

## **Annex B**

# **Scientific publications**

**RE-Restricted**

Verena Grubmüller, Katharina Götsch, Bernhard Krieger (2013) Social media analytics for future oriented policy making, <i>European Journal of Futures Research</i>	2013
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Abstract:

Research indicates that evidence-based policy making is most successful when public administrators refer to diversified information portfolios. With the rising prominence of social media in the last decade, this paper argues that governments can benefit from integrating this publically available, user-generated data through the technique of social media analytics (SMA). There are already several initiatives set up to predict future policy issues, e.g. for the policy fields of crisis mitigation or migrant integration insights. The authors analyse these endeavours and their potential for providing more efficient and effective public policies. Furthermore, they scrutinise the challenges to governmental SMA usage in particular with regards to legal and ethical aspects. Reflecting the latter, this paper provides forward-looking recommendations on how these technologies can best be used for future policy making in a legally and ethically sound manner.

Link: <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs40309-013-0020-7>

Bernhard Krieger, Verena Grubmüller, Claudia Schäfer (2014) Ethische Herausforderungen bei der sozialwissenschaftlichen Analyse von Social Media-Inhalten, SWS – Sozialwissenschaftliche Rundschau	2014
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Abstract:

Social-Media-Analyse (SMA)-Techniken ermöglichen es zehn Jahre nach der Einführung von Facebook, das Web-2.0-Publikationsverhalten von BürgerInnen auch in gesellschaftlich relevanten Politikfeldern wie der Integration von MigrantInnen für wissenschaftliche Institutionen und öffentliche Verwaltungen zu erforschen. Am Fallbeispiel des von der EU-Kommission geförderten Forschungs- und Entwicklungsprojekts »UniteEurope« untersucht der vorliegende Artikel die ethischen Bedingungen, unter denen solche Analysen stattfinden können. Dabei stehen zwei Aspekte im Vordergrund: Zum einen geht es um den Schutz der Privatsphäre von AutorInnen der erforschten Inhalte. Zum anderen beleuchtet der Artikel Möglichkeiten von Social-Media-Analyse-Technologien, die fehlende gesellschaftliche Repräsentativität im Internet zu berücksichtigen, ohne die Ergebnisse quantitativ zu gewichten.

Link: <http://www.sws-rundschau.at/html/abstract.php?language=de&id=307>

# **A Local Dimension of Integration Policies?**

## **A Comparative Study of Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam**

### **Abstract**

*This paper examines three theses on local integration policies by a qualitative comparative case study of integration policies in three cities in three different countries (Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam). We found little evidence of a congruent local dimension of integration policies. Local policies resemble their national policy frameworks fairly well in terms of policy approaches and domains. Our multi-level perspective shows that this is not the result of top-down hierarchical governance, but rather of a multilevel dynamic of two-way interaction. Local policy legacies and local politics matter and national policies are also influenced by local approaches of integration.*

**Keywords:** migrant integration policies; multi-level governance; congruence analysis.

## **Introduction**

Migrant integration policies have often been defined in terms of national models of integration (Brubaker 1992; Koopmans and Statham 2000; Castles and Miller 2009[1993]). This idea of national models has been challenged by a growing interest in the local dimension of migrant integration policies. Studies indicate that local governments do not just implement national policies, but that they increasingly formulate policies as well (Alexander 2003; 2007; Penninx et al. 2004; Penninx 2009; Caponio and Borkert 2010; Scholten 2013). Hence, there is a need to attend to local integration frames and the question whether there is a specifically local dimension to integration policies.

Recent studies have provided a number of explanations for congruencies and incongruences between local and national policies as well as between local policies in different cities. Next to advocates of national models of integration policies, some scholars argue that there is a specific local dimension of integration policies characterized by either a greater tendency to accommodate ethnic diversity and solve integration problems in pragmatic ways (Caponio and Borkert 2010; Poppelaars and Scholten 2008; Bak Jørgensen 2012) or a more exclusionist approach to migrants (Mahnig 2004; Ambrosini 2013). These studies argue that there is a distinct local model of integration that applies to cities even if in different countries. Horizontal modes of knowledge exchange and policy learning between cities would reinforce such congruencies between local integration policies.

Others have claimed that there are neither national nor local models of integration, arguing that local policies are uniquely shaped by the specific problem, political and policy settings in the different cities (Alexander 2003; Scholten 2013). Focusing much more on how the

local context shapes processes of policy framing, this would imply that the local dimension of integration policies involves incongruences between cities as well as between national and local governments.

The aim of this article is to contribute to existing literature on migrant integration policies operating at different levels of governance and in particular the role of cities as sites of integration. We explore three theses that can be analytically distinguished by different expectations for congruencies between local policies and between local policies and their respective national policy contexts in three European cities: Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam. Selecting three cities with relatively large migrant populations but from three countries with different national integration traditions allows us to capture differences on the national-local as well as the local-local dimension.

We will address the following research question: *To what extent is there a specific local dimension of migrant integration policies in Berlin Malmö and Rotterdam, and how can this be explained?* This question can be differentiated into two sub questions. First, to what extent are there congruencies and incongruences between local policies in the various cities (horizontal dimension)? And second, to what extent are there congruencies or incongruences between national and local policies (vertical dimension)? For both dimensions we take into account institutional ways of interaction between the different government entities as an understanding of (in)congruences.

### **A multi-level perspective on migrant integration: three theses**

Scholars such as Alexander (2003, 2007), Penninx et al. (2004) and Bak Jørgensen (2012)

describe how local governments have increasingly been developing their own integration policies. This spurred academic debate on the characteristics of this local level of policies vis-à-vis national policies. In the literature we can analytically distinguish three theses on how local integration policies relate to national policies and to each other. They encompass sometimes more than one strand of literature. We refer to them as the local dimension, the localist and the national models thesis.

The first thesis claims that as local governments are confronted with migrant integration issues more directly than national governments, they will respond in rather similar ways to migrant integration. One strand of literature contends that local governments are generally more accommodative to ethnic differences (Borkert and Bosswick 2007; Vermeulen and Stotijn 2010). As they are often closely cooperating with immigrant organizations and representative boards, they are more inclined than national governments to respond to immigrants' needs (Bousetta 2001; Marques and Santos 2004; Moore 2004; Schrover and Vermeulen 2005; Poppelaars and Scholten 2008). This phenomenon of 'pragmatic problem-coping' has been described in other policy areas as well as an explanation for national-local differences (O'Toole 2000).

On the other hand, there are scholars who have identified congruence in local responses fueled by a paradigm of exclusion (Mahnig 2004; Ambrosini 2013). Mahnig (2004) described how integration policies in Paris, Berlin and Zurich have been reactive and ad hoc, with exclusionary political interventions triggered by fears that the presence and concentration of migrant communities could threaten social peace and public order. This becomes particularly visible in conflicts around religious buildings (Maussen 2009; Fourot 2010). Integration is put on the agenda only when it starts to be perceived as a political issue concerning the whole urban

community and not just ethnic minority groups. Local migrant organizations are not sufficiently able to mobilize their followers and to put their claims on the table to influence the political agenda and force a decision in their favor (Studlar and Layton-Henry 1990; Caponio 2005).

Even though there is disagreement on the characteristics of local integration policies, these strands of literature are alike in the way that they distinguish a local dimension of integration policies that will differ significantly from integration policies on the national level. In terms of national-local relations, this 'local dimension' thesis expects decentralized governance structures that allow local governments a large degree of policy discretion, while providing a national framework that promotes horizontal policy learning and provides only soft policy coordination (like in the UK). Cross-nationally, this thesis predicts congruencies between local level migrant integration policies, in spite of potential national differences. Bak Jørgensen (2012) argues that local congruencies can be reinforced by horizontal networks of knowledge exchange; these facilitate horizontal policy learning, also between local governments in different countries. Regardless of their national setting, the expectation is that the proximity of local governments to integration issues makes local policies similar in dealing with the presence of migrants.

A rival thesis claims that there will not only be differences between national and local integration policies but also between local policies because of differences in the local context. It assumes that local policies reflect the local problem situation, political setting and specifically local policy legacies. For example, characteristics of a city's economy and migrant populations may matter to integration policies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009). In terms of the policy setting, differences in local policy legacies but also in local politics matter (Mahnig and Wimmer 2000; Caponio and Borkert 2010). This contrasts with the local dimension thesis, which expects



local governments to be congruent in their response to migrant populations in a specific direction.

Furthermore, in terms of the policy setting, Bak Jørgensen (2012) and Glick Schiller & Çağlar (2009) have drawn attention to city branding and the role of local policy cultures in accounting for local integration policies. Take for example cities like Amsterdam or London, which have traditionally branded themselves as multicultural and cosmopolitan cities with significant tolerance to ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. This contributes to the unique character of a city's integration policies. Thus, a second thesis expects there to be incongruences on the vertical dimension between national and local policies, as well as on the horizontal dimension between cities. In terms of governance structures, this thesis expects integration policies at different levels to be largely decoupled, possibly even involving policy contradictions or policy conflicts. Horizontal policy learning may apply in this model as well, but will be selective at best and will not be institutionalized.

A third thesis expects that local policies will simply reflect the national models of integration of the countries where the local governments are situated. Such 'national models of integration' can be defined as nationally and historically rooted models of integration that are codified centrally and implemented in local level policies. As such, these national models assume coherence of integration policies within nation-states (Brubaker 1992; Ireland 1994). This thesis expects top-down hierarchical governance structures to be in place that provide institutionalized forms of national-level policy coordination. The role of local governments is primarily perceived in terms of the elaboration and implementation of national policies.

Thus, this thesis predicts that there will be congruencies on the vertical dimension

between national and local policies within specific countries. It is assumed that national models of integration are driven by strong issue linkages between migrant integration and other national issues, such as national identity, national security or the welfare state. Therefore, this thesis predicts incongruences on the horizontal level between national migrant integration policies in different countries, and also between city-level policies in different countries.

[Table 1 about here]

## **Methodology**

The empirical analysis involves an in-depth study of local and national policies in three cases: Malmö in Sweden, Rotterdam in the Netherlands and Berlin in Germany. This involves a most different case study design based on three factors: first, the cities differ in size (roughly, Berlin 3 300 000, Rotterdam 600 000 and Malmö 300 000 inhabitants), governance structures (Sweden and the Netherlands as (decentralized) unitary states and Germany as a federal state), and presumed typical national integration philosophies (Swedish multiculturalism, Dutch assimilationism and German welfare-state integration - Castles and Miller 2009[1993]). All cities have experienced a large influx of immigrants over the past decennia and have developed policies to deal with integration issues.

By comparing national and local integration policies and analyzing institutional relations, the validity and generalizability of the different theses can be assessed. We did not take into account the regional level of the federal state in Germany and the provinces in the Netherlands and Sweden. In the Netherlands, migrant integration is not dealt with on this level of

government. In case of Germany, Berlin is a city-state that has a direct relationship with the national government. In Sweden, the County Administrative Boards have gained responsibility in coordinating national and local integration policies. Their role in multilevel relations between Malmö and the national government will be addressed.

For each of the cases, national and local policy documents were analyzed, in order to reconstruct policy approaches and domains in the period 2005-2012. In addition, a review was made of secondary literature that focuses in particular on the policy process that led to these national and local policies. Finally, interviews were held with local policy makers (eight in Malmö, seven in Rotterdam and nine in Berlin)<sup>1</sup>. The interviews and consultation of secondary literature were conducted to reconstruct policy processes and multilevel interaction and to confirm whether our understanding of the local policies was correct and complete. Data collection took place under auspices of the [anonymized] project.

The three cases are strategically chosen for qualitatively evaluating the three theses by congruence analysis (Blatter and Haverland 2012). First of all, we analyzed (in)congruencies in integration policies in the various national and local cases. Similar to Alexander (2007) we used a typology of different policy domains at which integration policies can be oriented (socio-cultural, socio-economic, legal-political) and normative premises about the inclusion of migrants. We distinguish multiculturalism, assimilationism, universalism and differentialism as

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<sup>1</sup> In Berlin, nine interviews have been carried out with the integration commissioners of various districts, as well as with senior policy advisors from the integration commissioner's office of the Senate.

In Malmö, eight interviews were carried out. Five with administrators working in the field of integration in the City of Malmö, two are working in leading positions for the state at the local level (employment service and the County Administrative Board) and one is a political secretary in the Commissioner's Unit at the City Office.

In Rotterdam, seven interviews were conducted. The interviewees include administrators concerned with (civic) integration, current and former aldermen and their policy advisors.

ideal typical approaches serving as a heuristic device to analyze our cases approaches to integration (Castles and Miller 2009[1993]; Koopmans and Statham 2000). Domains and approaches often go together as the following paragraph will show.

Assimilationism can be defined as unidirectional integration of the immigrant in the host society while focusing primarily on the socio-cultural domain of migrant integration. Assimilationist policies encourage adaptation of migrants to dominant cultural norms, values and behaviors. Multiculturalism also focuses primarily on the socio-cultural domain, but rather stresses cultural pluralism and encourages the emancipation of migrant groups while recognizing and institutionalizing specific group identities. Multiculturalist policies acknowledge the positive potential of immigrants for the city and are sensitive to the particular needs and problems of migrant groups. Universalist policies focus more on the socio-economic and legal-political domain of integration. Universalism is adverse to the institutionalization of majority or minority cultures. Universalist policies are ‘colorblind’ and address the individual citizens’ rights and obligations. Policy measures are often described as ‘mainstreaming’. Finally, differentialism (also described as segregationism) institutionalizes group boundaries in society to such an extent that group identities and structures are preserved and groups live alongside each other rather than with each other. This applied to some extent to the guest-laborer regimes that were established in various European countries in the 1960s and 1970s, where apart from economic participation migrant groups were largely kept separated from society (Castles and Miller 2009[1993]; Koopmans and Statham 2000).

Secondly, when assessing the analytical leverage of these three theses, we also look at institutional inter-government relations. The theses assume very different types of governance

structures, which can involve formal or more ad-hoc and informal ways of coordinating vertical (national-local) or horizontal (local-local) relations between government entities. The local dimension thesis assumes governance structures that leave significant ‘policy discretion’ to the local policy practitioners and street-level bureaucrats. While little emphasis will be put on ‘vertical’ national-local government relations, more effort will be put into horizontal policy networks. This may entail intra- or cross-national city-to-city networks of policy learning and exchanging, ‘best practices’ or even sometimes ad-hoc or informal exchanges. The localist thesis puts less emphasis on horizontal exchange of policy lessons and does to some extent emphasize vertical relations, but stresses independent policy development. Finally, the national models thesis also stresses the vertical dimension in particular, but then with a focus on top-down and hierarchical forms of policy coordination.

In the next paragraph we will first compare the local integration policies of the three city cases in their historical and political context, assessing the local dimension thesis. Descriptive analysis of each of the local policies and the policy settings is followed by comparative analysis in terms of congruencies and horizontal relations. Subsequently we will describe the respective national policies and their policy settings, finished by a congruence analysis of each case and the multilevel relations. This enables us to assess the localist and national models thesis.

### **Local integration policies and horizontal relations between Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam**

#### *Berlin*

Since 1981 Berlin has known a Commissioner for Integration and Migration whose office is part of the Ministry for Work, Integration and Women. Since the mid-2000s, two major integration

policies have been developed: In 2005, the first ‘Integrationskonzept’, entitled ‘Encouraging diversity – Strengthening Cohesion’, was formulated by the Senate and updated in 2007. This policy can be characterized by a multiculturalist approach with universalist traits. ‘People with a migration background’ are a specific policy target group. A State Advisory Board on Integration and Migration was initiated in 2003 including representatives from various immigrant groups. It participates in the city-state’s agenda setting and policy development. The *Integrationskonzept* specifies eight issues of migrant integration. Two of the latter can be attributed to the socio-economic domain (labor market participation, education), one to the socio-cultural (international attractiveness and cultural diversity), three to the legal-political (interculturality of the public administration, participation in civil society, refugee integration) and one to the spatial domain of migrant integration (socio-spatial cohesion) (Integrationskonzept 2007, 8-90).

In 2010, the Senate enacted the “Partizipations- und Integrationsgesetz” (PartIntG), a law mainly regulating the institutional setting in the policy field of migrant integration, as well as striving to remove obstacles for equal participation of migrants in all social areas such as institutional discrimination (PartIntG 2010). PartIntG clearly concerns the legal-political domain of migrant integration. It aims to increase what is called the ‘interculturality of the city administration’, by means such as increased employment of applicants with a migration background and training of staff. Furthermore, PartIntG focuses on the political participation of migrants, e.g. by the appointment of commissioners, advisory boards and committees on the district level, thereby reinforcing the city's multiculturalist institutional setting.

Berlin’s districts (‘Bezirke’) each have their own administration and are led by district councils that differ in terms of political composition. In a similar manner as the city-state, most

districts have advisory boards and commissioners for integration. As one of our interviewees indicated, this institutional setting provides a challenge to policy coordination and coherence in Berlin. Districts focus mostly on the socio-economic domain of integration, revealing a accommodative approach to integration (Diverse policy documents and interviews). However, socio-economic measures are often mentioned by interviewees as a condition for socio-cultural integration: *'Education is most important. We do not have enough jobs for unskilled workers. (...) Migrants have to enter the regular job market. Where should they meet other people? The counter of the employment agency is not a good place for this. The workplace is an engine of integration.'* Policies on the district level are often the result of multi-stakeholder policy making. Rather than including migrants fully into the democratic process by providing them with voting rights as many demand for and as a more universalist approach would propose, policy making in Berlin in the realm of migrant integration is rather multiculturalist in the sense that migrants are given a separate voice that is listened to by policy makers (Borkert and Bosswick 2007).

In sum, the main integration policies in Berlin indicate an emphasis on the legal-political domain of migrant integration, but do not neglect other domains. On the district level the socio-economic and socio-cultural domains are most prominent. A multiculturalist approach is most apparent in the policies, but interviewees noted struggles with universalist principles, for example in case of the city's affirmative action in hiring staff.

### *Malmö*

The city of Malmö has a policy of integration mainstreaming. The 1999 action plan for integration understands integration as participation in society and mutual understanding between

people with different backgrounds (City of Malmö 1999). Malmö envisions a city where all citizens are treated equally and where diversity is regarded as a benefit. Ethnic differences in labour market participation, spatial segregation and school performance are considered to be current major integration issues. Malmö fears that the ethnic and socio-economic cleavages coincide and segregate the city. Most measures therefore target the social-economic domain of integration, for example by labour market programs, language courses and improving the quality of local schools.

The Commissioner for Employment and Adult Education is responsible for integration policies in Malmö. The Unit for Integration and Labour Market (INAR) develops and coordinates integration policies. Relevant municipal service providers are: immigrant services (guidance and civic orientation for newly arrived humanitarian migrants); JobbMalmö (labour market measures); the Education Department (Swedish for Immigrants courses) and the ten city districts. Civil society organizations play just a marginal role (Scuzarello 2010). Sometimes they are a partner in specific projects or sometimes private companies are contracted for specific projects. For example, local football club FC Rosengård is funded for organizing projects focusing on education and employment for youth and adults.

Malmö aims to increase economic growth and to reduce ethnic segregation by implementing comprehensive welfare programs (GEFAS 1997-2000, Welfare for all 2004-2008 and the Commission for a socially sustainable Malmö 2010- ). As a senior civil servant at INAR puts it: *‘What we used to call “integration projects”, is no longer supported, unless there is a particular focus on work’*. Many measures also have a specific geographical focus. Neighbourhood programs (City of Malmö 2011), health policies (City of Malmö 2010b) and



infrastructure measures often target specific areas of the city where problems are the largest.

Few measures other than socio-economic integration measures get introduced and most are in theory aimed at the entire population and not specifically at migrant groups. An example is the action plan anti-discrimination (City of Malmö 2010a). Humanitarian migrants are the only group that is targeted with specific measures. Legal-political and socio-economic issues are perceived to be most salient among this group as they are often struggling to enter the labour market. Therefore, specific policy measures aim to improve the introduction programs for humanitarian migrants. In general, Malmö has a universalist approach to migrant integration with a focus on the socio-economic domain of integration.

### *Rotterdam*

Except for a short episode of assimilationist policies in the 1970s (Interview with a senior policymaker), Rotterdam has long had an accommodative policy towards migrant integration that focused primarily on the socio-economic integration of migrants in the local housing- and labor market and in education (Migranten in Rotterdam 1978; Culturele Minderheden in het Rijnmondgebied, 1981; De Nieuwe Rotterdammers 1991). In the period 2002-2006, right wing party 'Livable Rotterdam' gained a majority in the city council and has remained a powerful presence in local politics ever since. The party drew attention to popular resentment with diversity, in particular with muslim immigrants. This enforced a more assimilationist approach to migrant integration (Interviews with a policy maker and former politician). Rotterdam took new measures to promote dispersion of migrants across the city, to further inter-ethnic contact and to implement a local code of conduct (the so-called Rotterdam code).

Since 2006, Rotterdam has been mainstreaming its integration policies to various policy sectors. In fact, apart from the name of the coordinating administrative unit, 'Immigration and Integration,' Rotterdam no longer speaks of integration policies. The focus is not on integration of ethnic minorities but on participation of all citizens in society (Interview with policymaker). Political shifts in 2006 mark a turn to policies with a more universalist character. Some policies still have particular attention for immigrants or address issues that mostly concern immigrants.

Policy measures – except for the organisation of civic integration courses – are executed by NGOs that are subsidized by the municipality. Immigrant self-organisations and support organisations used to play a major role in agenda setting and execution of Rotterdam's integration policies. However, subsidies for migrant organisations have been cut over the past years. Currently, the subsidy infrastructure is limited to four areas of expertise: diversity, emancipation, non-formal education and anti-discrimination (Citizenship Policy 2011). Organisations had to reform in order to achieve more general participation goals and to yield measurable results (Citizenship Policy 2011; Interview with policymaker).

Rotterdam considers major integration issues to be minorities' labour market participation (primarily of women and youth), participation in non-paid voluntary work, language deficiencies, discrimination, delinquency (primarily of Antillean and Moroccan youth), acceptance of Dutch norms and values such as tolerance towards homosexuality, ethnic segregation and identification with Rotterdam's society (City Executive Program 2011; Citizenship Policy 2011). Policies are clearly shaped in their local political setting and focus on the socio-cultural and socio-economic domain of integration with a universalist approach.

### *Comparative analysis of local policies and relations*

The local dimension thesis would expect congruencies between local integration policies despite the existence of diverse national policy traditions. Our analysis has provided very little evidence for this thesis. There are significant differences in the target groups, domains and approaches of local policies of the three cities and they do not represent a singular accommodative or exclusionist policy frame. In Rotterdam, politicization at the local level triggered an episode of more assimilationist policies, followed by a current universalist approach. The policy now combines a socio-cultural and socio-economic focus. In Malmö, there is also a policy paradigm of universalism. However, the policies here are primarily addressing the socio-economic domain of integration. Berlin explicitly aims to streamline socio-economic and socio-cultural integration policies in the city districts by a legal-political policy frame on the city level. The policy can be characterized as multicultural with universalist traits.

In terms of horizontal exchange of knowledge and best practices, we did indeed find a number of international city-networks in which the three cities were involved. For instance, all three cities are part of the IntegratingCities network, although they did not always participate in projects from this network together. Malmö and Rotterdam are involved in the ImpleMentoring and Inti-cities project, whilst Berlin participated in the DIVE project. Only Malmö is involved in the CLIP project (IntegratingCities website 2014; CLIP website, 2014). Our interviews show that this kind of knowledge exchange is appreciated but current policies do not indicate significant policy learning. This suggests that the framing of local integration policies in these cities was driven primarily by specifically local circumstances and that horizontal policy learning was instrumental at best.

## **National integration policies and multilevel dynamics in Germany, Sweden and the Netherlands**

### *Germany*

National integration policies in Germany evolved bottom up from the local level, with a strong involvement of (local) civil society (Heckmann 2003; Bommers 2010). Germany was for a long time reluctant to concede to the fact that it had become a country of immigration. A national policy that contained a clear recognition of Germany's status as an immigration country has evolved only recently. The Schröder government set up a multi-partisan committee of representatives of significant societal groups (churches, labour unions, employer associations, local public administrators, etc.) and researchers led by the opposition politician and former President of the Bundestag Rita Süßmuth in order to prepare a national immigration and integration policy in 2000. Thranhardt (2009, 165) interprets this consensus strategy in times of politicization of immigration and integration issues as a form of 'staged corporatism'. In the political context of the 9/11 attacks in the US and of national elections in Germany in 2002, an all-party agreement was reached on the first national law on immigration and migrant integration ('Zuwanderungsgesetz') to come into effect in 2005. This law for the first time regulates immigration to Germany, as well as obligatory civic integration of newly arrived migrants and therefore has a pivotal role in this policy field (Schneider and Scholten forthcoming; Heckmann and Wiest 2013).

The Merkel government continued this strategy of consensus in order to draft the 'Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration': The Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration

organized a series of summits on migrant integration (Integrationsgipfel). In these summits, again stakeholders including employer associations, labour unions, migrant communities, scientists, religious communities, etc. and government representatives of all levels of government were involved. This current national executive programme defines eleven policy areas: (1) primary education, (2) secondary education, vocational training and professional development, (3) labour market and working life, (4) minority hiring in the public sector, (5) health and care, (6) local integration, (7) language training, (8) sports, (9) civic engagement and integration, (10) media and integration, and (11) culture (Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration 2012: 19 – 197). Multi-stakeholder groups, each dealing with one of the areas, formulated strategic policy goals as well as operational aims, measures, instruments, responsibilities, time frames and indicators for measuring progress.

Based on the process leading to Germany's national integration policy and the characteristics of this policy, we can define Germany's integration policy as multiculturalist with universalist traits according to our heuristic ideal types. On the one hand, the policy presupposes distinct cultural groups who shape the everyday reality of society and address multiple domains of migrant integration (five policy areas are part of socio-economic, three socio-cultural, two legal-political and one of the spatial domain). On the other hand, it does not stimulate the development of distinct groups, but rather pragmatically and stresses on welfare state integration. Despite the assimilationist rhetoric in German politics, the policy itself is neither demanding migrants to undertake all integration efforts by themselves (as an assimilationist approach would require), nor does it refer to migrants as only one of many target groups of the policy (as a purely universalist approach would do).

## *Sweden*

The Swedish government structure is a combination of a unitary state with strong local politico-administrative and fiscal capacities (Sellers and Lidström 2007). This relationship also characterizes Sweden's integration policies that evolved in a more centralized way. The national government decides on the general integration policy through laws and regulations, supervision and fiscal incentives. At the same time, local government is given administrative and fiscal capacities to implement policies and also to decide on policies of their own. In Sweden's central government, the Ministry for Employment is responsible for integration, but the policy is supposed to permeate all government agencies.

On the national level, a new integration policy was introduced in December 1998 (Ministry of Interior 1997). It signalled a change away from a multiculturalist to a universalist policy focusing on individual rights and civic integration (Borevi 2012). The goal is equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for all regardless of ethnic or cultural background (Ministry of Finance 2008). This is to be achieved through general measures for the whole population supplemented by targeted support for migrants during their first years in Sweden. Despite the new policy direction, many multiculturalist policy programs were kept, such as the support for religious organisations and mother tongue language classes in schools (Dahlström 2004).

The introduction program for humanitarian migrants is the most important integration measure as it accounts for over 95 per cent of the state integration budget (Ministry of Finance 2013). The goal is for participants to learn Swedish, find work and support themselves financially, and learn about the rights and obligations of Swedish citizens. Since 1986, the

responsibility to offer these services has been delegated to municipalities and financed by the state (Broomé et al. 2007). In December 2010, the responsibility and coordination of the introduction programs was shifted back to the national government – specifically the Employment Service. Reasons that were given for this are the poor results on labour market integration and too large differences between the programs of various municipalities (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality 2010). However, the municipalities are still responsible for the implementation of services such as language courses and civic orientation for which they receive state funding. Most other integration measures on the national level have a focus on employment. One example is subsidized employment intended to strengthen migrants' competitiveness on the labour market.

### *The Netherlands*

Migrant integration policies in the Netherlands were first developed in a centralized way, similar to the Swedish case. In the 1980s, the Ethnic Minorities Policy for which the Dutch case has become internationally (in)famous, was developed and coordinated in a top-down way. This involved a unitary and centralized structure for policy coordination, with the Home Office at its center (Guiraudon 1997). In the 1990s, the integration policy gradually devolved to the local level. A direct connection was made between integration and other urban policies, and cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam formulated their own policy perspectives on migrant integration. Since the early 2000s, policies on the national level have become more and more connected with migration and asylum policies and with abstract discussions on national values and how to protect these. This issue connection is also reflected in the development of (pre- and post-entry)

civic integration programs for newcomers.

Whilst the Netherlands has long been typified as multicultural, over the past decennium integration policies have taken an assimilationist turn (Scholten 2011). This was driven by a sharp politicization of migrant integration on the national level in the early 2000s. Past policies were denounced a failure and a new policy was installed ('Integration Policy New Style') that put more stress on the socio-cultural domain of integration and made a stronger connection between immigration and integration. The most recent policy memorandum was launched in 2011: 'Integration, Cohesion, Citizenship' (Ministry of Interior 2011). A sense of shared citizenship and community of all Dutch citizens is formulated as a policy goal. The policy document has an assimilationist as well as universalist tone as it encourages citizen's responsibilities and self-sufficiency.

The current national integration policy consists of three principles. The first is that integration is not the responsibility of the government but that of immigrants themselves. The second principle is that 'not one's background but one's potential is what counts' (Ministry of Interior 2011: 7). This implies that there are no targeted integration measures for ethnic minorities, but that there is a generic policy. The last principle is that generic policy measures are to facilitate every citizen's participation on the labour market, housing market and in education. When the policy is insufficient for some groups, no specific instruments will be developed, but the general policy will be changed. The latter reflects a mainstreaming of migrant integration policies throughout various government sectors that was also found in the Swedish case.

*Comparative analysis of local and national policies and multilevel relations*



We now turn to the localist thesis and the national models thesis that are more or less each other's opposites. The national models thesis claims that local integration policies will resemble the national policy frames because of top-down hierarchical governance structures. Cities will first and foremost have an executive role in integration policies. The localist thesis states that local policies will be shaped primarily by the specific local problem and policy context and are thus independent of national policies.

While comparing Berlin's integration policies on the city and district level with those on the national level, we found both congruencies and incongruities. On all levels of governance in Germany, we found a similar approach to integration that can best be described in terms of our ideal type of multiculturalism, yet with important universalist traits. This becomes apparent in the process leading up to the policies, as well as in the content of the policies themselves. Integration policies are not only directed towards migrants, but also towards the majority society, which should be understood as a universalist trait. Nevertheless, migrants are perceived of as a diversity of groups who have different requirements and face various challenges. Migrant groups are identified as particular stakeholders who should not as regular citizens, but as representatives of a migrant population be included in the policy process. While we found a tendency to focus on socio-economic and socio-cultural areas of migrant integration on the national level, we found that the policies in Berlin – particularly in the districts – have a broader focus, with an emphasis on the legal-political and socio-economic domains of integration. The policy levels are thus not fully congruent.

Institutional factors contribute to congruencies between the different levels of government. Berlin's *Integrationskonzept* was developed almost half a decade before the

*Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration* and was certainly perceived as a model for the latter. They have a similar format in terms of defining goals, measures, responsibilities and indicators for success. The institutional and communicative setting of the *Integrationsgipfel* encouraged frame alignment among senior public administrators on different levels of government. This facilitated consensus among the different stakeholders in the integration policy field. The Länder and the umbrella organisation of the German municipalities had to and did commit to the goals of the *Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration* along with the national government. The document constitutes a rare example of vertical multi-level policy making in Germany, or, as Heckmann and Wiest (2013, 8) put it ‘*a coordinated commitment by political and civil society actors at all levels of government and civil society to initiate certain integration policies in their field of responsibility*’. Thus, the German case supports the national models thesis in the sense the both policies follow a similar approach ideologically as well as content-wise. However, it is very clear that this is not due to top-down policy enforcement. Instead, we came across examples of bottom-up multilevel dynamics.

In the case of Malmö and Sweden, formal and informal institutional arrangements have led to congruencies between the two policy levels. Both levels of government share the ideology and the goals of the integration policy that is based on a universalist philosophy with some multicultural features (support of the frame alignment is evident in all interviews). There is general agreement of the main principles of the integration policy in Sweden rather than any specific national policy effort. National-local interaction regarding integration policies has been governed through soft policy measures. In the mid-80s a system of negotiation was created, based on agreements between central government and the municipalities (cf. Qvist 2012). These

agreements have, together with other organized professional networks, created common professional norms and practices that influence the local organization and content of introduction programs.

In 2001, the Swedish Integration Board initiated a more institutionalized collaboration to improve coordination of the introduction programs. The strategy was based on different voluntary agreements of policy coordination between actors at different administrative levels. After the closure of the Integration Board in 2007, this collaborative strategy is coordinated by the County administrative boards. These represent the state and serve as a link between the central government and municipalities. In the field of integration they have the responsibility to coordinate, monitor and develop integration measures for newly arrived migrants from a regional perspective. Local policies are organized in the Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions who safeguard the interests of Swedish local and regional authorities.

An example of national-local congruence is that when integration issues moved from the Ministry for Integration and Gender Equality to the Ministry of Employment at the government level in 2010, the city of Malmö decided to do the same and make integration issues a part of the policy area 'labour market and adult education'. Other domains of integration converge at the national and local level in their lack of policy measures. For example, there are no formal consultation bodies representing migrants in neither Malmö nor the central government and both levels of governance have reduced the financial support to minority organizations. Their voices should, according to the logic, be channelled through the same democratic process as the rest of the population. The focus on general policies, mainstreaming and an avoidance of any policies that emphasizes ethnic or cultural difference is evident in both levels of governance, which

shows that the philosophy of integration is more universalist than multicultural

A top-down approach does not fully explain national-local congruencies in Sweden, despite the more centralist government structure. The localist thesis is also partially supported. The precarious socioeconomic position of Malmö has led to an even stronger focus on socioeconomic issues than on the national level. The overall strategy has been to increase economic growth by city branding and large investments in infrastructure and to simultaneously counteract socio-ethnic segregation by general welfare measures. Incongruences are mostly found regarding the asylum regime. Malmö has repeatedly criticized the asylum reception policy that allows asylum seekers to live in own accommodations while their asylum application is processed. Overcrowding and ethnic segregation due to this policy have, according to the municipality, negative effects on integration.

In Rotterdam, also many bottom-up multilevel dynamics have been at play while the national models thesis is supported at first glance. During the last decade, national and local policies have converged towards a universalist approach to integration. Migrant integration is primarily framed in terms of socio-economic and socio-cultural participation and migrant groups are not addressed separately in policy measures. However, also incongruences exist between the national and local policies. In contrast to the issue connection with immigration and the focus on national identity in Dutch national integration policies, the local policies of Rotterdam have been much more concerned with concrete integration issues in spheres like education, housing and labor.

Especially in earlier years, Rotterdam's political setting enforced divergent integration policies, giving support to the localist thesis as well. Our interviews and policy documents reveal

many instances where the city of Rotterdam played an active role in national policy developments as well. Rotterdam did not simply fulfil a role as implementer of national policies, it has been a key policy entrepreneur in the multi-level governance setting of migrant integration, influencing national policies in a concerted effort to broaden the scope for local policies (see also Scholten 2013). Policies such as the Rotterdam Law were picked up nationally after an intensive policy lobby (Wet Bijzondere Maatregelen Grootstedelijke Problematiek 2005), later only to be implemented in Rotterdam. Also, over the past five years Rotterdam has become a key policy entrepreneur on the topic of inclusion of EU labour migrants, especially from Central and Eastern Europe. In this respect it has exerted significant influence not just on national policies but on European policies as well. In 2009 arrangements of multi-level cooperation were formalized in a ‘Collaborative Integration-Agenda’ between several municipalities and the central government. In 2012 this was continued as the ‘Collaborative Integral Approach’. This approach sets only the general contours of a policy to be implemented in different sectors and increasingly at the local level.

All in all, our analysis shows that the integration policies in Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam are to a large extent congruent with their respective national policy frames. However, an important finding from our analysis is that while the national models thesis seems to hold best, we also encountered many examples of bottom-up policy entrepreneurship. Multi-level governance interactions play a role in all cases and promote frame alignment between the national and local level.

## **Conclusions**

Multi-level governance of integration issues and the question whether there is a distinctive local level of integration policies gained more attention over the past years. In this paper we have brought together three theses on the characteristics of local integration policies and we have qualitatively evaluated them with a comparative case-study of three city cases. We compared integration policies of Berlin, Malmö and Rotterdam on the local level and we compared the local policies with their respective policy contexts.

By conducting a congruence analysis we aimed to go beyond evaluating the theses with a simple yes or no. We conclude that the local dimension thesis does not hold for Berlin, Malmö or Rotterdam. Neither are the policies structurally more accommodative or exclusionist towards migrants than the national policies, nor do they resemble each other in that way. Also, there are indeed horizontal networks for policy learning between cities throughout Europe, yet the impact of horizontal policy learning on policymaking appears to be limited.

Evidence supports both the national models thesis and localist thesis to a certain extent, but both explanations are not fully supported. Local integration policies resemble their national policies to a great extent, but not due to top-down hierarchical government structures. Rather, what we found are various forms of two-way multilevel interaction. Formal and informal institutional arrangements exist in which knowledge and practices are exchanged and frame alignment is fostered. We found many examples of bottom-up processes influencing national developments in accordance to the local policy philosophy. In line with the localist thesis, we found that local problem and political settings matter as well. However, political ideologies are not always followed up in concrete measures and local policies are not developed totally independent from the national policy frameworks. The congruency on the national-local axis is

remarkable and the multilevel interactions in all three cases reflect universalist traits.

Our analysis thus shows that there is not a single, distinct local dimension of integration policies, but that multilevel interactions promote mutual exchanges between local and national level policies. This speaks to the broader debate in the migration literature on national models of integration and the growing interest for city-level integration policies. Our study suggests that we should not treat these two levels, and perhaps also the European level, as too distinct from each other. Rather we must focus attention much more to the complex forms of interaction that exist between different policy levels (vertical modes of interaction), as well as between different cities and countries (horizontal modes of interaction). This will help migration studies reach beyond reifying images of so-called national models of integration as well as beyond insulating the local dimension of integration policymaking too much from the broader institutional context in which these local policies evolve.

Expanding this line of research involves further research in how these vertical and horizontal relations are configured under different circumstances. Several national-local comparisons show different levels of congruence under different institutional circumstances. For example, we know that the integration policies in Amsterdam differ from Rotterdam by reflecting the national policies to a lesser extent (Scholten 2013). In the German city of Halle/Saale, Glick-Schiller and Çağlar (2009, 193) found no evidence of a multiculturalist approach to migrant integration as there were no resources for migrant-specific assistance and ethnic-based organizations. By this, Halle/Saale does not adhere to the national integration policy paradigm. As such there is a need for further research on to what extent this frame alignment between national and local policies also holds for different cities, for instance cities with

different socio-economic backgrounds, different migration histories and different political leadership.

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Table 1: Overview of theses

<b>Thesis</b>	<b>National-local level</b>	<b>Cross country local level</b>
<b>1. Local dimension thesis</b>	Incongruence	Congruence
<b>2. Localist thesis</b>	Incongruence	Incongruence
<b>3. National models thesis</b>	Congruence	Incongruence



Paper for the 2014 IMISCOE conference Madrid, 27-29 August

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**Title: A national turn of local integration policy: multi-level governance dynamics in Denmark and Sweden**

**Author:** Henrik Emilsson

**Abstract**

There is a growing interest in the research community about the local governance of migration and integration. The findings suggest that there is a local turn in integration policies where local governments have increased their significance as integration policy actors. In opposition to most research I argue that what we are witnessing is rather a national turn in local integration policy. I show this by looking into recent developments in the policies for migrant newcomers in Denmark and Sweden: two countries with similar history and political traditions but with very different integration policies. In both cases, the national governments have in fact increased their control and influence on the local level and thereby limited the possibilities for local governments to choose their own integration policy. Both countries have used legislation to ensure compliance with national integration policies on the local level. In addition, Denmark has through legislation introduced integration requirements that forces migrants to comply with national policies in order to obtain permanent residence permits.

**Keywords:** local integration policy, multi-level governance, integration policy, Sweden, Denmark, national integration models

## **1. Analyzing local integration policy – the setting**

There is a growing interest in the research community about the local aspects of integration and migration (Alexander 2007; Caponio & Borkert 2010). The local dimension of integration policy is also acknowledged at the European level where there is a growing effort to promote knowledge exchange between cities, for example the CLIP project and the EuroCities network. The criticism against methodological nationalism (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2003) seems to have fuelled a perceived need to go beyond analyzing integration policies at the national level. Instead of studying national models of integration the focus has been to understand if and how national policies are implemented on the local level and if municipalities are doing policies of their own. Most of these studies indicate a local turn of integration policy; that local governments have increased their significance as integration policy actors (Alexander 2007; Penninx et al. 2004; Penninx 2009; Caponio & Borkert 2010, Schmidtke 2014). The ambition of this paper is to add a different perspective to the study of local integration policies by looking at the multi-level governance of integration policies through a power perspective. In opposition to most research I argue that what we are witnessing is rather a national turn on local integration policy where local integration policies and practices are increasingly governed by the state. I show through case studies from Denmark and Sweden that the national governments in recent years have in fact increased their control and local influence and thereby limited the possibilities for local governments to choose their own integration policy.

Many of the studies of local integration policies have a multi-level governance perspective. Their main interest is the relations between national and local integration policies, especially to explain congruencies and incongruences between local and national policies as well as between local policies in different cities (Borkert & Bosswick 2007; Poppelaars & Scholten 2008; Bak Jørgensen 2012; Scholten 2013; Dekker et al. 2014 forthcoming). While some studies find that national models of integration still is highly influential on the local level and that there is a congruence between national and local integration policies (Dekker et al 2014 forthcoming), most research indicate a growing incongruence between the national and local level (Bak Jørgensen 2012; Scholten 2013). There are two main explanations for these incongruences. The local pragmatism thesis argue that there is a specific local dimension of integration policies characterized by a greater tendency to accommodate ethnic diversity and solve integration problems in pragmatic ways (Caponio & Borkert 2010; Poppelaars & Scholten 2008; Bak Jørgensen 2012). The localist thesis argues that there are neither national nor local models of integration. Instead, local policies are uniquely shaped by the specific problem-, political- and policy settings in the different cities (Alexander 2007; Mahnig 2004). Both the local pragmatist thesis and the localist thesis suggest a disintegration of national integration models and therefore imply a growing importance of studying integration policy beyond national frameworks.

One important explanation as to why most researchers find that there is a local turn of integration policy and that the national models of integration is getting weaker is that they are looking at the relationship between the local and national level by using frame analysis (See for example Bak Jørgensen 2012; Scholten 2013). By using frame analysis they look at integration policy from a rhetorical perspective, how an actor define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies when it comes to integration (D'Angelo & Kuypers 2010). Official policy documents are studied to unveil the central organizing idea, or ideology, behind the policies. If one finds that local governments adopt official integration policies that are ideologically different from central governments the conclusion is that national models of integration are disintegrating. This divergence of local and national

integration policy frames are identified by Bak Jørgensen (2012) in the case of Denmark and Scholten (2013) in the case of Netherlands. In the case of Germany, Schmidtke (2014) finds that the growing divergence is a result of a conscious choice to decentralize public policy responsibilities from the federal to regional and local governments. These studies have contributed to the understanding that local governments can be integration policy makers just as well as national governments. At the same time, they risk giving the wrong impression of what is happening at the national and local level when it comes to integration policy.

I see two main weaknesses when policy frames are used to study the multi-level governance of integration. Firstly, policy frames/integration ideologies might not mirror actual integration policies and measures. For example, Dahlström (2004) has found striking discrepancies in Sweden between integration rhetoric and integration practice. While the national integration policy frames have shifted several times since the adoption of the first immigrant policy in 1968 – from universalism to multiculturalism and back again – the practices and measures have not changed in any major way. A similar phenomenon can be found at the local level where local integration policies often lack legitimacy and are assigned a subordinate role in the administration (Capino 2010:179). Secondly, and most important for my argument, frame analysis fails to address the power relationship between national and local governments. As I will show, national governments use power instruments which to a large extent determine the municipalities' discretion when it comes to integration policy. Local governments might adopt alternative policy frames, but it means little if the state decides what integration measures that shall be implemented at the local level.

I add a different perspective to the study of local integration policies and multi-level governance by looking at the developments in Denmark and Sweden with power as the central concept. The increasing interference of the national governments in local integration policies takes the form of laws and regulation that forces local municipalities to implement certain integration measures, increased state funding for measures implemented at the local level and increasing direct state involvement in the implementation of local integration policies. Last but not least important, in Denmark state legislation are increasingly ruling the lives of individual migrants. Even though I argue that there is a national turn in local integration policies, I am not suggesting that there is no local dimension of integration policies or that the scholars using frame analysis necessarily are wrong in their conclusions that there is a policy divergence between national and local levels of government. The local level can very well formulate integration policies that go against national models, but they do so in a context where they have less overall room for manoeuvre than before. In other words, local governments tend to decide more about less.

I will show this by looking into recent developments in Denmark and Sweden: two countries with similar welfare states and local government structures (Sellers & Lindström 2007) but with very different national integration policies (Brochmann & Hagelund 2012). In both cases, the state has in fact increased their control and local influence and thereby limited the possibilities for local governments to choose their own integration policy. The centralization of local integration policies has happened in both cases, but in different way and by different strategies. Even though this paper only investigates the development in Denmark and Sweden, there are signs that indicate a broader European trend towards a national turn of local integration policy. Other countries have also centralized their integration policy. Germany did, for example, not have a national integration policy until 2005 and state agencies are now responsible for integration programs on the local level. Many European countries have also

during the last 15 years introduced civic integration policies which substantially have increased the integration requirements for migrant newcomers (Wallace Goodman 2010).

There is not enough space in this paper to understand and analyze how the multi-level relationship between central and local governments is played out in all the different dimensions of integration. In this paper the focus is on local integration policies for migrant newcomers. But in the concluding section of the paper I sketch a model how the theoretical framework used in this paper can be utilized to examine the multilevel governance of integration in a more comprehensive way in future research.

## **2. Framework for analysing local integration policy and multi-level governance**

As I pointed out in the introduction of the paper, most studies of multi-level governance and local integration policy have been using frame analysis. They are studying narratives and philosophies of integration and how they differ on the local and national level. I argue that this method only captures one side of the multi-level relationship. In this paper I use a method that captures the power relation between the national and local government levels which in turn decides the discretion of the local level when it comes to integration policy. The development of multi-level governance is often described as a result of three broad developmental trends: up, down and out (Pierre & Peters 2000), or as combining a vertical and a horizontal dimension of multi-level governance (Hooghe & Marks 2003). In this paper I am only interested in the relation between the state and the local level/municipalities. In the literature it has been noted that responsibility of certain policy areas has shifted downwards to regional and local political levels (Hooghe & Marks 2001). The question is if this is true for integration policies.

I analyse the multi-level governance of integration using a theoretical model inspired by Etzioni (1975), originally developed to make comparative analysis of complex organizations. The model's foremost advantage is that it captures power relations between those higher and those lower in rank (ibid. p.5). Etzioni mainly uses his model to understand power relations between persons within an organization, but his model has also been used to study how the state governs its authorities and local governments (Vedung 1991). The central concept in Etzioni's book is compliance, which he sees as a central element in all organizations. Compliance relations are asymmetric and vertical. It is about how subordinated actors behave in relation to another actor's power, and the means those in power have to make other actors follow their directives. As Etzioni points out, a compliance relationship does not assume that the subordinates have no power, only that they have less (Etzioni 1975, p.4). The relationship we are interested in is between the state and local governments. They are part of a common organization, and while local governments have more or less power dependent on national settings they are always subordinated to the central government.

The superior actor, in this case national governments, uses power to ensure compliance of other actors to carry out the directives and other norms it supports. Etzioni differs between three instruments of power: coercive, remunerative and normative (ibid. p.5). In the case of states and local governments it is probably better to use the terms coercive, economic and normative. The instruments of power can also be seen as sticks, carrots and persuasion.

Coercive instruments can be laws and regulations imposed by the state through decisions in parliament or, in some cases, decided by central governmental agencies. The municipalities are obliged to act in accordance with them. The relationship between central and local government is in this case authoritative. Reallocations of authority between territorial levels

can also be administrative if the state changes providers of public services among different levels of government (Porter & Olsen 1976).

Economic instruments often take the form of state funding of measures at the local level, often targeted funding for specific measures implemented by local governments or non-governmental organizations.

Normative instruments involve attempts to influence local governments by conviction, persuasion or knowledge. Direct verbal counselling, education and outreach activities are included here.

These instruments are not mutually exclusive, but can be used in combination to enforce compliance at the local level. For example, if the state wants to introduce language tuition for migrants at the local level they can use coercive means through laws and regulations, use economic means by provide funding or try normative means to convince municipalities that this is the right thing to do.

In the next part of the paper I will look at the recent development of integration policies in Sweden and Denmark from the theoretical multi-level governance model I have described.

### **3. Two faces of centralization of integration policies**

In order to prove my theses I need two sections: Firstly, a short explanation of the Danish and Swedish government system is needed to know the formal relationships between the local and national level. Secondly, there is a section on the development of state integration policy in Denmark and Sweden.

#### **3.1 Governmental structure in Sweden and Denmark**

The local governments in Sweden and Denmark both balance between self-government and central control, between the autonomous and integrational model of local government (Kjellberg 1995). According to the autonomous model local governments are a separate sphere of government with a primary function to secure democratic participation and efficient provisions of local services. In the integrational model, local governments are one part of the public sector and their main role is to implement national policies. These tensions are evident in the Swedish and Danish integration policy where the ambitions of the unitary state governments meet, by international comparisons, powerful local governments (Sellers & Lidström 2007).

The basic regulation of Swedish municipalities can be found in the Local Government Act of 1991. It specifies several responsibilities for the municipalities, and provides outlines for local government. According to law, the municipalities are responsible for childcare and pre-school, primary and secondary schools, social service, elderly care, support to people with disabilities, health and environmental issues, emergency services (not policing, which is the responsibility of the central government), urban planning and sanitation (waste, sewage). Labor market policy is a state responsibility, but local authorities have since the beginning of the 1990s become increasingly important actors in the labor market policy measures at the local level.

The public sector in Sweden has three levels of governing institutions: national, regional and local. The system combines a centralized national government with municipalities that enjoy considerable autonomy and far-reaching powers of their own. The central government has

exercising power on all three levels which gives a relatively complex structure at the local level. There are also regional municipalities which is responsible chiefly for health care and transportation in its region. The municipalities must therefore share power and responsibilities with national and regional institutions on the local level.

The constitution establishes the principles for local self-government. Local and regional municipalities have the right to levy taxes and determine tax rates. The central government has the overall responsibility for determining how resources are to be distributed within the country and they direct local activities by setting down economic guidelines and through establishing framework legislation. One of the goals of central government direction of municipalities is to guarantee a minimum standard in relation to various types of services (Gustafsson and Svensson 1999). Although the national government sometimes is deciding what municipalities should and must do, they are mostly free to organize themselves as they wish. Framework legislation and attempts to guarantee equal access to services for migrants has, as we shall see, been central in the development of integration policy in Sweden.

In Sweden there have been trends towards both centralization and decentralization in the last decades. In some cases, the state has decentralized responsibilities from regional state administrations to regional governments. At the same time, the central government has passed several laws that restrict the power of local governments. According to Feltenius (2007) this development is explained by a renewed importance of the principle of equality in welfare provisions.

In Denmark there has been a clearer trend towards decentralization. The large 2007 municipal reform transferred power to municipalities. The responsibility for primary education, social care, care for the elderly, physical planning, and child care was retained and in some cases expanded. Municipalities also got increased responsibility for education, social services, rehabilitation (outside hospitals) and health promotion. In 2009, the reform was completed when the area of labour market services also was decentralized to the municipalities (Blom-Hansen 2012). Today, the municipalities are the entry to services in the whole public sector in Denmark (Vrangbæk 2010). The change meant a potential increased autonomy in the field of integration policy.

The municipalities and the regions are allowed to take on any task of their concern as long as it does not fall under the national government or another municipality/region. Most local government functions are carried out with full discretion, except for a handful of social security benefits (old age pensions, in particular), where central government covers a share of the costs. The recent reform has strengthened the level of municipal autonomy and made the country even more decentralized than before. Municipalities are entrusted with more fiscal, political, and administrative autonomy than in any other country (Ivanyna and Shah 2012). At the same time as the municipalities got enhanced power, the regions became less important with fewer responsibilities and no power to tax its citizens. There is no system of subordination between the regions and the municipalities as they possess different tasks and responsibilities. Therefore, the public sector in Denmark only has two levels of governing institutions.

### **3.2 The Swedish case**

Sweden has a comprehensive immigrant policy in place since 1975 (Bill 1975:26), when a multiculturalist policy was decided in parliament. Even if many changes in content and terminology have been made since then, the basic framework still applies. The migrants shall

have the same living standards as the native population, and therefore migrants with residence permits are equipped with the same rights as Swedish citizens and included in the welfare state. This strategy was in line with a swift acceptance that migration was of a permanent kind. Several policies were introduced: mother-tongue instruction in schools for migrant children, voting rights for foreign citizens in local elections and subsidies to immigrant associations. After 1985, there was a move away from multicultural policy for both cultural and economic reasons (Schierup and Ålund 2011; Geddes 2003; Södergran 2000). The ‘immigrant and minority policy’ was thus renamed ‘immigrant policy’ as a consequence. After the 1980s reorientation, the state remained the guarantor of the social and political rights of immigrants but no longer of their minority cultural rights. As the number of humanitarian migrants gradually increased, responsibility of integration was transferred from the Employment Service to the municipalities (Prop. 1983/84:125). This shift of responsibility was part of a larger reform aiming to decentralise integration policies to the municipalities. At the same time, the most important part of the Swedish integration policy, the introduction program for humanitarian migrants, was introduced and will be the topic for the rest of the analysis.

**Table 1. Policies for newly arrived migrants – Sweden**

Year	Content	Instrument	Political intention
1985 (bill 1983/84:125)	Responsibility for introduction programs is transferred to municipalities.	Economic compensation from the state to municipalities.	Adaption of introduction programs to local conditions.
1991 (bill 1989/90:105 and ordinance 1990:927)	New system for reimbursement to municipalities for refugee reception. Expansion of the target group.	Increased economic incentives for municipalities.	Create freedom for local governments to, in collaboration with Employment Service, take active measures to enable migrants to become self-sufficient.
1992 (bill 1992:1068)	New introductory benefits for refugees and other foreigners.	Increased economic incentives for participants in introduction programs.	Municipalities were given the chance to use non means tested economic support to participants in an introduction program.
1998 (bill 1997/98:16)	New integration policy and establishment of the Integration Board.	Increased normative instruments for implementation of introduction programs.	The new agency shall help municipalities to improve the support to new immigrants.
2001	Central, regional and local agreements.	Increased normative instruments.	Strategy to improve collaboration and improved coordination of introduction programs.
2010 (bill 2009/10:188)	National Bonus for language acquisition	Increased economic incentives for participants in language tuition.	Encourage new immigrants to learn Swedish faster.
2010 (bill 2009/10:60)	Responsibility for introduction programs is transferred to the state.	Coercive instruments towards municipalities. Increased economic incentives for participants in introduction programs and private actors.	Speed up new migrants transfer into work.
2014 (Bill 2012/13:188)	Expansion of the target group.	Economic compensation from the state to municipalities	Give more family-reunification migrants right to an introduction

			program.
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Ever since the decentralization in 1985, the central government has gradually increased their efforts to influence the local integration policy for migrant newcomers. One reason for the decentralization of the introduction programs was that the state wanted individually designed introduction programs which also took different local conditions into consideration (Sarstrand Marekovic 2012). Municipalities were supposed to offer services such as language training, civic orientation and labour market activities and the state provide the funding. In many municipalities, the migrants social needs were prioritized (Soininen 1992). The local introduction programs were often planned and implemented by social workers in line with the Social services act. After some time the state reacted to the “care” focus of the programs and wanted a stronger focus on labour market integration.

In 1991 the state decided to introduce a new system for reimbursement to municipalities for refugee reception (Bill 1989/90:105 and ordinance 1990:927). The purpose of the changes was to increase the incentives for municipalities to speed up the labour market integration. Previously, the state compensated the municipalities’ costs for social assistance. Now, municipalities were given a lump sum compensation received for each person. This meant that the local governments could keep the state money if the newcomer became self-sufficient faster than the two years covered by state funding. The only coercive regulatory framework at this time to get the state funds was that an introduction plan would be drawn up for each individual. One year later, in 1992, another economic incentive was introduced (bill 1992:1068). Municipalities were now given a choice to use non means tested economic support to participants in an introduction program in order to increase their economic incentives to enter into employment.

The 1997 integration policy (Bill 1997/98:16 Sweden, the future and diversity: from immigrant policy to integration policy) emphasized individual rights and mainstreaming but changed little in actual integration measures. The regulatory framework for the local introduction programs was also kept. In order to successfully get municipalities to adopt more efficient introduction programs with a stronger focus on employment the state now turned to normative steering measures (Qvist 2012). A new state agency, Swedish Integration Board, was set up. One of their main tasks was to stimulate and help municipalities to develop better and more efficient introduction programs. The ideas at the time were to design an individual introduction with a focus on work that, as far as possible, did mimic the working life with activities that met a standard working week of 40 hours. The initial strategy of the agency was to provide local governments with knowledge through conferences, to highlight good examples and to do follow-up reports. When this strategy was seen as insufficient to influence policy change, the Integration Board initiated a strategy for collaboration and coordination of integration programs. Through different types of agreements between involved stakeholders on the national, regional and local level, the Integration Board tried to increase policy coordination. It was successful on paper and produced very many local and regional agreements where the work-first policy were agreed upon. However, according to Qvist (2012), it did not really lead to corresponding changes in the organization and structure of the local programs.

Despite these efforts, the central government was unhappy with the efficiency of the programs. The Social Democratic government therefore appointed a commission of inquiry to suggest improvements. The proposals (SOU 2003:75) presented in 2003 would have meant a certain centralization of the introduction programs, but the government failed to reach an



agreement with its coalition parties and the reform was abandoned. After the 2006 elections and a new center-right government in place, the Integration Board was closed down. Since both economic and normative steering instruments had been tried with disappointing results, the Government now also introduced coercive methods. With the 2010 reform (bill 2009/10:60) the state took over the responsibility for the introduction programs from the municipalities. According to the Government, the old programs had too little focus on labour market activities and therefore too slow labour market integration. By giving the Employment Service overall responsibility, the emphasis on work-first principle is strengthened. The government also believed that there were too large differences between how municipalities organized the programs and felt that centralization would guarantee that the state policy would be implemented in a better way. The Government also introduced an introduction benefit for participants in the program, an individual state allowance replacing the old municipal social benefits. But even after the law, the need for local coordination is great. Municipalities are still responsible for Swedish for immigrants and civic orientation courses, for which they receive state funding. A new private actor, introduction guide, was also introduced to help the migrant to find employment, which further added to the need for coordination. The law meant increased state involvement in three ways. Firstly the responsibility and administration for the introduction programs shifted from the municipalities to the state. Secondly, the state funding for the program increased. Thirdly, the content in the program is for the first time regulated by law.

The new law is the most significant aspect of the trend towards a centralization of integration policy for migrant newcomers in Sweden. But it is not the only example. The state, which in Sweden is responsible for labour market policy, has introduced subsidized employment directed at migrant newcomers. The state budget for the local introduction programs has skyrocketed, from about 5 billion SEK from 2006-2011, to about 13 billion yearly from 2014 onwards. This is due to a rising number of humanitarian migrants in combination with increased spending per person. In addition, the target group for the introduction programs is expanded from January 2014 (Bill 2012/13:188). Family members to humanitarian migrants that arrive in Sweden within six years instead of two years are now eligible for an introduction program. Other centralization efforts by the state that have effects on the local level are a new law that forces municipalities to accept settlements of unaccompanied minors, increased rights for undocumented migrants and state funding for local anti-discrimination measures.

### **3.3 The Danish case**

The Danish immigrant policy developed progressively in the 70's, not by a single explicit policy, but through reforms in different policy areas. The main principle was equal rights in the welfare state with some targeted measures such as language training for migrant newcomers and mother-tongue instruction in schools (Vad Jönsson & Petersen 2012). When refugees began to arrive in larger numbers in the 80's the government gave the NGO Danish Refugee Council responsibility for humanitarian migrant newcomers. Introduction activities was mainly carried out by the Danish Refugee Council themselves and they had the authority to grant social benefits to participants. In 1986 Denmark established an integration program for humanitarian migrants with a duration of 18 months. This program included language training and civic orientation, but no labour market activities to speak of. After this period, the responsibility was handed over to municipalities.

#### **Table 2. Policies for newly arrived migrants – Denmark**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Content</b>	<b>Instrument</b>	<b>Intention</b>
1994 Integration action plan	Responsibility for language training transferred to municipalities		
1999 (Act no. 474 of 1 July 1998)	Responsibility for introduction programs is transferred to municipalities.	Economic and coercive instruments were introduced directed at both municipalities and participants in introduction programs.	Make newly-arrived refugees and immigrants active participants, self-supporting and with an understanding of Danish fundamental values and norms.
2002 (Act no. 364 and no. 365 of 6 June 2002)	Integration requirements were introduced for obtaining permanent residence permits.	Economic and coercive instruments directed at participants in introduction programs.	Migrants have a duty to participate actively in the different program elements.
2006 (Act no. 243 of 27 March 2006)	Migrants must sign an integration contract.	Normative instruments directed at participants in introduction programs.	Making Danish values more visible.
2007 (Act no. 379 of 25 April 2007)	Immigration test for family migrants is introduced	Coercive instruments directed at family migrants	Foreigners are to be met with a clear signal as to what is expected of them in Denmark.
2010 (Act no. 571 of 31 May 2010)	The Integration Act was extended to include labour migrants and their families plus EU migrants.	Coercive instrument directed at municipalities.	Adjust the Act to a changed migration pattern.
2010 (Act no. 572 of 31 May 2010).	New point based system making it harder to obtain permanent residence permit.	Coercive instruments directed at participants.	Favour well-integrated while making it harder for “less integrated” migrants.

Just as in Sweden, the Danish central government has throughout the last decade’s decided on policies and legislations that have increased its influence on integration measures on the local level that has had profound consequences not only for municipalities but also for individual migrants. The process started in 1994 when the Integration action plan did make the municipalities responsible for language training for all migrant newcomers.

The 1998 Act on integration (Act no. 474 of 1 July 1998) gave the municipalities the main responsibility for carrying out the objectives of the integration policy (Jensen et al. 2010), first and foremost the introduction program, that now was expanded to all non-EEA migrants. The aim was to improve the management and coordination of the integration programs where all the separate elements were gathered under the same political authority. The act also for the first time mentioned labour market integration as an explicit goal. Municipalities are obliged to offer a three year long introduction programs where the key pillar is language training. Since 1999 it is also the state that decides where the humanitarian migrants are settling by assigning local and regional quotas (Nielsen & Jensen 2006). Even though it is the municipalities that are responsible for the introduction programs, their tasks are laid down in law. Vad Jönsson & Petersen (2012) describe the policy change as a public centralistic welfare state solution. Djuve and Kavli (2007) categorize the introduction regime as detailed law regulation while, for example, the Norwegian legislation is categorized as general law regulation and the Swedish regime at the time as recommendations. The costs for benefits and services are reimbursed by the state. The reimbursement system is quite complicated and has used different arrangements to give municipalities incentives to implement efficient programs.

Since 2007, the economic compensation to municipalities consists of three parts of which one depends on the results in language training and labour market entry.

After several steps to restrict the migration of non-EU citizens to the country, the number of humanitarian and family migrants fell while the number of other migrant categories rose. As a response to this, the Danish government decided in 2010 to include also other migrant categories in the Integration Act (Ersbøll and Gravesen 2010). For the municipalities this means that they now are obliged by law to offer them an introduction course including language training and civic orientation.

Due to the fact that coercive instruments were introduced at an earlier stage in Denmark to ensure compliance on the local level, normative instruments have not been used as extensively as in Sweden. The main normative instrument has been the benchmarking system for measuring municipalities' success in the labour market integration of migrant newcomers that was set up in 2002 (Liebig 2007). By comparing, the diffusion of effective integration measures is supposed to take place between municipalities.

Compared to Sweden, state authorities are not involved in the implementation of the introduction programs. Municipalities must, though, offer integration services to a broader target group for which they receive state funding. We can thereby conclude that the state over time has increased the use of coercive and economic instruments to make sure of compliance, which in turn has reduced the possibilities for the municipalities to independently decide on integration policies for migrant newcomers.

The other aspect of the centralization of Danish integration policy that is easy to forget when studying local integration policy is how the national integration policy affects individual migrant newcomers. This is a perspective of the debate on the local turn that is neglected. Most European countries have introduced some form of forced integration in their migration and integration legislation where migrants have to show a willingness and capacity to integrate to be able to stay in the country and get access to equal rights (Wallace Goodman 2010). In relation to these kinds of legislations, municipalities have no possibility to develop an independent local integration policy. In the Danish case, all municipalities can do is to advise and administer rules and procedures in relation to the migrant newcomers.

Just as the 1998 Act on integration (Act no. 474 of 1 July 1998) meant less discretion for municipalities, it was also the start of the development of one of the most restrictive and controlling integration regimes in Europe (See, for example Mouritsen et al 2009 and Ersbøll and Gravesen 2010). In the act, several integration requirements for obtaining a permanent residence permit were introduced. Now the humanitarian migrants had to show 'a will to integrate' through participation in a three year integration program to be able to get a permanent residence permit. It also became more difficult to obtain family reunification due to the introduction of a three years permanent residence requirement. At the same time, the government introduced significantly lower welfare payments to humanitarian migrants (the so-called 'introduction benefit'). Its official rationale was to increase the incentive to provide for oneself, but the lower benefit was also designed to keep individuals from seeking asylum in Denmark in the first place (Mouritsen et al 2009). When a center-right government came into office with support from the Danish Peoples Party in the autumn 2001, the path towards restricting immigration and introducing integration requirements was pursued even further. Residence requirements for permanent residence permit and citizenship was raised. Danish language tests and requirements to be employed were introduced to be eligible for permanent

residence, family reunification and naturalization. The right to family reunification was removed for everyone below 25 years of age.

More legislation on integration requirements followed in 2006 and 2007 when an integration contract and an integration examination were introduced. These changes meant that the bar to get a permanent residence permit was raised. The required language level for permanent residence was increased to D2E, comparable to the European level B1, and the applicant is required to have been in ordinary full-time employment for at least two years and six months over the past seven years. The latest major integration related policy changes was made in 2010. A pre-immigration test for foreigners applying for family reunification was introduced. Applicants take the test in Denmark, and is denied residence if they fail. The purpose was to strengthen the individual foreigner's possibilities for successful and rapid integration into Danish society.

The integration legislation is based on the idea that 'permanent residence is reserved for foreigners who integrate', that 'results count' and that 'citizenship must be earned' (Ersbøll and Gravesen 2010). For the individual migrant, the integration process means a one-way compliance to the standards set by the state. The migrant must, by passing several legal steps, prove to be economically and culturally integrated to be a Danish citizen (Howard 2009, Jørgensen 2012).

To sum up, both municipalities and individual migrants on the local level are increasingly governed by the central government. In 1999 the central government laid down detailed legislation of what kind of introduction services a municipality has to offer non-EEA migrant newcomers. In 2010 the provisions were extended to all migrants. Municipalities also cannot decide if they want to settle humanitarian migrants or not. For individual migrants the coercive measures of the state is even more profound.

**Table 3. Forced integration in Denmark**

	<b>Integration requirements</b>
Permanent residence permit	<p>Legally resided in Denmark for at least five years</p> <p>No criminal record</p> <p>No overdue public debts</p> <p>No public benefits for a period of three years</p> <p>Declaration of integration and active citizenship in Denmark</p> <p>Passed a Danish language test (level 1)</p> <p>Held regular full-time employment and/or been enrolled in an educational program in Denmark for at least three of the five years</p> <p>Must be working or studying at the time of becoming eligible for permanent residence.</p>
Danish citizenship	<p>Declaration of allegiance and loyalty.</p> <p>Renunciation of present nationality.</p> <p>Nine years of continuous residence.</p> <p>A permanent residence permit.</p> <p>No criminal record</p> <p>No overdue public debts</p> <p>No public benefits during 1 year and for a maximum of 2 years and 6 month for the period of five years</p> <p>Passed a Danish language test (level 2)</p> <p>Pass a citizenship test</p>

Family reunification	Both partners must be at least 24 The combined attachment to Denmark must be greater than the combined attachment to any other country. The applicant must pass Danish as a second language test within six months of being granted residence. The spouse in Denmark must not have received public assistance for the last three years The spouse must have accommodation of adequate size The spouse must post DKK 50,000 (2012 level) in bank-backed collateral to cover any public assistance paid The spouse must have had a permanent Danish residence permit for the past three years or more The spouse may not have been convicted of violence against a former spouse within a period of 10 years prior to the application.
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Source: Information collected from the New to Denmark website 2013-08-29 <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-US/>. The requirements in the table are the standard ones, but there are some exceptions for specific categories of migrants.

#### 4. Concluding discussion

Since the early 1990s, the Danish and Swedish national governments have tried to improve the efficiency of the local introduction programs for migrant newcomers. This has been a struggle since both countries have some of the most decentralized government structures in the industrialized world. Normative, economic and coercive instruments have been used to make local governments comply with the ambitions of the national governments. In Denmark, the world's first integration law was passed in 1999 that gave the municipality's detailed obligations exactly what kind of introduction programs they have to implement. Even though the government structure in Denmark was decentralized further in the late 2000s, they have very little autonomy in the area on integration for migrant newcomers. Their task is to implement what is laid down in national laws. This also includes a large part of the administration for making individual migrants comply with national integration requirements.

In Sweden the national government was more hesitant to use coercive instruments to make local governments comply with the national ambitions. The municipalities had until 2010 a lot of autonomy what kind of introduction programs they wanted to develop. The national government tried to steer the programs towards a more work-line principle by using normative and economic instruments. After disappointing results, the national government decided to take over the responsibility by putting the Employment Service in charge of the introduction programs. This way the national government not only stripped the municipality of a large part of their autonomy, they took over some of the implementation as well.

When Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, proclaims that the city wants to become the most inclusive city in Europe by 2015; that integration is a two-way process and that diversity is strength (Copenhagen 2011) it is easy to get the impression that the Danish national model for integration is losing its influence and power. After all, the ambitions in Copenhagen are very different from the assimilation policy of the central government. But local integration policies matters little when central governments uses coercive instruments to ensure compliance with national integration policies. A city like Copenhagen may want to break out of the policy frame set by the central government, but all they can do is decide more about less. The city still has to implement an ever longer list of integration measures and administer the integration requirements directed at migrants that are laid down in the Integration Act and other state legislations.

The Copenhagen example shows that it is important to complement the research on local integration policy that use frame analysis with research that emphasize the power relations between central and local governments. This paper has looked at one aspect of the multi-level governance of integration policy, namely policies directed at migrant newcomers. While most researchers on the subject of multi-level governance and integration policy have found that local governments are increasing in importance, I have shown that local integration policy when it comes to migrant newcomers is increasingly governed by national governments. Both in the Danish and Swedish cases there have been a centralization of the authority and a disempowerment of the subnational level. In Sweden the national government ended up using coercive instruments and took over the responsibility of the entire policy area. Municipalities are now subordinate to the state in the development of local introduction programs. Denmark use the Integration Act as a coercive instrument to make sure that local governments and migrant newcomers comply with the wishes of the Danish national government.

The findings suggest that national models of integration are still strong and have grown stronger in recent times. It is an open question if this development also is the case in other countries. It is also an open question if other dimensions and areas of integration have developed in a similar way. In order to improve the knowledge on this topic I suggest a typology that combines Alexander's (2007) typology of local migration policies with the Etzioni (1975) framework to analyze power relations and compliance that I introduce in this paper. This way the multi-level dynamics of local integration policy can be explored more fully.

**Table 4. Typology of state – municipal relations in local integration policy, by compliance instruments and dimensions of integration**

	<b>Socio-economic</b>	<b>Legal-political</b>	<b>Socio-cultural</b>	<b>Spatial</b>
<b>Coercive</b>	Integration act on introduction programs.	Citizenship legislation.	Regulations of mother tongue classes in schools.	Regulations of tax-reductions in disadvantage neighbourhoods.
<b>Economic</b>	Funding for introduction programs.	Funding for local anti-discrimination centres.	Funding for civic orientation education	Funding for anti-segregation programs.
<b>Normative</b>	State knowledge-sharing on good examples of labour market activities	State advertisement for local elections.	State programs for religious tolerance in schools.	Voluntary agreements on refugee reception.

On the vertical axis are the three different instruments for compliance, as described in the theoretical framework. On the horizontal axis are the four dimensions of integration policy (Biezeveld and Entzinger 2003; Alexander 2007): a socio-economic, socio-cultural, legal-political and spatial dimension of integration (see also: Freeman 2004; Samers 2010). The *socio-economic dimension* captures a broad category of policy areas like the labour market, education, housing, healthcare, social security and policing. The *socio-cultural dimension* captures the more subjective and interactive dimension of migrant integration. This dimension involves various policies that refer to processes of acculturation on behalf of migrants; for instance, identity formation, accommodation of minority cultural and religious practices and institutions, acceptance of basic values and norms. In addition, it involves public attitudes toward migrants, mutual perceptions, ethnic contact, etc. The *legal-political dimension*

captures primarily the civic and political incorporation of migrants into society. The legal part of this refers for instance access to citizenship, anti-discrimination legislation and legal provisions that are specific to migrant groups. The political part does not only refer to political rights, but also to political participation, political organization of migrants, participation in civil society and the existence of specific consultative structures that allow migrants to participate in society. The *spatial dimension* basically separates out the indicators related to 'housing' from the socio-economic dimension and puts them together in a separate dimension. The spatial dimension refers to the housing position of migrants but also to spatial concentration or dispersion of migrants and symbolic spatial uses.

The different boxes in the table show examples of possible state involvement on local integration policy categorized by the instruments of compliance and the dimensions of integration. This paper has been situated in the socioeconomic dimension and did analyse the multi-level relations between the state and municipalities over time in Denmark and Sweden. For a fuller picture of the multi-level dynamics of integration policy, other integration dimensions should also be studied to determine if we actually are experiencing a national turn of local integration policy or not.

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# Social media analytics for sustainable migrant integration policies

*Reflections of the FP7-ICT project UniteEurope from a tool-oriented perspective*

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**Abstract:** *The role of social media as participation platforms in democratic societies has been widely discussed in academia, while their exploitation with concrete tools has hardly been centered. This paper then focuses on social media analytics (SMA) in general as well as the conception of a social media analytics tool (SMAT) being developed within the 36-months FP7-ICT-project UniteEurope, which aims at equipping policy-makers and NGOs with decision-support for sustainable migrant integration policies. While the project is based both on in-depth social-scientific research with regard to analyzing those stakeholders' requirements on the one side, and on technical conception and software development on the other side, this paper explicitly emphasizes the latter.*

**Keywords:** social media analytics, migrant integration, decision-support, policy-making, ICT, UniteEurope

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Seeking to serve and equip NGOs and policy-makers in cities and on the pan-European level with facilitations and innovations to support sustainable migrant integration policies, the present paper focuses mainly on a respective social media analytics tool (SMAT) conception, referring to the ongoing FP7-project UniteEurope. Being strongly connected to social inclusion, migrant integration is generally understood as a process in which both the immigration society (and host country respectively) on the one side and immigrants on the other side have to engage actively (Zick, 2010). Consequently, good collaboration on a political and societal layer is obviously needed when aiming at functioning migrant integration, especially in cities, which are generally characterized by rising pluralism, heterogeneity, diversity and societal fragmentation, which makes it hardly possible to oversee and involve all positions and interests concerning socially relevant issues, such as migrant integration (Andersen & van Kempen, 2001).

Within the UniteEurope project it is then assumed that social media analytics (SMA) do have the potential to support decision-making processes towards sustainable integration policies by considering citizens' discourses on social media platforms and channels, and thereby strengthen especially of the voices of the younger generation, who generally use social media extensively. Consequently, a sophisticated SMA solution is aimed to be developed within the project for collecting, filtering, aggregating and presenting mass data generated by citizens in already existing

global and local social media channels and platforms (e.g. platforms such as Facebook, micro-blogs such as Twitter, weblogs and online newspaper forums) to support policy-makers in cities as well as local and pan-European NGOs to identify important migrant integration issues and trends and develop efficient and effective measures and policies.

## 1. Outlining social media analytics: potentials and limitations

User generated content has been strongly increasing ever since social media emerged (boyd & Ellison, 2008). In recent years, marketing strategists, NGOs, entrepreneurs and other professionals have become aware of the information capacities arising from social media and demand for tools, which support them in overviewing the unstructured but valuable information generated by users in the “natural setting” of various social media platforms. Therefore a variety of SMAT has been developed to manage, channel, aggregate and analyze user generated content.

Generally SMA, also called social media listening or social media monitoring, is comparable to traditional market research, whereby people do not have to be consulted with questionnaires, but authentic answers are already available in the WWW and are filtered and analysed automatically (Lange, 2011). However, in contrast to traditional market research, the social-scientific research principle of “informed consent” is not given within SMA, and SMA cannot claim to work with representative data, but depends on data produced by – mostly young – people active in the social media. In other words, besides ethical and privacy issues raised, SMA cannot provide representativeness (e.g. regarding the possible underrepresentation of migrants and of “digital immigrant” or older generations in the social media), but have strong potential in considering migration integration perceptions especially of the younger generation (especially so-called “digital natives”).

Like in market research, an important aspect of various SMAT is the analysis of sentiment and opinion respectively. Usually, positive, neutral and negative sentiment towards a brand or topic of interest across all identified relevant mentions is indicated in percentages. However, automated sentiment classification may fail in some cases, no matter which tool is used, as systems are not able to detect linguistic and contextual specifics such as irony and sarcasm (Harlinghausen, 2001 and Liu, 2012). For this reason, the UniteEurope project consortium decided to renounce the automated analysis of sentiment of the generally highly delicate issue of migrant integration.

In contrast to other SMAT, which focus mainly on brands and products, the UniteEurope SMAT will emphasise the socially and politically highly relevant issue of migrant integration. Thus, exploiting SMA for sustainable integration policies is the main goal of the UniteEurope project, in which RTD in this regard is centred for the first time.

Even though SMA emerged only in recent years, respective SMAT have already reached high complexity and manifoldness (see for example the Aberdeen Group Benchmark Report, 2008; Goldbach Interactive, 2011). In the course of the UniteEurope project, 100 SMAT were collected and evaluated within a best practices report regarding their usability and manifoldness, for example regarding language options, sufficiency of sources coverage, structural clarity, the variety of features, and the visualization of aggregated data (Wetzstein & Leitner, 2012). The results show, in a nutshell, that while most of the analyzed SMAT are generally advanced and sophisticated, and mostly products of US companies, manifold language options are not (yet) self-evident in the SMAT landscape. However, there are a few tools existing, which provide multilingual user interfaces and dashboards (e.g. Heartbeat, see <http://www.sysomos.com>) and, more often,

language filtering, segmentation and detection options (e.g. BrandsEye, see <http://www.brandseye.com>), In contrast to many other SMAT, the UniteEurope SMAT will be provided with multilingual interfaces as well as the possibility to detect and analyse social media content in different European languages, for which multilingual keyword lists including lists of word stems and slang words are to be elaborated.

## 2. Concept of social media analytics serving sustainable integration policies

As the UniteEurope SMAT aims at supporting local and pan-European NGOs and political decision-makers in sustainable migrant integration policy-making, the respective UniteEurope SMAT is needed to be attuned especially to their needs. Concretely, having the City of Rotterdam, the City of Malmö as well as the Austrian NGO ZARA (Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit) in the project consortium, their individual needs and requirements with regards to the planned software solution have already been investigated, the thereby gained insights directly flowing into the UniteEurope SMAT conception.

### 2.1. Specified UniteEurope modules

Scalability, flexibility and customizability are indispensable prerequisites for the UniteEurope SMAT conception in order to be able to attune the solution to stakeholders' individual needs. However, tool capabilities, requirements and expectations could be clearly extracted from the mentioned analysis of SMAT best practices and requirements analyses with end users in the project consortium, and resulted in the following UniteEurope modules (Leitner et al, 2012):

- *Main dashboard*: The main dashboard of UniteEurope will be the landing page when entering the tool and the central navigation point, and will include cumulated information of all other modules and an intuitive overview of all possible services.
- *Organisation monitoring*: The organisation monitoring will be a predefined monitoring service for the adopters of the solution. Based on pre-defined keywords related to the organisation name, continuous monitoring of related articles and posts on the web will be realized.
- *Campaign tracking*: Within campaign tracking users will be able to define a specific phrase in combination with a series of parameters. The related content will be collected and presented in an intuitive way.
- *Live monitoring*: This module will allow live (real-time) searches with user-defined keywords in selected social media sources.
- *Multi streams*: Due to multi streams users will be able to select a set of social streams out of a preselected collection related to each target group. For example, the most influential Twitter streams for a specific NGO will be included.
- *Integration monitoring*: Integration monitoring will be the core module of the UniteEurope solution for local target groups. With the mentioned language-based keyword list, a data pool of relevant articles and posts will be built.

- *Measures and cases library*: The UniteEurope software will include a measures and cases library for supporting its users in decision-making. Measures will be partly pre-defined, and the users will have the possibility and be encouraged to set up and share measures and specific cases.
- *Benchmark analytics*: Benchmark analytics will be the core module for the pan-European target groups. It will deliver a comparison of city-based content, figures and statistics.

Generally, the set of UniteEurope modules is fixed, and a prototype has already been developed. However, even if cyclic interaction and feedback loops with the end users represented in the project consortium take place on a regular basis, the aspect of usability, which will be tested and evaluated in depth with them in the near future, might still make minor changes necessary.

## 2.2. Social media analytics for city administrations and NGOs: Main tool characteristics

Given that local and pan-European policy-makers and NGOs each have differing demands regarding integration policy-making, the UniteEurope solution must be conceptualized within a stable, modular, scalable, flexible and customizable solution architecture based on a framework combining crowdsourcing, collective intelligence, mashup and Web 2.0/3.0 approaches, in order to be able to meet individual needs. The UniteEurope solution will be delivered applying a software-as-a-service (SaaS) approach, which means that tools and dashboards will be accessible whenever Internet access is available, and will enable the project-relevant stakeholders to collect mass data and integration-related content generated by citizens appearing in pre-defined social media sources, based on pre-defined keywords compiled in the cities' most common languages (official language as well as languages of the most represented immigrant groups). Publicly available relevant data will be visualized with dashboards for cities and NGOs on the local (Figure 1) as well as pan-European level in an intuitive way, whereby data presentation will be more aggregated and less detailed on the pan-European level. Additionally, an integration issue grid model with multi-layer logic patterns (Figure 2) is the core of the UniteEurope SMAT conception, with which mass data and content along social-scientifically well-founded pre-defined integration issues, taxonomies and algorithms will be structured with several layers of connected variables. The grid model therefore serves as a standardized categorization of integration issues and enables comparisons and the identification of good practices in European cities.

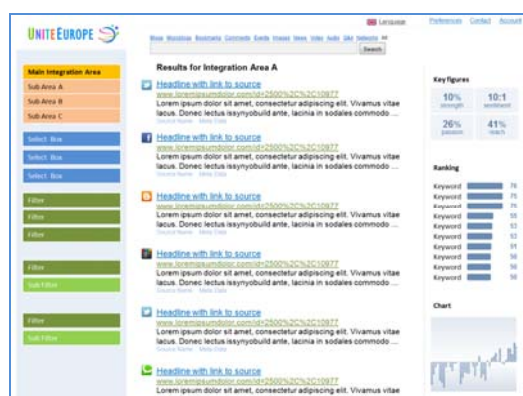


Figure 1: Exemplary dashboard

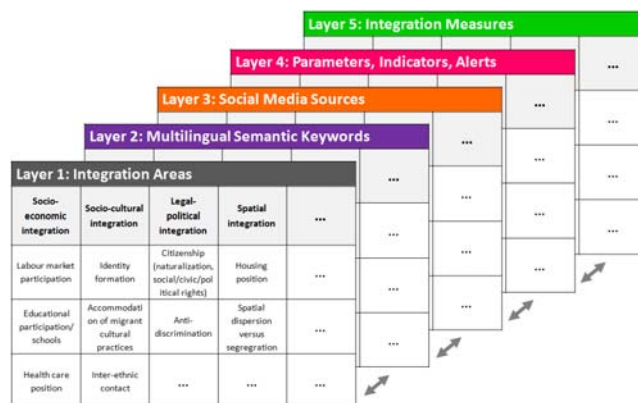


Figure 2: Multi-layer model

Within the multi-layer model, integration areas such as culture, e.g. the case of the opening of a new Turkish cultural center in a city, and public space, e.g. conflicts in a park (layer 1); multi-lingual keywords (layer 2); local (e.g. local online media sources) and global (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) social media sources (layer 3); parameters and indicators to enable cities and NGOs to set priorities and determine needs of action (layer 4); and integration measures (layer 5) are defined and specified for each end user (cities and NGOs) in the project consortium, based on in-depth social-scientific desk research, systematic literature reviews and qualitative interviews with end users. Regarding the definition of sources, the UniteEurope solution will refer to social media sources as well as to journalistic online media in order to be able to generate holistic results, include as many voices as possible and give a variety of perspectives for decision-making. However, social media are given the main emphasis within the conception of the tool. With the widest possible coverage of social media and online media sources, the UniteEurope SMAT will enable policy-makers and NGOs to overview and analyze migrant integration discourses from within one single platform.

### 3. Conclusion

This paper overviewed the conception of the UniteEurope SMAT and clarified the aim and purpose of the solution to serve NGOs and policy-makers on city and European level with decision-support for sustainable migrant integration policies. Yet, a SMAT solution approaching especially migrant integration issues does not exist. Being a new area of research and technical development, the UniteEurope project produces various challenges, which could not be centered in the present paper, but which the project consortium already faced and will also have to deal with in the future. This refers to the complexity of the differing migrant integration policies and measures in the partner cities within the project consortium (Dekker et al, 2012); to ethical, legal and particularly privacy-related challenges in social media data collection (Stöckl et al, 2012); and to the recent critical academic discourse on the power and handling of so-called “big data”, meaning for example the seemingly unmanageable masses of social media mentions, and its public benefits and/or threats of misuse (boyd & Crawford, 2012). With in-depth analyses of cultural, legal and ethical aspects (Stöckl et al, 2012) and the approach to access and assess only publicly available information and sources including APIs, not to target or to crawl individual users as single subjects, and maintain standards of anonymity and aggregate relevant data correspondingly, the UniteEurope team ensures and takes care of the purposeful use of the software to be implemented, tested and customized for each partner city and NGO represented in the project consortium as a next step.

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# DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTUITIVE SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYTICS TOOLS

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## ABSTRACT

Typical user interface guidelines often lack in adequately addressing the design of complex applications like social media analytics tools. Especially non-professional end users often experience huge difficulties in handling analytical software because the interface is hardly adapted to their requirements. A tool for this user type which is able to combine advanced search options, filter selections, analytical and visualisation features needs to be created upon task-based structures and elaborated methods such as HCI-patterns. The most relevant design considerations to support researchers as well as developers in creating complex but intuitive analytics systems are presented on the basis of experiences within an ongoing project in which a sophisticated social media analytics platform for integration issues is developed.

## KEYWORDS

Design considerations, social media analytics, interaction design, mockups, user-centered design, HCI-patterns.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Since social media emerged and user generated content has been strongly increasing a variety of social media analytics tools has been developed to manage, channel, aggregate, and analyse the masses of unstructured but valuable data. While social media analytics tools such as “The ForSight Platform” by Crimson Hexagon (for extensive lists see Goldbach Interactive Report, 2011) are mostly applied for marketing and business purposes (Stavrakantonakis et al., 2012), respective capacities and tools regarding the analysis of social phenomena yet have received comparably little consideration. Unfortunately there is little known about conceptualisation and design processes of such software which could support researchers and professionals for their purposes. In the current FP7-project UniteEurope a new and complex social media analytics tool is created that searches for integration-related content and processes it for detailed analyses. Thereby social media content generated by citizens is used to support decision-makers in cities and NGOs to identify positive and negative developments at a local as well as on pan-European level. Based on these insights efficient and sustainable integration measures and policies can be initiated. The findings of this ongoing project especially concern conceptualisation and design processes of the particular modules which perform analytical processes and visualisation of aggregated data and may also be useful for further social media analytics approaches which aim at societal topics. Therefore, this paper provides the basic approach of the project, important conceptualisation and design efforts and finally a comprehensive compilation of design considerations that have to be kept in mind when developing efficient and usable social media analytics software.

## 2. RELATED WORK

Although there are numerous compendiums on interface and interaction design for different scopes of application (for example Cooper et al., 2007; Johnson, 2010; Nielsen, 2001; Sharp et al., 2007) there is hardly any literature on the intuitive design of highly complex software that has to combine analytical as well as visual elements especially for less skilled users regarding their know-how on analysis software (Few,

2007). A study of the Rutgers University (Diakopoulos et al., 2010) that is related to social media visual analytics for journalistic inquiries investigated how professionals use the Vox Event Analytics software to make sense of the social information stream related to news and events. The study also describes in which way the interface was designed and roughly evaluates how it is used by a small group of test users. While there are noticeable design considerations for collaborative visual analytics (Heer & Agrawala, 2008) there is hardly any knowledge on complex designs for individual users with limited analytical skills. Whinton et al (2012) describe basic design processes and development approaches for complex applications using showcases such as BondWorks and OEConnection. Intelligent User Interfaces (IUIs) that “aim to improve the efficiency, effectiveness, and naturalness of human-machine interaction by representing, reasoning, and acting on models of the user, domain, task, discourse and media” (Wahlster, 1999, p.2) are an interesting design approach. The use of HCI-patterns (Granlund et al., 2001) which describe ways to structure information and implement navigation in order to support users’ tasks, seem to be highly valuable to create complex but intuitive interface designs (Macefield, 2012). Nevertheless, precise design considerations for complex analytics tools are missing. Therefore the following sections will introduce the general approach of the UniteEurope project, typical mockups and designs that were created and finally the underlying concepts and design thoughts that were considered during the development of the platform.

### 3. APPROACH

The project follows an elaborated approach that can be mainly divided into four sequential phases in order to create a sophisticated social media analytics tool that aggregates, analyses and visualises integration-related content.

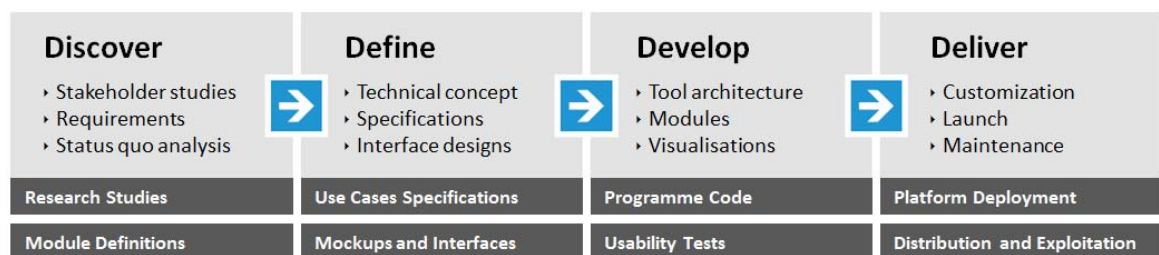


Figure 1: Project phases

The first phase (Discover) emphasises comprehensive social research to analyse the status-quo of the given field, important stakeholders and their main tasks and requirements. This knowledge is further needed (Define) to generate the algorithms which gather and process the relevant data, but also to define the technical requirements as well as a detailed interface concept based on relevant use cases and task patterns. The basic tool architecture, which also holds multiple modules bundling the main functionalities of the social media analytics tool, is created (Develop) by adopting a user-centered design method during all conceptualisation and implementation tasks in the development phase. The elaboration of an initial running prototype allows researchers and developers to get a clearer picture of the final tool. Furthermore it is thereby possible to involve potential end users who can perform scenario- and task-based tests to give feedback on the quality of the content that can be found, analysed and visualised with the social media analytics tool as well as to report issues concerning the usability of the software. The last phase (Deliver) contains the deployment of the working platform as well as customization and system maintenance tasks.

### 4. MOCKUPS AND DESIGNS

The platform was divided into specific modules to guarantee a clear handling of the analytics tool. Each module focuses on main user tasks which were identified during the stakeholder analysis. Following, a selection of the most essential modules and the related functionalities as well as concepts will be shown. Two

typical mockups will reveal how modules can be composed efficiently to demonstrate early stages of interface design process in the first place. In the following, two basic module interface designs are presented to illustrate the transition of concepts into intuitive interface designs.

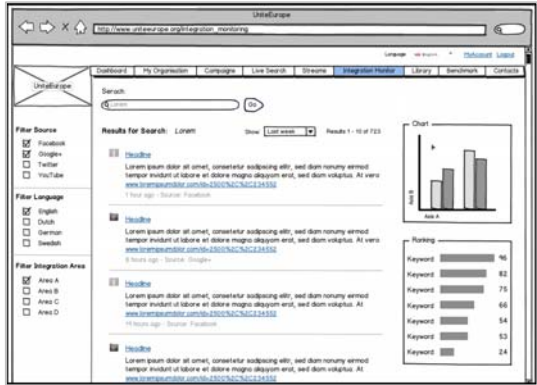


Figure 2: Mockup “Integration Monitoring”

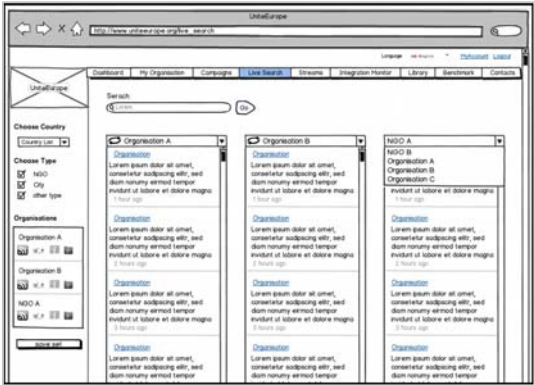


Figure 3: Mockup “Live Search”

One of the core modules of the platform is the Integration Monitoring module. A data pool of relevant articles and posts out of the social web is generated by using language-based keyword lists. The keyword lists consist of integration-related terms in order to identify relevant content, and of area-related keywords which are meant to facilitate their categorisation and annotation. Besides the main view with all related posts chronologically sorted, users will have the possibility to select different integration areas to see specific articles and posts. The module also allows filtering the results according to different languages, source types (e.g. Microblogs, Newspaper, Comments etc.) and stream types (Facebook, Twitter, RSS). Several visualisations are provided to give the users a better overview on the found data, for example how often the searched keyword (query) was posted in a specified time period or the distribution of the keyword over the different source types.

The Live Search module will allow searches with user-defined keywords in selected social media sources. After entering the search query an automated process will simultaneously provide search results from different sources. This allows the execution of real-time queries based on user-defined terms, which, in turn, enables a flexible search beside the predefined keyword lists which are used for the Integration Monitoring tool. The possibility to search for specific integration-related terms and view the results at the same time allows users to directly compare different sources and the quality of content they hold.

From a conceptual perspective it was of high relevance to find a solution that combines complex but easy to handle queries, filter options and data visualisations. Therefore a clear structure over the whole platform, which ensures that users find navigation buttons, search fields, filter elements and search results always in the same specific areas was established. This is a main requirement to create a very complex analytical tool that is at the same time easy to understand and handle.

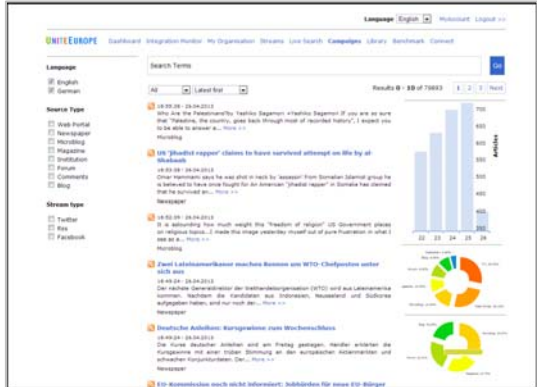


Figure 4: Design “Campaign Tracking”

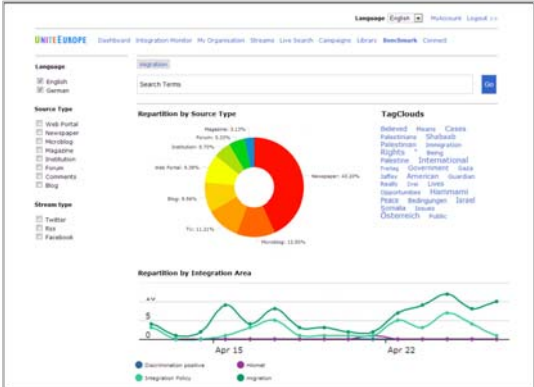


Figure 5: Design “Benchmark Analytics”

The Campaign Tracking module allows users (e.g. NGOs) to define a specific phrase like a claim or other organisation-related terms in combination with a series of parameters. Up from that point related content (articles and posts) will be collected. The user is able to filter the content by source type and stream type. In addition, the results can be visualised in aggregated form which may be useful to see how often the phrase was found in the social media since the campaign started or within another time period of interest. The users will be able to visualise which source holds more articles or posts with the searched term to identify which communication channels are of high relevance.

The Benchmark Analytics module was designed to deliver a comparison of location-based content, figures and statistics of all involved cities. The data will be aggregated from the local insights, meaning that all cities using the tool are consolidated in a meta module. The users will have the possibility to see the visualisations of all included cities in Europe, which will allow them to compare specific integration areas and to identify good practices on a pan-European level. Specific integration-based benchmark figures will ensure the comparability between different cities. Selected partner cities will be given the option to get to see figures and statistics of other cities. From a conceptual perspective it was reasonable to create a module that concentrates on sophisticated visual analysis especially for the target group of pan-European NGOs.

## **5. DESIGN CONSIDERATIONS**

The presented modules illustrate that there is an underlying logic that runs like a thread through the conception of the whole platform. During the Discover phase valuable insights on the end users, their skills and work context were gathered. By using this information task patterns were created that describe user requirements according to tasks but also consider pitfalls and goals. A task pattern consists of several items such as name, context, problem, goal and design solution. It captures relevant knowledge in a structured form and provides an overview on all relevant tasks. This is a basic but important step to identify similar tasks and combine them in particular modules. Thereby the handling of the platform gets more intuitive because it is in line with the work context and expectations of the users.

The analysis of these task patterns revealed that most tasks follow the same process (Selection/Filtering – Result – Analysis/Visualisation). Based on these insights structure and design patterns were created which suggest to use the logic of the mentioned process also for the positioning of the main elements in every module. This means that the first step of the process (Selection/Filtering) is located on the left side, the presentation of the results is placed in the middle of the screen and further analysis and visualisation features are positioned on the right side. Besides the process the positioning of elements also goes along with the typical left-to-right reading direction which at least is intuitively for the western civilisation. Due to the fact that every module is using this mental model for the positioning of the main elements the platform supports the users to perform tasks even if they are not familiar with analytical tools. Initial tests showed that the design was self-explanatory to the users. Due to the fact that most of the modules were following similar process steps with a similar interface design, users only have to understand the underlying concept once and will thereby understand the handling of the whole platform.

Following, the insights of the project are aggregated in major design considerations that are highly relevant to create efficient and intuitive social media analytics tools especially for users which are not familiar with social media analytics.

### **5.1 HCI Patterns**

In contrast to typical interface guidelines, Human Computer Interaction (HCI) patterns (Granlund et al., 2001) put emphasis on the user, tasks and context. Instead of blindly following given interface guidelines it is useful to create own patterns, such as task patterns as well as structure and navigation design patterns. These patterns capture relevant knowledge in a structured form, provide an optimal overview and contain all relevant insights that were gathered during the research (Discover) phase (see Chapter 3: Approach). The patterns help to understand the users' view on particular tasks and allow to find design solutions that are directly connected with the users needs and requirements. Instead of simple interface guidelines, patterns are much more qualified to support developers and designers to create software which is intuitively usable.

## **5.2 Task-Based Structures**

Due to the masses of user-generated content and various opportunities in analysing and presenting results it is of high relevance to structure tool features according to the user requirements. Separate areas (modules) which combine exactly those functionalities needed by the end users to perform typical tasks allow a much better overview on the available possibilities the tool provides. Furthermore particular sites will not be overloaded, and confusion especially for end users with fewer skills on analytical software will thereby be avoided.

## **5.3 Positioning of Elements**

Even if different kinds of functions are performed in every module most of the tasks have similar chronological processes. In the given project the process can be described as follows: search and/or select filter options – present results – visualise the results for further analysis. This process does not need to be described to the end users in detail. In contrast, they intuitively expect this kind of process based on their experience when performing tasks likewise. Furthermore it is known that western users usually screen a site from left to right similar to reading a book. This knowledge combined with the intuitive process understanding of end users' perceptions can be used to create a self-explaining surface. For the mentioned project this means that on the left side selections can be chosen, the middle holds the results of the social media analysis, and the right side presents visualisations for the given results.

## **5.4 Search Filters**

The massive content that social media analytics tools have to handle need elaborate filter functionalities that allow users to structure and rank the search results according their mental models. The filters have to correspond with the relevant tasks the user wants to perform with the respective module and allow a maximum of flexibility for advanced analyses. For this kind of tools it is preferable to use parallel selection methods and not drill-down methods to filter content. Parallel selection (Nudelman, 2009) allows end users to use further analysis and visualisation methods more efficiently and filter the results more exactly to their specific interests.

## **5.5 Flexible and Customizable Interfaces**

Complex tools with various features often confuse less skilled end users when they start using a tool. Therefore it makes sense to limit the functional possibilities they can see in the early starting phase. The main focus should lie on the typical tasks users want to perform with the software. It should be possible for user to intuitively identify the most relevant functionalities they need. When the navigation concept and the handling of the basic tool functionalities are understood the users might want to perform additional and more complex actions. For example if a user wants to define a more detailed search, a variety of filters can be used. However, those filters are hidden in an advanced menu that is attached to the main filter checkboxes not overburden the user in the start phase. A flexible interface points out where more complex functionalities can be found. Furthermore it makes sense to allow users who are already used to the system or users with higher analytical skills to customize the interface regarding feature selection and presentation.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

Developing a social media analytics tool is a very complex undertaking. In most cases the main focus lies on the creation of the algorithms that ensure clean and efficient aggregation and processing of relevant data. Thereby the end users are often not kept in mind which results in a system that is highly potent but not manageable satisfactorily by those people who actually use it. The presented designs, which are on a basic development stage, were chosen to demonstrate how analytical and visual elements can be combined most efficiently. The creation of task patterns during the initial research steps of the project allow to better

understand the users, the work context and indicated design problems at an early stage. Understanding the different tasks a user wishes to perform also allows to identify similarities of processes and functionalities which furthermore lead to a sound structure and navigation concept. By following the mentioned design considerations it is possible to create social media analytics tools or similar complex software that is as well powerful and at the same time intuitively usable also for non-professional end users. During the following phases of the project the developed platform will be tested with various end users to evaluate the usability and user experience of the tool. This will also reveal if the mentioned design considerations work efficiently for other user types (e.g. more skilled analysts) or if the created task patterns have to be strongly adapted for these different user types.

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# SOCIAL MEDIA ANALYTICS: DEFINITION, CONTEXT AND TOOL EVALUATION

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## ABSTRACT

User generated content has been strongly increasing ever since social media platforms emerged. In recent years, marketing strategists, decision-makers, organisations and other groups have become aware of the information capacities arising from social media and demand for tools, which support them in overviewing the unstructured but valuable information generated by users in the “natural setting” of various social media platforms. Therefore a variety of social media monitoring and analytics tools (SMMT and SMAT) has been developed to manage, channel, aggregate and analyse user generated content. Data mining in the age of social media arises in many different areas. Beginning with basic information, the development of SMMT and SMAT and the explanation of those concepts, the paper then overviews SMAT in general within a tool evaluation and presents a study of best practices in social media analytics. The results of the study conducted with in-depth systematic reviews and SMAT evaluations inter alia indicate that most SMAT follow business and marketing purposes, are well able to balance the tension between the sophistication of the tools and user-friendliness and provide intuitive visualisations, while multilingual user interfaces and manifold filtering features are rarer.

## KEYWORDS

Social media, social media analytics, social media monitoring, tool evaluation, best practices

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The fast growth of social media is moving on and new records are continually published from the world of Facebook, Twitter, YouTube & Co. The big success of several social media services leads to its strong use by the Internet community to communicate, collaborate and interact in private and professional life.

Various social networking sites, discussion forums, blogs, media sharing sites or micro-blogs give their users the possibility to state and share opinions on political and societal issues as well as on brands and products, and communicate effectively across borders. Recently, mainly companies but also political decision-makers and NGOs have been realizing the impact the consumers' or citizens' voices can have on issue perceptions, brand images, brand loyalties and purchase or election decisions. These circumstances raised the demand to learn from online communities by identifying, structuring, organizing and aggregating important conversations occurring in the innumerable online sources. For this purpose a variety of social media analytics tools and social media monitoring tools (SMAT and SMMT) have been developed, covering different (business) objectives, such as improving marketing strategies and communications, conducting market research, supporting customers, protecting (brand) reputation and developing new products (Aberdeen Group, 2008). Data mining in the age of social media arises in many different areas. Kasper and Kett (2011) identify the following SMAT fields of application: Social customer relationship management; reputation management; trend, market and competition analysis; social media marketing and commerce; product and innovation management; event detection, issue and crisis management as well as Human Resources (e.g. identification of potential employees and recognition of image-harming mentions).

While social media monitoring (SMM) and social media analytics (SMA) are used in several areas and can imply several objectives, the respective tools are mostly embedded within broader business monitoring and social marketing concepts, but hardly within societal issues and political decision-making support. The use of SMAT is most often connected to brand management as well as to market research, when using (more authentic) online conversations instead of traditional survey methods, which often produce “socially



desirable” responses (effect of social desirability). Besides brand management and market research, the management of campaigns and reputation are other areas which some SMAT promise to support.

Even though SMM and SMA emerged only in recent years, the respective tools and approaches have already reached high complexity and manifoldness. A simple Google search on “social media monitoring tools” and “social media analytics tools” each yield millions of results. Systematic evaluation studies of SMAT focusing on data input, processing and output have been conducted and give evidence of how the tools can differ within various aspects, for example the way data is organized and visualised. In general, each of the respective reports uses similar sets of criteria, for example the types of sources and contents factored into SMA, the considered variety of languages, data management (e.g. defining filters) and the design and usability of dashboards and data interfaces (e.g. Fritzsche, 2012). Given the similarity of evaluation criteria among the existing reports, the criteria addressed also served as idea providers for the analysis of best practices in SMA. However, the present study also focused on additional aspects, such as features, target groups, the purpose of the described tools and the way SMM and SMA are embedded within the different offers and portfolios.

## 2. DEFINITION AND CONTEXT

Generally, SMM is comparable to traditional market research, whereby people do not have to be consulted with questionnaires, but the answers are already available in the WWW (Lange, 2011). SMM focuses either on brands, products, individuals or companies and aims at extracting information out of unstructured data (text mining), meaning user generated content published on various online platforms. Based on keywords and online sources determined in advance, relevant data is collected and analysed. More concrete, SMMT and SMAT transpose phrases and words in unstructured data into numerical values, which are linked to a database that enables different ways of analysis, using traditional data mining techniques, and of visualisation of the results. As already mentioned several SMAT are available. Depending on the objective of analysis, the right tool might either be an expensive instrument including a high complexity of features or a tool such as a free series of Google Alerts (Lange, 2011; Cafasso, 2011).

Generally, the concepts of SMM and SMA are used rather identically: SMM can be explained as *“the active monitoring of social media channels for information about a company or organisation”* (Bradshaw, 2012). Similarly, SMA *“is the practice of gathering data from blogs and social media websites, such as Twitter, Facebook, Digg and Delicious, and analysing that data to inform business decisions”*. SMA is mostly used for *“gauging customer opinion to support marketing and customer service activities”* (Rouse, 2011).

Regarding opinions as *“key influencers of our behaviors”*, opinion mining and sentiment analysis, in which people’s opinions, attitudes and emotions towards certain issues, products, organizations and other entities are explored, are central SMAT features (Liu, 2012). Automated sentiment analysis systems identify positive and negative statements and can thus support decision-making processes in various areas such as marketing and brand management, policy and issue management. However, as Harlinghausen (2011) states, sentiment analysis can only partly work automatically as systems are often not able to attach e.g. ironic phrases correctly to the categories “positive”, “neutral” or “negative”. Therefore quantitative indices (directly measurable, such as number of views, of visitors, of action and reaction, of fans/followers), qualitative indices (such as relevance, sentiment, engagement) and individual indices (related to the respective platforms, such as Facebook’s “likes”) have to be differentiated. Especially qualitative indices can allow various interpretations as different SMAT use different technical and content-related approaches (Harlinghausen, 2011).

## 3. TOOL EVALUATION

After clarifying main concepts and contexts of SMM and SMA, the conducted evaluation and best practices analysis of SMMT and SMAT including some of its results is presented in the following sections.

### 3.1 Methodological Approach, Data Collection and Research Steps

For the tool evaluation SMAT were collected, using mainly web sources, such as respective web lists (e.g. <http://www.crunchbase.com>), scientific resources and corporate sources. However, given the high number of provided SMAT, this collection cannot claim completeness even if it surely outlines well-known and established tools. The data cleaning, in which rather “low-level” or early beta SMAT (e.g. using blogs as only source) were deleted, resulted in a list containing 100 SMAT. Out of this long list, ten SMAT were selected for a detailed best practices analysis and systematically reviewed and described. Within the “top 10” selection we aimed at picturing different fields of applications and at demonstrating the variety of SMAT features at the same time. Already existing SMMT/SMAT evaluation reports were consulted for selection supporting. However, the later presented “top 10” shortlist is created in alphabetical order and does not contain any ranking of the included SMAT.

### 3.2 Results I: Overall Analysis of 100 SMAT

The following section aims at providing an overview by describing the big picture of the SMAT landscape, based on an alphabetical list of the 100 most relevant and advanced SMAT (detailed list is available on <http://www.synyo.com/publications/iadis/socialmediaanalytics/smatlist.pdf>). A systematic overall analysis with standardized evaluation criteria was conducted. The below table lists those criteria and concludes the overall analysis:

Table 1. Conclusion of the overall analysis

<b>COSTS</b>	Either free of charge or with costs, more often with costs.
<b>VENUE</b>	Mainly the US, but also Canada and some European countries.
<b>LANGUAGES</b>	Various tools without language options, multilingual user interfaces are seldom. Language options in terms of filtering, segmentation and detection are available within some tools.
<b>COVERAGE</b>	Mostly good coverage; consideration of social media sources and often traditional media in addition.
<b>PURPOSE</b>	Almost always consumer/customer and brand focus. Some tools with a more general approach (analysing <i>any</i> topic or keyword).
<b>STRUCTURE</b>	Mostly clear structure, dashboard summary is provided in many cases. Tools with costs often provide more in-depth reports and rather offer individual reporting options. Variety of filter options.
<b>FEATURES</b>	Sentiment/opinion analysis as the very centre of reporting. Approach of real-time or near real-time data gathering and reporting. Common features: sentiment analysis, influence analysis, trending, alerting functions, social engagement and workflow systems (within more advanced tools)
<b>VISUALS</b>	Prevalent visualisation techniques and strategies: most often bar, line and pie charts, tag clouds. Geo-tagging illustrated with maps. Various ways of visualizing sentiment. Flexibility in terms of individual options of visual presentation varies.
<b>USABILITY</b>	Tools are mostly designed in a user-friendly and intuitive manner; conflicting priorities of keeping the interface simple and user-friendly and at the same time providing customizable reporting options are recognizable within a few tools.

As the table *inter alia* illustrates, the analysed tools in general have some common ground, for example with regards to source coverage, features and visual presentation, and that the considered tools are mostly user-friendly and intuitive. However, language options in terms of filtering, segmentation and detection are not at all self-evident in the SMAT landscape. Only 16% are multilingual because most SMAT providers are based in the US and thus the tools are consequently held in English.

### 3.3 Results II: Detailed Analysis of 10 Best Practice SMAT

The following explanations refer to the detailed best practices analysis, in which ten SMAT were selected from the list of 100 collected SMAT as described above. The following table lists the ten SMAT selected for detailed analysis:

Table 2. Selected SMAT for detailed analysis

NO.	PLATFORM NAME	COMPANY NAME	URL
1	BrandsEye	BrandsEye	<a href="http://www.brandseye.com">http://www.brandseye.com</a>
2	Brandwatch	Brandwatch	<a href="http://www.brandwatch.com">http://www.brandwatch.com</a>
3	Engagor	Engagor	<a href="http://www.engagor.com">http://www.engagor.com</a>
4	The ForSight Platform	Crimson Hexagon	<a href="http://www.crimsonhexagon.com">http://www.crimsonhexagon.com</a>
5	Heartbeat	Sysomos	<a href="http://www.sysomos.com">http://www.sysomos.com</a>
6	Radian6	Radian6	<a href="http://www.radian6.com">http://www.radian6.com</a>
7	Social Mention	Social Mention	<a href="http://www.socialmention.com">http://www.socialmention.com</a>
8	SocialSeek	SocialSeek	<a href="http://www.socialseek.com">http://www.socialseek.com</a>
9	uberVU	uberVU	<a href="http://www.ubervu.com">http://www.ubervu.com</a>
10	Viralheat	Viralheat	<a href="http://www.viralheat.com">http://www.viralheat.com</a>

Similarly to the overall analysis, the ten selected SMAT were described and evaluated based on a predefined structure and set of criteria, including a general introduction to each tool (including the overall purpose of the respective tool, its target group/customers and the self-description), basic information (including URL, company, location, year established, language options: user-frontend and monitoring languages, media/content types and costs), and evaluation criteria (including *design* in terms of data gathering, filtering, visualisation, interface and structure in general; *features* with regards to analysis and engagement options; *functionality* in terms of the variety of reporting and analysis options; and *usability* with regards to either easy-to-use or complex/complicated interfaces).

Based on these criteria in combination with the results of the overall analysis important lessons learned can be derived either for future SMAT conceptions as well as for SMAT use, such as the following:

- First of all, almost all of the ten analysed SMAT successfully perform the balancing act between flexible and diverse reporting options on the one hand (e.g. The ForSight Platform and Radian 6) and an intuitive user interface on the other hand (e.g. Social Mention).
- If multilingual user interfaces shall be provided, Heartbeat can serve as a good example, not least because it is the only tool within the detailed best practice analysis which comes up with a multilingual user frontend.
- Workflow systems, such as provided by BrandsEye, are features which should be paid closer attention, especially when focusing on the management of contacts and communication from within the tool.
- Several analysed tools include social media engagement features, which support the users in managing their social media accounts and get in contact with authors of mentions (e.g. Radian6). Paying closer attention to engagement features might be enriching for the development of future SMAT.
- The best practices analysis identified sentiment analysis as a core feature of nearly every analysed SMAT. However, as already mentioned automated sentiment analysis is never free of failure. Nevertheless, as sentiment analysis is a central aspect of almost all relevant and advanced SMAT, the implementation of this feature should be given some thought when conceptualising and developing SMAT. Of course, failure should be widely precluded, but as mistakes can still happen, the possibility to change sentiment classification manually, as for example provided by Engagor, should be considered.

Lessons can surely be learned from the large variety of sentiment reports provided for example by uberVU and from the in-depth sentiment reporting, which The ForSight Platform offers.

- Moreover, ForSight's individual reporting and the tool's customizable and diverse visual options are particularly interesting as idea providers for future tools with regards to comparisons of social media content (e.g. among companies, brands, regions or cities).
- Almost all tools analysed within the best practices analysis have a real-time data gathering and presentation approach, which should be state-of-the-art also for future SMAT. SocialSeek, in which the results are refreshed automatically every 30 minutes, can serve as a good example in this regard.
- Generally, the analysed SMAT offer various filter options: Filtering by sources seems to be a minimum standard as all in-depth analysed SMAT provide this feature. In contrast, filtering mentions by language is not as self-evident as many of the overall analysed tools do not provide any language options. However, some tools are very advanced in this regard. Filtering data by city and geographical location respectively is offered by more advanced tool as well (for filtering see for example Heartbeat and BrandsEye). It is surely worth advancing those features when conceptualizing SMAT.
- Concerning the use of SMAT, users can resort to either cost-effective SMAT with less features and less sophisticated filtering options and visualisations, or to more cost-intensive customizable tools providing various reporting options, depending on the purpose of use. However, most tools refer to marketing, business or brand purposes within their self-descriptions in their respective web appearances (see Table 2), even if some SMAT providers have a broader approach to the use of their tools, as for example Crimson Hexagon, who see their ForSight platform, which is based on quantitative analysis methods developed at Harvard University, also suitable for analysing societal, political or broader economic issues.
- Most of the analysed SMAT can well balance the tension of providing manifold and sophisticated features while at the same time being user-friendly and intuitive. Nevertheless, some advanced SMAT providing manifold features are recommended to be employed by more trained users as they make an impression of being rather "over-engineered" (e.g. BrandsEye and Radian6).

All in all the detailed analysis demonstrates that the SMAT landscape is generally advanced while language options and multilingual user interfaces should be further developed, especially when aiming at conceptualizing a SMAT going beyond the current state of the art. Moreover, the question of what is the "best" SMAT cannot be answered in general, but depends on the purpose of use, the complexity of analysis and respective user requirements.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Within this paper, basics and the development of SMM and SMA and of respective tools were elucidated. The discussion of definitions and related fields showed that SMM and SMA share similar approaches often embedded within broader concepts, such as social marketing, social CRM and market analysis. Indeed, monitoring and analytics tools can be compared with traditional market research, whereby people do not have to be consulted with questionnaires in SMM and SMA, as - more authentic - answers are already available in the WWW. However, in terms of market research, the factor of the non-representative nature of social media mentions and conversations has to be considered. In other words, social media conversations and mentions are not self-evidently congruent with "the public", and several online public spheres are fragmenting a general public (Dahlgren, 2005). This has to be taken into account, especially when focusing the analysis of sentiments and issue perceptions, via SMM or SMA. However, SMM and SMA have the potential to receive insights into needs and opinions especially of the younger generation, who mostly author social media mentions and comments. The paper also clarified that SMMT and SMAT mostly focus on brand management and business solutions, whereas political or societal issues such as integration or (un)employment are barely considered. With their potential to gather information on people's opinions and views, SMM and SMA, however, can be assumed to be also a suitable concept for societal issues such as migrant integration, which is centred within the current FP7-ICT-project "UniteEurope: Social Media Analytics and Decision Support Tools Enabling Sustainable Integration Policies and Measures".

The cores of the paper are the presented tool evaluation and the detailed best practices analysis. The results show, that the analysed tools in general have some common ground, for example with regards to source coverage, features and visual presentation (mostly bar, line and pie charts), and that the considered tools are mostly user-friendly and intuitive.

Even if the state-of-the-art of SMM and SMA is generally already at an advanced stage, they have to be reflected critically as well. Besides the above mentioned factor of non-representativeness of social media mentions, other aspects to be considered when applying SMMT and SMAT are questions of privacy (boyd and Crawford, 2012) and of equal public participation via social media. Even if social media penetration and prevalence is very high in Europe and the US, the question of access to social media has to be dealt with critically, as not everybody might have an Internet access and be able or have the possibility to use social media channels or web forums. This is especially important when aiming at applying SMM and SMA with regards to the “global south”, where social media penetration remains low, even if it is generally increasing (Ramaiah and Warner, 2012).

Those and other ethical aspects will have to receive more intensive academic debate in the future, particularly when expecting SMMT and SMAT to reach more advanced stages and more manifold features and functionalities in the not too distant future.

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