however, Šišová argues that immigration policy and nativist attitudes toward immigrants have again shifted to cope with new immigrant demographics. This change represents a third period in Czech immigration history. The successful integration of immigrants, considering the sizeable increase in foreigners coming to the Czech Republic (and Prague in particular), has become a far greater priority for both the Czech government and its citizens.¹⁸⁹ Current challenges experienced in the Czech Republic vis-à-vis immigration will be explored further in the following section.

¹⁸⁵ Šišová 2-3.

¹⁸⁶ Vachudová 10.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 1.

¹⁸⁹ Šišová 3.

Current Prague Concerns, Challenges, and Integration Successes

This chapter will evaluate Prague's current challenges in regards to immigrant integration through a European-wide resource, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). In addition, I will examine official reports from the city of Prague about priorities in immigrant integration, and conclude with analyses by Czech academics about how well these efforts are being implemented in Prague.

MIPEX, produced by the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs and the Migration Policy Group, focuses largely on policy and implementation rather than local-level efforts examined in this paper. However, it does offer an indication of the situation and status of immigrants in the Czech Republic in general, including a highlight of major failures in Czech immigration policy that have slowed the progress of immigrant integration. In a summary of immigration in the Czech Republic during the 2008 global economic crisis, MIPEX concludes that during this period “non-EU residents, often young and temporarily employed in the most affected sectors, were disproportionately impacted, with unemployment rising and new immigration falling.”¹⁹⁰ As a whole, MIPEX asserts that “general access to the labour market remains better than most Central European countries.”¹⁹¹ Overall, when integration in terms of “access to nationality, anti-discrimination, family reunion for third-country nationals, education, and long term residence” were considered in comparison with the rest of Europe, the Czech Republic stands at the European average. As regards the “political participation of migrants,” however, the Czech Republic ranked far lower than most of Europe. Voting rights, among other rights to participate in public politics, therefore represent the aspect of immigrant integration which requires the most improvement in terms of Czech policy towards immigrants.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Migrant Integration Policy Index, “Czech Republic.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid., “Czech Republic.”

¹⁹² Ibid., “Czech Republic.”

Despite the apparent failures in Czech immigration policy to secure immigrant integration in the realm of political participation, this aspect of integration is not specifically named among the larger goals set out in Prague's Concept for the Integration of Immigrants. Instead, the vision for immigrant integration emphasizes four aspects of integration, including "knowledge of the Czech language (concentrated on both children and adults), economic and social self-sufficiency, orienting migrants in Czech society, and mutual relations between migrants and the majority society."¹⁹³ The concept also notes that just over 35% of migrants living in the Czech Republic reside in Prague, though these statistics may not include European Union citizens who are not required to register their presence in Prague (as is the case with 3rd country nationals).¹⁹⁴ Migrants in the Czech Republic are estimated to compose 4% of the total population of the country, though represent 13% of the population of the city.¹⁹⁵

Analyzing a slightly older version of the Prague Concept for the Integration of Immigrants (focusing on the years 2006 – 2008), Dusan Drbohlav notes that in the concept, "immigrant integration is defined as a two-way process of unifying local population and immigrants into a single society, where mutual accommodation by immigrants on one hand and the creation of conditions for immigrant integration in the host (receiving) society on the other are required."¹⁹⁶ This approach closely resembles that of the Welcoming America organization, at least in its officially-stated goal. Drbohlav explains that according to Prague immigrant integration strategy, "Both sides are required to participate – immigrants by a mutual accommodation and receiving society by a creation of favourable conditions for immigrant integration."¹⁹⁷ Measuring the extent to which these goals are pursued or met,

¹⁹³ Ministerstvo vnitra / Ministry of the Interior, "Konceptce hl. m. Prahy pro oblast integrace cizinců / Concept of the city of Prague for the area of the integration of foreigners," 9.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 10.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 10.

¹⁹⁶ Drbohlav 53.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 58.

however, is more difficult. Although it is possible to determine the number of migrant foreigners in the Czech Republic who are employed,¹⁹⁸ other data about migrant integration is either difficult to measure or simply has not been collected or made public. Such data includes, for instance, “other important aspects of socio-economic integration such as educational level, income level or quality of housing [which] cannot be measured via integration indicators due to unavailability or inaccessibility of background data.”¹⁹⁹

Hokovsky and Janda focus on other indicators of immigrant integration in the Czech Republic, noting that “The Czech Republic is primarily a target of economic migration, which is reflected in the average age of the immigrants (half of the immigrants are between the ages of 20 and 39, the percentage of children and seniors is insignificant).”²⁰⁰ Access to the labor market is consequently an important consideration for immigrants in the Czech Republic (and Prague in particular), and these figures match European averages. However, Hokovsky and Janda argue that Czech immigrants are not as fortunate when it comes to media coverage or access to citizenship. In the Czech Republic, they contend, “articles about immigrants in print media were neutral in 47% of cases, negative in 44% of cases and positive only in 7% of cases. Migration is thus generally perceived as having a negative connotation.”²⁰¹ These statistics indicate that working toward positive media representation represents an important future goal for those advocating for immigrant integration in the country. Additionally, despite the significant presence of minority groups such as Ukrainian and Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic, these groups “often do not obtain Czech citizenship” and therefore are “politically underrepresented at the national level, as well as being barely represented in municipalities.” Given that non-citizens do not possess voting rights in the Czech Republic, “immigration has not been a decisive topic in any elections

¹⁹⁸ Drbohlav 58.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. 60.

²⁰⁰ Hokovsky and Janda 1.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 1-2.

since 1990.”²⁰² Overall, it is clear that the Czech Republic has taken important steps forward in outlining aims to support the integration of immigrants in the country, and especially in Prague. Many of these goals, however, have not yet been reached.

Current Prague Welcoming Initiatives

Activities and programs at the city level which aim to support the successful integration of migrants in the Czech Republic are widespread, though the efficacy of these programs remains in question. Most literature approaches the problem of immigrant integration in Czech society as a relative non-issue, citing low levels of discrimination against foreigners in the country with some immigrant populations even perceived by the public as easy to integrate. The scholarship on the subject appears to lag behind more recent developments in immigration, including a recent influx of refugees from Syria to Europe, and a general increase in immigration from Muslim countries. I contend that the way that immigrants are perceived and integrated into Czech society over the next few years will define the course of Czech-immigrant relations for decades. For this reason, the implementation of more effective strategies for welcoming migrants into Czech society should be pursued as soon as possible, and these strategies must not ignore the role that receiving communities play in immigrant integration.

Dusan Drbohlav is one scholar who highlights the extent to which “foreigners’ adaptation to the requirements of Czech majority society is thought to be almost without problems.”²⁰³ Although he claims that “most district advisory boards did not notice any major signs of racism, xenophobia or discrimination” in the Czech Republic, he contradicts himself when he explains that “Czech nationals have a tendency to classify foreigners into different groups with some groups (originating from countries with similar cultural background) being

²⁰² Hokovsky and Janda 2.

²⁰³ Drbohlav 62.

better received than others (Arab and Asian communities are especially more negatively received).” It would therefore appear that Drbohlav does not perceive such “classification” as discriminatory. Additionally, he notes that “no political participation of foreigners was noticed” and that “cultural events prepared by foreigners to present their cultural traditions and habits were hardly anywhere noticed.”²⁰⁴ I argue that these study results indicate that while immigrants do not seem to pose difficulties or cause concern for Czechs as a whole, there are obvious gaps in the successful integration of migrants into Czech society. As more immigrants arrive from countries which are considered to be removed from Czech culture, the lack of immigrant integration structures in Prague will prove increasingly problematic. Action should be taken on immigrant integration prior to the moment when the issue becomes more divisive in Czech society.

Two scholars who examine the integration of foreigners at the local level in Czech society, Miroslava Rákoczyová and Robert Trbola, argue that integration attempts focused on the native Czech population are increasingly common and range from festivals, cultural presentations, and other events which allow foreigners to share in Czech culture.²⁰⁵ These efforts also allow Czechs to share in the culture of the migrants around them. Rákoczyová and Trbola do argue, however, that such opportunities for cultural exchange, despite being aimed at increasing tolerance and appreciation for migrants in Czech society, are difficult to finance. This challenge is especially pronounced in cities and villages outside of Prague where immigrant populations are lower and thus present less of an integration challenge.²⁰⁶ Although such examples of the inclusion of the receiving Czech community in immigrant acculturation efforts are documented, Rákoczyová and Trbola neglect to consider the fact that most Czechs who participate in such festivals and cultural exchanges already have a generally positive view of immigrants and foreign cultures. The people who most need to be

²⁰⁴ Drbohlav 62.

²⁰⁵ Rákoczyová and Trbola 48.

²⁰⁶ Ibid. 48.

targeted as part of host community efforts to integrate immigrants are unlikely to be reached or touched by cultural programming for voluntary participants.

Regarding the services offered to immigrants in and around Prague, there is a variety of ways that Czech NGOs reach out to the immigrant community and assist migrants with integration into life in the Czech capital. The Integration Centre of Prague (ICP), for instance, provides “social counselling, legal advice, accompaniment to offices, Czech language courses, courses of socio-cultural orientation, and access to informational resources.”²⁰⁷ Unfortunately, their Czech language courses are frequently filled to capacity, meaning that interested foreigners often lack the opportunity to participate. Actions targeted more at the Czech population than immigrants themselves include “cultural and community activities” where the Czech public can participate together with immigrants, and professional training, which focuses on helping businesses and employers develop intercultural communication skills and competency.²⁰⁸ The city of Prague also cooperates with the ICP to promote a more accurate and positive image of migrants in the city, including a campaign to change how immigrants are often portrayed in the media.²⁰⁹

Another popular organization, the Centre for the Integration of Foreigners, offers consultations on work and social issues, Czech language courses at reduced price, and the “Open Club for Open People” – a space where foreigners and members of the Czech public have the opportunity to come together and work on various projects.²¹⁰ Such services represent a step towards welcoming initiatives, but generally lack the necessary public outreach to be effective. At present, clubs and similar efforts only attract people who already approach the issue of migration positively and openly. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) supplies similar services, though is generally more focused on distribution

²⁰⁷ Integrační Centrum Praha / Integration Center of Prague (ICP). “Prague Metropolis For All, 5.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁰⁹ Ministerstvo vnitra / Ministry of the Interior, 36.

²¹⁰ Centrum pro integraci cizinců (CIC) / Centre for the Integration of Foreigners.

of publications and research on the issue of immigration than on services discussed above. These information campaigns help to dispel popular myths about immigrants who abuse social services or enter countries illegally.²¹¹ The Association for Integration and Migration (AIM) focuses largely on media and giving presentations of foreigners in a positive light. The association also provides legal and social counseling for migrants, especially in emergency situations. In a year-long project that ran throughout 2014 entitled “We Give Immigrants a Chance,”²¹² AIM worked with schools in order to connect Czech students and immigrants through various cultural events, from parties to workshops and “multicultural evenings with themes from various countries.”²¹³ Similar efforts focused on schools, wherein cultural exchanges reach even those Czechs who are comparatively closed to immigrants in their country, may prove more effective in the future than traditional multicultural programming.

The Multicultural Center of Prague describes goals and efforts which most closely align with the Welcoming Initiative ideas that have been popularized in American cities. The organization describes itself as “present[ing] to the general public various peoples and cultures as well as the ethnic and national minorities living in the Czech Republic.”²¹⁴ They sponsor photography and other exhibitions, work to make public libraries to be more migrant-friendly, conduct studies and research on related topics, and sponsor film screenings, readings, programming focused on children, a “soup competition,” and lectures and presentations – all of which are open to the public.²¹⁵ Unfortunately, this center is limited in outreach. Most of their efforts are concentrated in specific parts of Prague where immigrants congregate or live, rather than on the general population. Like AIM, the MCP also promotes multicultural education. The focus is not only on students in Czech schools, but also on Czech teachers. MCP notes that “the project activities are thus targeted on teachers of

²¹¹ International Organization for Migration (IOM), “About Us.”

²¹² Sdružení pro integraci a migraci / Association for Integration and Migration (AIM), “Projects.”

²¹³ Ibid., “What we do.”

²¹⁴ Multicultural Centre Prague / Multikulturní Centrum Praha (MCP).

²¹⁵ Ibid., “Cultural Events.”

secondary schools, concretely on providing them with tools on inclusive education so that they have concrete methods that can be used in schools.”²¹⁶ More extended outreach that mirrors the work of MCP is likely to prove highly effective in reconciling residents of the city of Prague to the immigrants who live among them.

Conclusion:
The Prospect of Success for Welcoming Initiatives in Prague and Birmingham

From petty theft to acts of terrorism, we know that crime of all types is more likely to thrive in divided communities with pockets of isolated minority populations who have been excluded from participation in democratic and economic life. Additionally, we know that immigrant communities too often remain a source of untapped economic capital, both in the United States and in countries around the world. For these two reasons, the Office of Public Engagement at the White House has stated, “Achieving full economic recovery and maintaining America’s competitive edge globally now and into the future will require communities to fully embrace their strongest resource – their people.”²¹⁷ While scholars and policy makers concur that more research is needed into the positive effects of immigrant integration, as well as into the most effective ways to achieve immigrant integration, I contend that methods proposed and executed by Welcoming America cities and the Halifax Connector Program are, for the moment, the best places to begin. North American cities as well as European cities such as Birmingham or Prague would benefit from adopting the principles utilized in Austin, Dayton, Nashville, Halifax, and other cities.

Birmingham, however, does not have an easy road ahead in terms of immigrant integration. Most welcoming initiatives are implemented in cities that have little history of immigration, and which suddenly experienced an influx of new immigrants in recent decades. This is true of Austin, Dayton, and Nashville. Birmingham, however, has allowed

²¹⁶ Multicultural Centre Prague / Multikulturní Centrum Praha (MCP), “Multicultural education.”

²¹⁷ White House Office of Public Engagement. “Building Welcoming Communities for All.”

discriminatory attitudes and policies towards immigrants to become entrenched in society, and therefore will find that integrating immigrants successfully will be a greater challenge than, for example, in Prague. Although making progress in terms of the integration of immigrant communities in Birmingham will be difficult, I argue that by adopting the approach of the ‘welcoming cities’ of North America, Birmingham will find that it is possible to stem the tide of immigrant mistreatment in the city. Specifically, moving forward, Birmingham should focus on ending the divide in its labor market. Using tactics such as those found in Halifax’s Connector Program, Birmingham would be able to connect more of its immigrant residents with higher quality jobs in the city. Birmingham will also have to do more to negate the negative image of immigrants in the media, and generate campaigns to counter false message about immigrants contributing to housing and job shortages.

In Prague, a number of efforts exist to aid the integration of immigrants into Czech society. However, the greatest weakness of these myriad services is the limited nature of their outreach in the city. Many of these programs fail to touch any Czech residents that do not voluntarily seek out multi-cultural programming. Additionally, the Czech Republic should seek to increase access to voting rights and the political participation of foreigners who have resided in the country for a significant period of time. Finally, cooperation between government agencies and NGOs should be radically improved, such that Prague begins to advertise itself as an immigrant-friendly city. Although Prague is not in the midst of a population crisis like Dayton or Halifax, the city can learn from cities such as Austin – cities which have to cope and manage with an influx of migrants who are attracted to the city for its economic opportunities. If Prague fails to take an active approach to the integration of immigrants and continues to rely on outdated strategies, especially those which are intended to force an immigrant to wholly assimilate to the customs and traditions of Czech residents, I

predict a swift rise in cases of discrimination and even violence against Prague's immigrants, especially those of Muslim backgrounds. Prague will follow the direction of Birmingham.

It has been suggested that moving forward, extensive comparative studies will be important in order to more clearly elicit factors which are particular to any given society and which have an impact of the experience of immigrants.²¹⁸ In short, despite the research deficit, there is little reason not to support the spread of the present manifestation of immigrant integration reform which has already begun in select cities of North America, though this should be done slowly and with the understanding that more statistical evaluation and qualitative comparisons are needed. With the cooperation of respected community leaders, together with smart government policy and the continued efforts of immigrant populations to assimilate, this paper confirms that we can teach long-established residents to be open to the possibility of a more cosmopolitan and more secure country.

²¹⁸ Reitz 1007.

Bibliography

- Bornstein, David. "Immigrants welcome here." *New York Times*, February 19, 2014. Accessed 20 February 2014. http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/02/19/immigrants-welcome-here/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0.
- Champlin, Dell. "Institutionalist Perspectives on Immigration Policy: An Update." *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. XLIV No. 2 (June 2010): 301-312.
- Downs-Karkos, Susan. "The Receiving Communities Toolkit: A Guide For Engaging Mainstream America In Immigrant Integration." *Welcoming America*: October 2011. Accessed May 15, 2014. http://www.welcomingamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Receiving-Communities-Toolkit_FINAL.pdf.
- Jimenez, Tomas R. "Immigrants in the United States: How Well Are They Integrating into Society?" Migration Policy Institute: May 2011. Accessed September 10, 2014. <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/integration-Jimenez.pdf>.
- Jones-Correa, Michael. "All Immigration is Local: Receiving Communities and Their Role in Successful Immigrant Integration." Center for American Progress: September 2011. Accessed May 3, 2014. <http://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/issues/2011/09/pdf/rci.pdf>.
- Migrant Integration Policy Index 2010. Accessed January 5, 2015. <http://www.mipex.eu/>.
- Penninx, Rinus. "Integration: The Role of Communities, Institutions, and the State." Migration Policy Institute: October 1, 2003. <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/integration-role-communities-institutions-and-state>.
- Reitz, Jeffrey G. "Host Societies and the Reception of Immigrants: Research Themes, Emerging Theories and Methodological Issues." *International Migration Review*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Winter, 2002): 1005-1019.
- The Economist. "What have the immigrants ever done for us?: Rather a lot, according to a new piece of research." *The Economist*, November 8, 2014.
- White House Office of Public Engagement. "Building Welcoming Communities for All." December 21, 2011. Accessed March 28, 2014. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/12/21/building-welcoming-communities-all>.
- Welcoming America: Parent site. Accessed 28 March 2014. <http://www.welcomingamerica.org/friends/>.
- Welcoming America: "About" section. Accessed 28 March 2014. <http://www.welcomingamerica.org/about-us/cities/>.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. *A Nation by Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. USA: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Austin

Austin Commission on Immigrant Affairs. "Austin Welcoming City Summit." Accessed May 15, 2014. <http://www.eventbrite.com/e/austin-welcoming-city-summit-registration-15095489014>.

Austin County, Texas. "Austin County History." Accessed January 15, 2015. http://www.austincounty.com/default.aspx?Austin_County/Austin.History.

City of Austin. "Austin Promotes Immigrant-Friendly, Welcoming Environment." Accessed April 15, 2014. <http://austintexas.gov/news/austin-promotes-immigrant-friendly-welcoming-environment>.

Gambetta, Ricardo and Zivile Gedrimaite. "Municipal Innovations in Immigrant Integration: 20 Cities, 20 Good Practices." Edited by Jamie Durana of the National League of Cities: Municipal Action for Immigrant Integration: September 2010. Accessed December 10, 2014. http://www.sustainablecitiesinstitute.org/Documents/SCI/Case_Study/Case_Studies_NLC_MunicipalInnovationsImmigrantIntegration_20-cities_sep10.pdf.

International Welcome Program for Austin, Texas: Parent site. Accessed 25 March 2014. <http://austintexas.gov/internationalwelcome>.

_____. "Orientation Sessions." Accessed April 15, 2014. <https://austintexas.gov/department/welcome-austin-orientation-sessions#overlay-context=department/welcome-austin-orientation-sessions>.

_____. "Welcome Ambassadors." Accessed April 15, 2014. <https://austintexas.gov/internationalwelcome-ambassador>.

Skop, Emily. "Fueling Austin's Boom: The New 21st Century Immigrant Metropolis." In *America's Twenty-First Century Immigrant Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburbia*, edited by Audrey Singer, Caroline Brettell, and Susan Hardwick. Submitted to Brookings Institution Press: March 2008. Accessed February 22, 2015. <http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/austinchapterdraft.pdf>.

Waters, Mary C. and Tomas R. Jimenez. "Assessing Immigrant Assimilation: New Empirical and Theoretical Challenges." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 31 (2005): 105-125. Accessed February 23, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737713>.

Dayton

Altman, Alex. "One Ohio City's Growth Strategy? Immigrants." *Time Magazine*, June 5, 2014. Accessed June 6, 2014. <http://time.com/2826298/one-ohio-citys-growth-strategy-immigrants/>.

Biehl, Richard. "My Story." Welcoming Dayton parent site. Accessed May 15, 2014. <http://www.welcomedayton.org/my-story-chief-richard-biehl/>.

Cichanowicz, Stanley R. "The Kossuth Colony and Jacob D. Moskowitz." In *Dayton History Books Online*. University of Dayton: December 1963. Accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.daytonhistorybooks.com/the_kossuth_colony.html.

City of Dayton. "Research: Ohio Sees Economic Benefit from Immigrant Entrepreneurs." June 2, 2014. Accessed 4 June 2014. <http://www.welcomedayton.org/research-ohio-sees-economic-benefit-immigrant-entrepreneurs/>.

Ohio History Central. "German Ohioans." Accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/German_Ohioans.

_____. "Irish Ohioans." Accessed January 10, 2015. http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Irish_Ohioans?rec=596.

O'Reilly, Andrew. "Dayton's Immigration Strategy for Growth is Drawing Notice." *Fox News Latino*, May 10, 2012. Accessed April 25, 2014. <http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2012/05/10/dayton-immigration-strategy-for-growth-is-drawing-notice/>.

Preston, Julia. "Ailing Midwestern Cities Extend a Welcoming Hand to Immigrants." *New York Times*, October 6, 2013. Accessed October 21, 2014. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/07/us/ailing-cities-extend-hand-to-immigrants.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

Welcoming Dayton: Parent Site. Accessed April 10, 2014. <http://www.welcomedayton.org/>.

Nashville

Berthoff, Rowland T. "Southern Attitudes Toward Immigration, 1865-1914." *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (August 1951): 328-360. Published by the *Southern Historical Association*. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2198190>.

Downs-Karkos, Susan. "The Receiving Communities Toolkit: A Guide For Engaging Mainstream America In Immigrant Integration." Published October 2011. Accessed 15 May 2014. http://www.welcomingamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Receiving-Communities-Toolkit_FINAL.pdf.

Lubell, David and Guen Han. "As President Heads to Nashville, Communities Across the U.S. Follow Nashville's Lead in Welcoming Immigrants." Welcoming America Press Release, December 8, 2014. Accessed January 14, 2015. <http://www.welcomingamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/Austin-TX-Press-Release-As-President-Heads-to-Nashville-Communities-Across-the-U.S.-Follow-Nashville%E2%80%99s-Lead-in-Welcoming-Immigrants.pdf>.

Nashville Mayor's Office. "Mayor's Office of New Americans." Accessed 15 May 2014. <http://www.nashville.gov/Mayors-Office/Priorities/New-Americans.aspx>.

Peric, Rachel. "Welcoming Immigrants Helps Cities Succeed." *Knight Foundation Blog*. December 12, 2014. Accessed January 15, 2015.

<http://www.knightfoundation.org/blogs/knightblog/2014/12/12/welcoming-immigrants-helps-cities-succeed/>.

Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition, "The Welcoming Tennessee Initiative." Accessed January 10, 2015. <http://www.tnimmigrant.org/welcoming-tennessee-initiative/>.

"Tennessee: Immigrant Entrepreneurs, Innovation, and Welcoming Initiatives in the Volunteer State." Immigration Policy Center of the American Immigration Council: July 2, 2013. Accessed February 1, 2015. <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/tennessee-immigrant-entrepreneurs-innovation-and-welcoming-initiatives-volunteer-state>.

Welcoming Tennessee: Parent site. Accessed 29 May 2014. <http://www.welcomingtn.org/>.

Winders, Jamie. "Nashville's New 'Sonido': Latino Migration and the Changing Politics of Race." In *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration*, edited by Douglas S. Massey. Published by the Russell Sage Foundation: Feb 1, 2008. <http://bit.ly/1JYx7tc>.

Halifax

African Nova Scotian Tourism Network. "Cultural Assets of Nova Scotia: African Nova Scotian Tourism Guide." Accessed April 10, 2015. <https://ansa.novascotia.ca/sites/default/files/files/African%20Nova%20Scotian%20Cultural%20Tourism%20Guide.pdf>.

Atlantic Jewish Council. "The Jewish Community of Halifax." <http://theajc.ns.ca/history/the-jewish-community-of-halifax/>.

Bundale, Brett and Davene Jeffrey. "Report: Population Plan Needed for Halifax." *The Chronical Herald*, May 22, 2014. Accessed April 20, 2015. <http://thechronicleherald.ca/metro/1209188-report-population-plan-needed-for-halifax>.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, "Halifax Regional Municipality." Accessed March 5, 2015. http://www.cmhc.ca/en/co/buho/seca/haremu/haremu_001.cfm.

Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21. Accessed February 2, 2015. <http://www.pier21.ca/home/>.

Cassin, A. Marguerite and Ann Divine. "Employment Equity in Halifax: Issues of Race, Inclusion and Vitality." In *Our Diverse Cities*, edited by J.S. Frideres, Number 2, Summer 2006. Accessed February 2, 2015. http://canada.metropolis.net/publications/diversity/our_diverse_cities_vol2_en.pdf.

Halifax Connector Program: Parent site. Accessed March 25, 2014. <http://www.halifaxpartnership.com/en/home/get-connected/connector-program/default.aspx>.

- _____. "How it works." Accessed March 25, 2014.
<http://www.halifaxpartnership.com/en/home/get-connected/connector-program/how-it-works.aspx>.
- Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre: Annual Report 2004-2005. Accessed March 20, 2015.
http://www.isans.ca/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/AnnualReport2004-2005_small.pdf.
- Halifax Public Libraries. "English Language Learning (ELL)." Accessed April 1, 2015.
<http://www.halifaxpubliclibraries.ca/services/learning/ell.html>.
- Halifax Regional Municipality. "Good Neighbors Great Neighbors Toolkit." Accessed December 30, 2014.
<http://www.halifax.ca/newcomers/Documents/WelcomingNewcomers.pdf>.
- Immigrant Services Association of Nova Scotia. Accessed March 2, 2015.
<http://www.isans.ca/>.
- Kronstal, Karin and Jill L. Grant. "The Challenges of Integrating Newcomers: the Halifax case." Working Paper for the *Atlantic Metropolis Centre*, No. 34 (2011). Accessed February 2, 2015.
http://community.smu.ca/atlantic/documents/KronstalGrantRevisedWorkingpaperWITHCORRECTIONS_001.pdf.
- Morley, Fred and Ryan MacLeod. "Halifax Index 2014: An economic gut check with insights for action." Accessed February 2, 2015. <http://www.greaterhalifax.com/site-ghp2/media/greaterhalifax/The%20Halifax%20Index%202014%20Web.pdf>.
- Nova Scotia Immigration. "Help for employers." Accessed March 2, 2015.
<https://novascotiaimmigration.com/help-for-employers/>.

Birmingham

- BBC News. "White children in Birmingham to be a minority – report." January 21, 2011. Accessed September 28, 2014. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-birmingham-12254940>.
- Birmingham Asian Resource Centre. Accessed March 6, 2015.
<http://www.asianresource.org.uk/>.
- Birmingham New Communities Network (BNCN). Accessed March 5, 2015.
<http://www.bncn.org.uk/about-us-1/>.
- Cole, Ian and Ed Ferrari. "Connectivity of place and housing market change: the case of Birmingham." In *Community Cohesion in Crisis: New Dimensions of Diversity and Difference*. Edited by John Flint and David Robinson. Policy Press: 2008. Accessed January 2, 2014. <http://bit.ly/1EXJ44q>.

- Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees (ICAR). Accessed March 6, 2015.
<http://www.icar.org.uk/2078/about-us/about-icar.html>.
- Karapin, Roger. "The Politics of Immigration Control in Britain and Germany: Subnational Politicians and Social Movements." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (July 1999): 423-444. Published by the City University of New York. Accessed January 1, 2015.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/422238>.
- Lindsey, Lydia. "The Split-Labor Phenomenon: Its Impact on West Indian Workers as a Marginal Working Class in Birmingham, England, 1948-1962." *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (Spring 1993): 83-109. Published by the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Inc. Accessed January 1, 2015.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2717447>.
- Money, Jeanette. "No Vacancy: The Political Geography of Immigration Control in Advanced Industrial Countries." *International Organization* Vol. 51, No. 4. (Autumn 1997): 685-720. Published by the IO Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Accessed January 1, 2015.
<http://www.uniset.ca/naty/maternity/51IntlOrg685.pdf>.
- Panayi, Panikos. *The Impact of Immigration: A Documentary History of the Effects and Experiences of Immigrants in Britain Since 1945*. Manchester University Press: 1999. Accessed January 5, 2015.
https://www.google.cz/books?id=ceV83Xg2phYC&dq=birmingham+immigration&lr=&source=gbs_navlinks_s.
- Refugee and Migrant Centre (RMC). Accessed March 6, 2015.
<http://www.rmcentre.org.uk/our-work-covers>.
- Restore. "Vision and Aims." Accessed March 6, 2015. <http://www.restore-uk.org/about-us/vision-aims/>.
- Simpson, Ludi. "Population forecasts for Birmingham." University of Manchester: CCSR Working Paper, 2007-12. Accessed January 2, 2014.
<http://www.cmist.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/archive-publications/working-papers/2007/2007-12-population-forecasts-for-birmingham.pdf>.
- West Midlands Strategic Migration Partnership (WMSMP). Accessed March 6, 2015. View cached page.
http://www.ilo.org/dyn/migpractice/migmain.showPractice?p_lang=en&p_practice_id=64.
- Wun Fung Chan, "Planning Birmingham as a cosmopolitan city: recovering the depths of its diversity?" In *Cosmopolitan Urbanism*. Edited by Jon Binnie, Julian Holloway, Steve Millington, and Craig Young. Routledge: 2006. Accessed January 2, 2015.
<http://bit.ly/1FFmYm2>.

Prague

- Centrum pro integraci cizinců (CIC) / Centre for the Integration of Foreigners. Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.cicpraha.org/>.
- Drbohlav, Dusan et al. "The Czech Republic: on its way from emigration to immigration country." Idea working papers, No. 11 (May 2009): 1-124. Accessed September 20, 2014. http://www.idea6fp.uw.edu.pl/pliki/WP11_Czech_Republic.pdf.
- Hokovský, Radko and Jakub Janda. "Immigration and Integration of Minorities in View of Czech Political Parties." In *Politics and Policies of Integration in Austria, Hungary, Czechia, Denmark and at the EU Level*. Edited by Hokovský, Radko, and Jiří Kopal. Brno & Prague: League of Human Rights & European Values Think-Tank, 2013. Forthcoming in May 2013 in *Defining Responses to Rise of Extremism in Europe*. <http://www.evropskehodnoty.cz/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Immigration-and-Integration-of-Minorities-in-View-of-Czech-Political-Parties-Hokovsk%C3%BD-Janda1.pdf>.
- Integrační Centrum Praha / Integration Center of Prague (ICP). "Prague Metropolis For All: Guide for Immigrants Living in Prague," 1-17. Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.icpraha.com/>.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.iom.cz/>.
- Lazarova, Daniela. "Czechs not open to foreign migrants." February 20, 2015. Accessed February 20, 2015. <http://www.radio.cz/en/section/news/czechs-not-open-to-foreign-migrants>.
- Migrant Integration Policy Index. "Czech Republic." Accessed September 15, 2015. <http://www.mipex.eu/czech-republic>.
- Ministerstvo vnitra / Ministry of the Interior, "Konceptce hl. m. Prahy pro oblast integrace cizinců / Concept of the city of Prague for the area of the integration of foreigners." Prague: 2012-2013. Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/integrace.aspx>.
- Multicultural Centre Prague / Multikulturní Centrum Praha (MCP). Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.mkc.cz/en/home.html>.
- "Prague, Metropolis for All: Guide for Immigrants Living in Prague." Created and published by the Integration Centre of Prague, March 2013. Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.mlp.cz/en/news/622-guide-for-immigrants-living-in-prague/?knihovna=>.
- Rákoczyová, Miroslava and Robert Trbola. "Lokální strategie integrace cizinců v ČR I / Local strategy for the integration of foreigners in the Czech Republic I." Prague: 2008. Accessed September 5, 2014. http://praha.vupsv.cz/fulltext/vz_271.pdf.
- Sdružení pro integraci a migraci / Association for Integration and Migration (AIM). Accessed September 20, 2014. <http://www.migrace.com/>.

Šišová, Lenka. "Czech Immigration Policy." Lecture delivered at Charles University, Prague, May 17, 2005. Accessed October 18, 2014.
www.tolerance.cz/courses/multiculturalism/essays/lenka.doc.

Vachudová, Milada Anna. "Eastern Europe as Gatekeeper: The Immigration and Asylum Policies of an Enlarging European Union." In *The Wall around the West: State Borders and Immigration Control in North America and Europe*. Edited by Peter Andreas and Tim Snyder. Rowman and Littlefield: 2000.
<http://www.RowmanLittlefield.com>.