

4 The sustainable urban development strategy and the integration of migrants in the Liège Functional Urban Area

Mandin, J.⁴²

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Functional Urban Area (FUA) of Liège consists of 53 municipalities and 751 881 inhabitants according to Eurostat data from 2018. As an historical centre of industrial activity, the urban area of Liège has experienced different phases of economic and urban transformation. The crisis of many industries often developed within the urban fabric of Liège and its surrounding municipalities (Seraing, Herstal, etc.) led to the disappearance of many local jobs as well as the appearance of industrial brownfield in the very core of the Liège urban region, especially in the municipalities of Seraing and Herstal. Other municipalities situated in the more rural part of the FUA have also lost some industrial activities in recent decades, such as the coalmines in the area of Blégny. Despite this loss of industrial activities and the significant consequences in terms of unemployment and degradation of the urban environment, other sectors such as universities, hospitals, transportation and logistics continue to be major providers of local economic activity.

In recent years, the Liège FUA was characterised by the development of many urban renewal initiatives in its urban centre. These urban renewal projects included the transformation of the Meuse river docks, the development of the tramway project and the urban transformation of the centres of the municipalities of Seraing and Herstal. Some of these projects were funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

At the same time, as in many urban regions across Europe, the FUA of Liège is characterised by both migratory and post-migratory dynamics. The Belgian authorities' recruitment of foreign workers after WWII contributed to the transformation of the population of the city and its surroundings. While no active recruitment of workers was organised in the ex-Belgian colonies, post-colonial immigration from Congo, Rwanda and Burundi also started in the 1960s and 1970s (Bonaventure and Martiniello 2001). During the economic crisis of the 1970s, the active recruitment of foreign workers stopped but immigration continued. This was characterised by increasing diversification of the types of migration (including family reunification, asylum seeking, intra-European mobility, formal or informal work migration and study) and of the countries of origin of the immigrants (Lafleur, Martiniello, and Rea 2015).

The result of these different dynamics is that the immigrant population in Belgium covers a large diversity of situations: from foreign workers who arrived in Belgium in the 1950s and 1960s to their children or grandchildren; from the international student recently arrived at one of the country's many universities, to the asylum seeker seeking protection; from the beneficiary of family reunification coming from outside the EU to the European citizen settling in Belgium.

This chapter addresses the relation between the development of policies supported by the European Union Cohesion Policy and the integration of local migrant populations. The following research questions are asked: To what extent and how does migrants' integration emerge as a focal point of the strategy? How are local migrant populations taken into account in the implementation of the different projects? What are the possible impacts of the projects on the issues that migrants might face in the FUA?

The chapter focuses on the 2014–2020 programming period and on two types of projects: 1) the projects falling under the Integrated and Sustainable Urban Development Strategy funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and 2) the URBACT projects funded by the ERDF as well as by national and local institutions. According to the STRAT-Board⁴³ online tool, there is one 'Integrated Urban Development' (IUD) strategy developed in the FUA. The strategy is implemented through the 5th priority of the ERDF Operational Programme for Wallonia. Moreover, the research identifies two URBACT projects within the FUA.

Methodology

In order to address the questions above, the chapter builds on the results of an exploratory research project conducted between December 2020 and June 2021. Three sets of data have been explored. The first part of

⁴² University of Liège

⁴³<https://urban.jrc.ec.europa.eu/strat-board/#/factsheet?id=BE-006&fullscreen=yes>

the research comprised an analysis of the available documents related to the ERDF operational programme, the SUD strategy and the different projects implemented locally. The second part of the research involved the collection of available statistical data and literature about the FUA in order to contextualise the different projects, in particular regarding local migration dynamics. For the third part, four qualitative interviews were conducted with local officials involved in the elaboration of some of the projects. Three of the four people interviewed were involved at municipality level. One person was working for the not-for-profit organisation in charge of the selection of the projects by the managing authorities. Unfortunately, no interviews were conducted with representatives of the regional government, which is in charge of the elaboration of the strategy. The interviews do not cover all the projects implemented locally but instead focus on two out of the three municipalities (Liège and Herstal) for which projects have been planned.

The chapter is organised as follows: The first section focuses on the analysis of the FUA context, in particular regarding the relation between migratory and socio-economic dynamics. The second section analyses the policies falling within the scope of this research. More specifically, it looks at the way the ERDF and the URBACT projects address (or not) the topics of migration and integration. It also looks at the possible intersection between the goals of the projects and the issues that migrants have to face in the FUA. Finally, this section also looks at the possible impacts of the projects on the life of the local migrant population.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

This analysis is based on different types of data. In addition to the available literature describing the migration dynamics in the FUA, statistical data are used to provide an overview of the local context. These statistical data are based on different sources. A first set of data from EUROSTAT and STATBEL provides information on the nationalities of the FUA foreign population. Another set of data (STATBEL) provides statistics on the population by country of birth (Belgium or foreign-born). Finally, the chapter uses the ‘difficulty index’ created by Grippa and colleagues (Grippa et al. 2015). This index aggregates 23 indicators divided into four dimensions (origin, income, precarity of employment, precarity of the household and dependence on transfer incomes)⁴⁴. It allows to describe the types and level of socio-economic difficulty that a neighbourhood might face.

4.2.1 Migration dynamics and population of foreign origin in the FUA

In Wallonia the population of foreign origin is concentrated in specific areas of the region. This repartition largely illustrates the history of immigration in Belgium as well as the current attractiveness of different areas. Historically, a large population of foreign origin settled in the old mining areas of Wallonia. This population is particularly representative of the immigrant populations of blue-collar workers who arrived after WWII, with a high proportion of Italians. A high proportion of the foreign population is also present in border areas where the populations of neighbouring countries (France, Germany and the Netherlands) are well represented. Finally, many immigrants are also attracted by urban centres in the Walloon region, such as Liège or Charleroi (Myria 2016).

As Table 1 below shows, the proportion of the foreign population in the FUA of Liège has remained relatively stable during the last decade.

Table 1. Proportion of foreign population (%) in the FUA

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Proportion of foreign population	11.10%	11.70%	11.80%	11.80%	11.60%	11.60%	11.60%	11.70%	11.80%

Source: Eurostat, 2018.

As Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) have described for the city of Liège, this apparent stability hides significant transformations in the immigrant population of the city and of the surrounding areas. As an industrial city, Liège and its surroundings attracted many of the immigrants who arrived in Belgium in the aftermath of WWII. But progressively, new types of migrations and immigrants coming from new countries of origin contributed to diversifying the immigrant population of the area. These new immigration flows come mainly from Europe (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016). The expansion of the European Union in 2004, for example, was followed by the arrival of many Romanian citizens, whose population has greatly increased in the FUA and, in 2020, is the

⁴⁴ For more information : See Grippa et al. (2015:12)

fifth largest foreign population in the area (see Table 2 below). After the economic crisis of 2008, the city also experienced the arrival of new immigrants from southern Europe (Greece, Portugal, Italy) even if these new populations do not necessarily compensate for the erosion of the Italian population (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016).

Table 2. Most represented foreign nationalities in the FUA in 2000, 2010 and 2020 (AV and %)

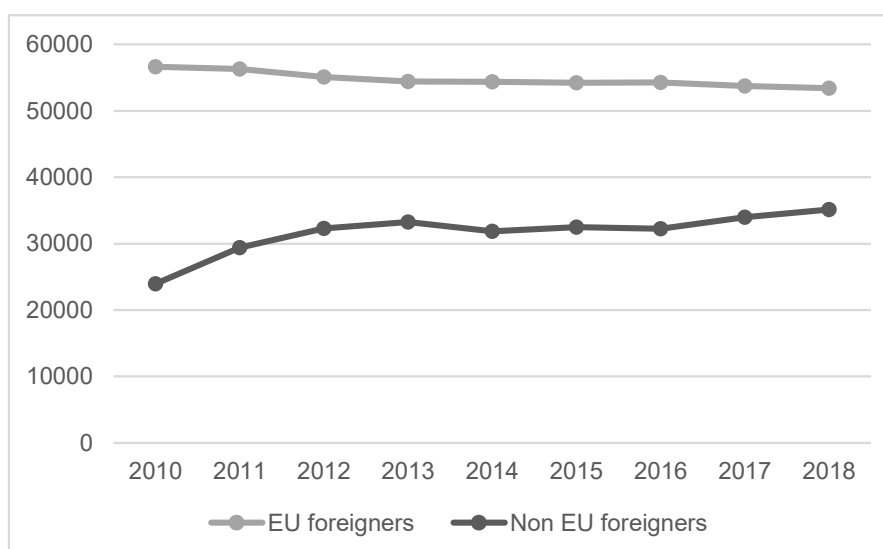
2000			2010			2020		
Nationality	AV	%	Nationality	AV	%	Nationality	AV	%
Italy	47 823	55%	Italy	35 001	42.8%	Italy	26 104	29.5%
Morocco	6 520	7.5%	France	8 270	10.1%	France	10 008	11.3%
Spain	6 516	7.5%	Morocco	5 728	7.0%	Spain	6 336	7.1%
France	5 820	6.7%	Spain	5 572	6.8%	Morocco	6 142	6.9%
Turkey	4 888	5.6%	Turkey	3 238	4.0%	Romania	3 383	3.8%
Netherlands	1 818	2.1%	Netherlands	2 684	3.3%	Turkey	2 939	3.3%
Democratic Republic of Congo	1 464	1.7%	Democratic Republic of Congo	1 949	2.4%	Netherlands	2 487	2.8%
Greece	1 260	1.5%	Romania	1 136	1.4%	Democratic Republic of Congo	2 365	2.7%
Portugal	1 131	1.3%	Portugal	1 070	1.3%	Cameroon	1 774	2.0%
Poland	1 072	1.2%	Algeria	958	1.2%	Iraq	1 624	1.8%

Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2020.

Beyond the evolution of the main populations present in the FUA, the table above also shows the decrease in the concentration of the foreign population for a few nationalities. Indeed, while the 10 most represented nationalities in 2000 made up 90.1% of the total foreign population, they only represented 71.2% of the total foreign population in 2020.

As illustrated by the list of nationalities above and according to Eurostat data, in 2018 most of the foreigners living in the FUA were EU citizens (60.3%). They represented 7.1% of the total population. Meanwhile non-EU foreigners represented 39.7% of the foreign population, and 4.7% of the total population. While this tendency seems relatively stable over time, the last decade shows a slight increase in the proportion of non-EU foreigners in the FUA (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Evolution of the foreign population in the FUA (EU and non EU)



Source: Eurostat, 2018

Liège is also characterised by the presence of a population of immigrants seeking protection. According to Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016:197) there is a population of some 2000 persons of different statuses (undocumented, asylum seekers) in the city of Liège. This population is difficult to quantify with precision as undocumented migrants do not appear in the official statistics. However, their presence nevertheless produces significant mobilisation — either from the migrants themselves or from civil society activists and networks — to defend the rights of undocumented migrants in the city in reaction to increasingly restrictive policies implemented at federal level (Lambert and Swerts 2019).

The successive flows of immigration to the FUA substantially modified the structure of its population. While the information above mainly relies on data on nationality, in 2020 the Belgian office for statistics (STATBEL) released new data regarding the origin of the Belgian population. The statistics distinguish three main categories of population in terms of migration origin:

1. Belgians of Belgian origin: persons of Belgian nationality whose first registered nationality is Belgian, and whose parents' first registered nationalities are also Belgian.
2. Belgians of foreign origin: persons of Belgian nationality whose first registered nationality was a foreign nationality; and persons with at least one parent whose first registered nationality in Belgium is a foreign nationality.
3. Non-Belgians (or foreign citizens): persons with a foreign nationality.

It is important to note that the second category groups situations that may be quite different. Indeed, it combines people who had a foreign nationality themselves (potentially people who migrated to Belgium) with people whose 'foreign origin' is in fact the foreign origin of their parents. This last group of people includes the descendants of immigrants who did not themselves experience migration but who continue — in a certain number of cases — to experience the effects of discrimination against ethnic minorities that are active in different domains, such as restricted access to the job or housing markets (Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme 2012, 2014). For these reasons, in the following paragraphs, a distinction is made between the categories 'Nationals of foreign origin' to refer to people of Belgian nationality but previously registered as foreigners, and 'Nationals born to parents of foreign origins'.

According to the STATBEL data, in 2020, 60.1% of the FUA population were Belgian nationals of Belgian origin, while 11.1% were foreigners. Of the total FUA population 14.1% were nationals who had been previously registered as foreigners, and 14.7% were Belgian nationals born to at least one parent previously registered as foreign (STATBEL 2020). Table 3 below shows that the proportion of the population of foreign origin is comparatively higher in the FUA of Liège than the proportion at national or regional level. The proportion of the foreign population in the FUA is comparatively higher than the proportion at regional level but lower than the proportion at national level.

Table 3. Structure of the population by origin in Belgium, Wallonia and the FUA of Liège

	Belgium	Wallonia	FUA
Nationals of Belgian origin	67.9%	66.4%	60.1%
Nationals of foreign origin	9.8%	10.1%	14.1%
Nationals born to parents of foreign origin	9.9%	13.1%	14.7%
Foreigners	12.4%	10.4	11.1%

Source: Statbel, 2020.

In conclusion, the area of Liège, as an area of industrial activity (with a part that is now in crisis) and as an urban centre, has long been attractive to immigrant populations. These populations range from the post-WWII immigrant workers to the current newcomers who find professional and education opportunities as well as institutional and social networks (immigrant associations for example) in the city, which allow them to find support and resources to settle in Belgium. In this context, the population of the FUA has experienced a form of 'diversification of its diversity' (Hollinger 1995) in different ways. New migrants coming from new countries of origin (European or not) continue to arrive and settle in the FUA. At the same time, the post-WWII immigration of workers has been progressively replaced by a variety of new immigration channels such as family reunification, asylum, study or free movement within the EU. To the now aging population of post-WWII

immigrant workers and their children (the 'second generation'), new types of migrants (students, person benefiting from family reunification, asylum seekers, free moving EU citizens, workers, etc.) are added, continuing to diversify the local population, making it a de facto multicultural city. The following paragraphs describe how this diversification interacts with local urban dynamics.

4.2.2 Territorial analysis of migrant residential patterns

The structure of the population at FUA level hides significant disparities in terms of concentration of foreign population. Indeed, among the 53 municipalities that constitute the FUA, the municipalities of Liège, Herstal, Seraing, Saint-Nicolas and Ans represent 71.9% of the FUA foreign population. These five municipalities also represent 57.4% of the population of foreign origin. In comparison, they only represent 44.7% of the FUA total population (STATBEL 2020). In the city of Liège for example, 19.5% of the population are of foreign nationality and 34.7% are either of foreign origin or born to parents of foreign origin (STATBEL 2020).

Table 4. Municipalities with the largest foreign populations within the FUA in 2020

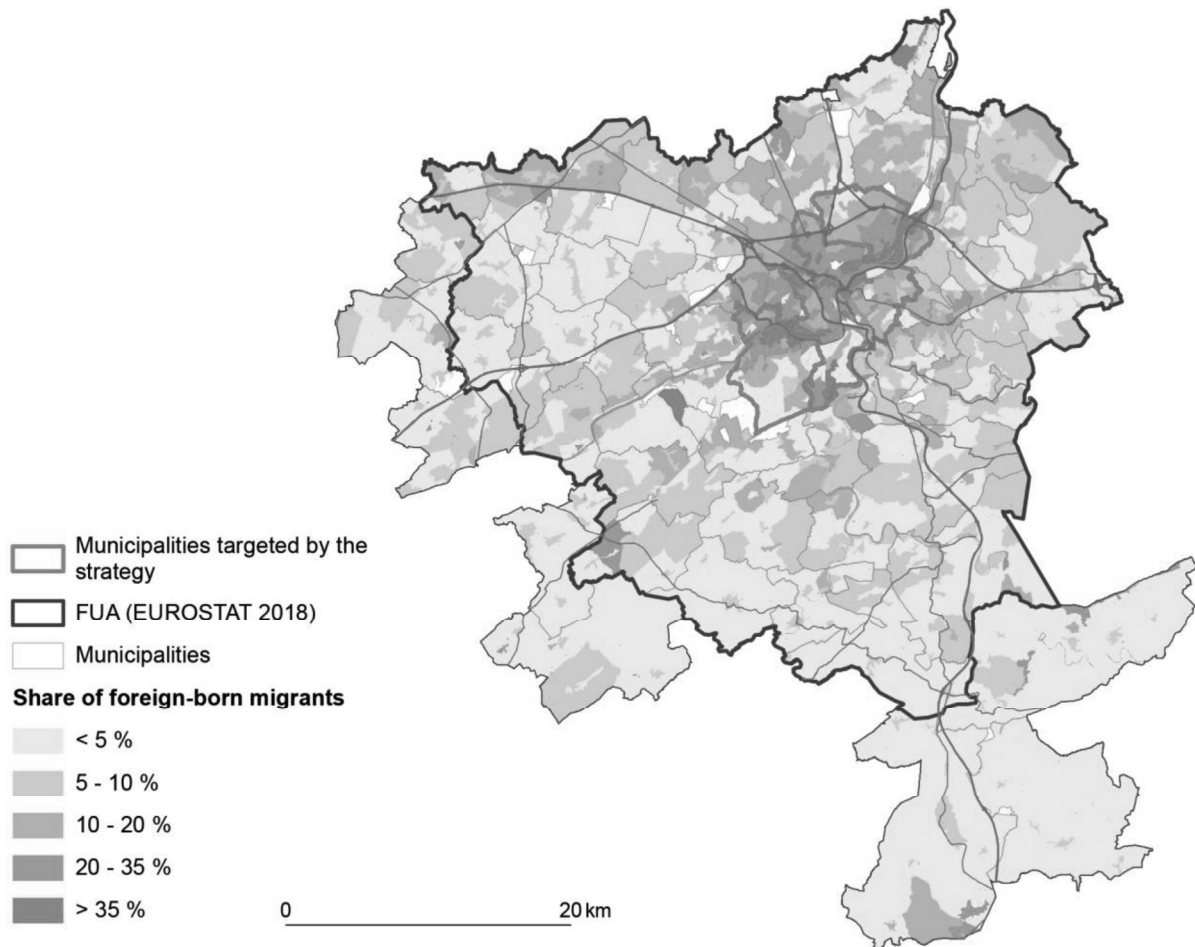
	Number of Foreigners	% of the FUA foreign population	Number of citizens of foreign origin	% of the FUA population of foreign origin	Total population	% of the FUA total population
Liège	38 424	43.4%	68 464	29.8%	197 217	24.8%
Seraing	9 888	11.2%	23 468	10.2%	64 192	8.1%
Herstal	7 193	8.1%	16 633	7.2%	40 190	5.1%
Saint-Nicolas	4 752	5.4%	12 119	5.3%	24 329	3.1%
Ans	3 377	3.8%	11 146	4.9%	28 598	3.6%
Total	63 634	71.9%	131 830	57.4%	354 526	44.7%
Total FUA	88 626	100%	229 666	100%	795 113	100%

Source: Statbel, 2020.

Beyond nationality, the presence of migrant populations can also be estimated on the basis of the place of origin of the population (born in Belgium or foreign-born). Based on data from 2018, the map below (figure 2)⁴⁵ shows the proportion of the population born outside Belgium. The data is presented at neighbourhood level.

⁴⁵ The author would like to thank Miguel Torres for the contribution in elaborating all the maps contained in this chapter.

Figure 2. Share of foreign-born migrants by statistical sectors, 2018

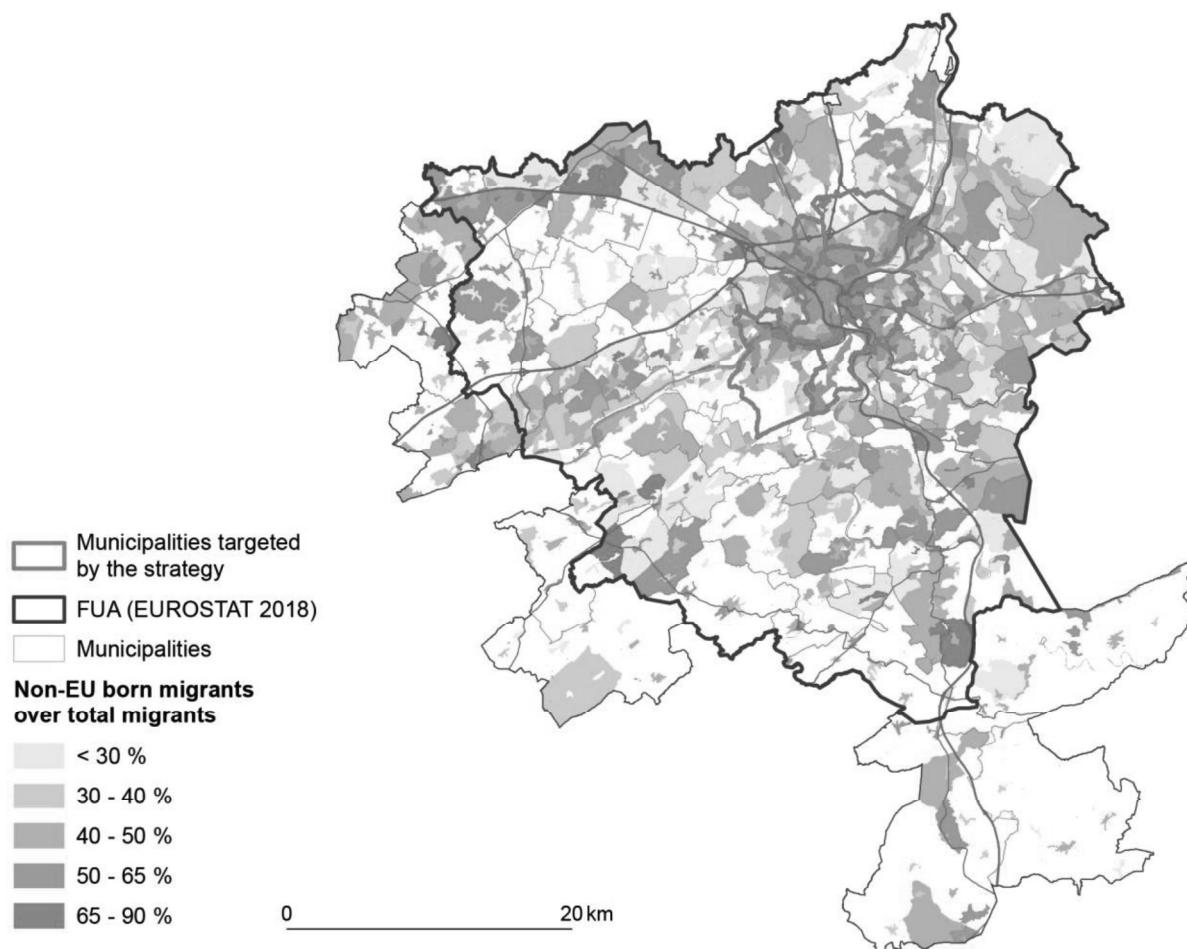


Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2018

As the map illustrates, the foreign-born population is not evenly distributed across the FUA. The population born outside Belgium is mainly concentrated in the urban centre of the FUA, in Liège and the neighbouring municipalities.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of the non-EU born population over the total foreign population. It shows that non-EU born migrants constitute a large part of the migrant population in Liège but also in more rural areas where the number of migrants and the overall concentration of the migrant population is relatively low.

Figure 3. Share of non-EU born migrants over total migrant population by statistical sectors, 2018



Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2018

In Liège, Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) identify different areas or neighbourhoods characterised by a substantial presence of immigrant populations as well as by different socio-demographic characteristics.

In some central areas of Liège (Centre, Avroy, Guillemins), European populations (especially French citizens) are well represented. These populations are characterised by a relatively better socio-economic situation when compared to other migrant populations.

In the central and peri-central areas of Liège, neighbourhoods are still functioning as arrival areas for many newcomers. This is the case, for example, with the neighbourhoods of Sainte Marguerite and Saint Léonard. These neighbourhoods are characterised by old and often poor quality buildings and by a diverse population resulting from the different flows of newcomers arriving in the city.

The neighbouring areas of Droihe (characterised by the presence of social housing) and Bressoux (an old working-class neighbourhood) are characterised by the predominance of non-European foreigners. These areas have suffered from negative perceptions in public discourses and are frequently associated in public opinion with violence and insecurity (Mandin and Martiniello 2013, 30 and Sq.). However, the area is also characterised by long-planned but only recently started projects of urban rehabilitation, including a better connection with the centre of Liège. The various projects have a budget in excess of €40 million, provided by both public and private investment.⁴⁶

In the immediate periphery of Liège, old industrial and working-class areas are characterised by the presence of many populations comprising post-WWII immigrant workers. This is the case with the areas of Saint-Nicolas and Grâce-Hollogne, situated on the left bank of the Meuse river, in the close periphery of Liège and — to a lesser extent — of the old mining areas of Fléron (Grippa et al. 2015:44).

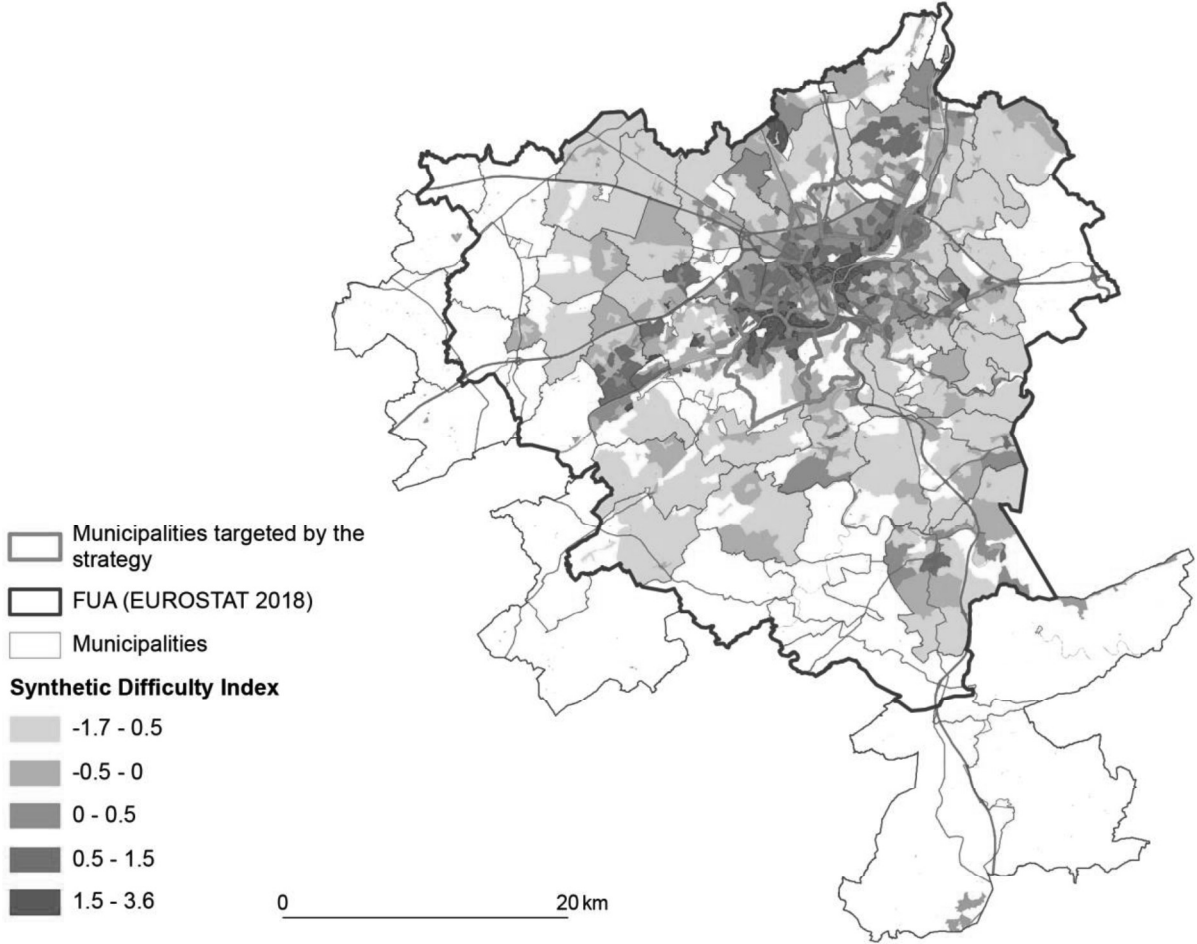
⁴⁶<https://www.liege.be/fr/vie-communale/projet-de-ville/grands-projets/a-venir/la-requalification-de-droihe>

On the axis of the Meuse river, the municipalities of Herstal and Seraing are characterised by the importance of industrial activities to the local economy and to urban development. In Seraing, the steel industry entered a recession and many old industrial sites are now being transformed under urban renewal projects. These municipalities are also characterised by populations of foreign origin.

As Grippa et al. (2015) show, these areas (with the exception of the central areas characterised by the predominance of relatively well-off EU citizens) are also characterised by the correlation of different socio-economic difficulties. The authors show that areas such as Sainte-Marguerite, Bressoux, Droixhe and Saint-Léonard are characterised by the conjunction of indicators such as relatively low income, high unemployment, and dependence on social transfers (Grippa et al. 2015:44). Seraing and Herstal are characterised by a high proportion of working-class populations in some areas and by the collapse of some industrial activities such as the steel industry in Seraing.

According to Grippa et al. (2015) although Liège has historically maintained a certain bourgeois population in the city centre (especially when compared to Brussels), the city has still experienced a form of outmigration of a part of its middle class, who left the city centre to move to more rural areas on the periphery. While minor dynamics of gentrification can be observed in some parts of the city, this seems to be a relatively modest dynamic.

Figure 4. Synthetic Difficulty Index by statistical sector, 2010



Source: Adapted from Grippa et al. (2015)⁴⁷

⁴⁷ The data presented in this map is the Synthetic Difficulty Index created by Grippa et al. (2015). The index aggregates 23 indicators divided into four dimensions (Origines, Incomes, Precarity on the job market, vulnerable households and transfer incomes). The darker the colour on the map, the more disadvantaged the area. For more information about the Index and its limits, see Grippa et al. (2015) p. 9 and sq.

Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) identify a number of issues in relation to the integration of immigrant populations in the city. Regarding the employment and socio-economic situation, the authors note that while foreigners constituted only 15% of job seekers in 2014, poverty is particularly high in those areas characterised by a high proportion of new immigrants. Some foreign populations, such as the Moroccan and Turkish populations, are also particularly exposed to the risk of poverty.

Regarding housing, Liège is characterised by its old buildings and the subdivision of many houses into small apartments, making it difficult for vulnerable families (including immigrant families) to find decent housing opportunities in the city. In addition, the authors note that access for populations of foreign origin to decent housing is made more difficult by enduring practices of discrimination at different stages in the process of renting an apartment (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016, 200; Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme 2014).

Education and language proficiency is another important issue associated with the integration of immigrant populations in the FUA. In Liège, many newcomers experience difficulties accessing French language classes due to insufficient availability and long waiting lists. A low level of French proficiency is observed in some areas characterised by a substantial proportion of immigrant populations, such as Bressoux-Droixhe, Sainte-Marguerite and Saint-Léonard (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016, 201). In terms of education, the level of education of the foreign population in the area is lower than the level of education of the Belgian population (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016:200).

Lafleur and Stangherlin(2016) also mention the active policy of the city of Liège in recognising its cultural diversity and taking a stand against racism, as well as the active participation of local immigrant communities in the associative and political life of the city. In 1995, for example, the city adopted a charter against racism. In 2017, after an intense civil society campaign in favour of improved inclusion of undocumented migrants, the city was the first Walloon city to declare itself a 'welcoming city' (ville hospitalière) (Lambert and Swerts 2019).

4.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

4.3.1 The Integrated Urban Strategy of Liège

Several levels of governance are involved in the drafting and implementation of the Integrated Urban Strategy.

The ERDF operational programme (OP) is conceived at the level of the Walloon region. The OP for the 2014–2020 programme, titled 'La Stratégie wallonne pour une croissance intelligente durable et inclusive en partenariat avec l'Union Européenne' has been approved by a supervisory committee and by the European Commission. The OP describes the different 'priorities'. Among these priorities, Priority 5 focuses on 'Integrated Urban Development.' (IUD) A regional task force has been created to draft an integrated urban development strategy (IUDS) out of this priority and to contribute to the selection process of the individual projects.

The management of the IUD priority has been outsourced by the region to sub-regional entities (entités infrarégionales). The sub-regional entity appointed by the region to manage the IUD priority for the cities of Liège, Seraing, Herstal and Verviers is the GRE-Liège. The GRE-Liège is a not-for-profit association created in 2004, employing between 5 and 15 people. Its board of direction, strategy committee and executive committee includes representatives from business owner unions, worker unions, business organisations, universities, political parties and economical operators in the region. Its missions regarding the implementation of the IUD strategy are as follows:

- To produce an Integrated Urban Development Strategy (IUDS) for the priority areas of Liège, Herstal, Seraing (Liège FUA) and Verviers.
- To present this strategy to the regional task force of the Walloon government and present recommendations for the type of projects to be selected.
- To select the projects.
- To present the projects that have been selected.

The strategy drawn up by the GRE-Liège on the basis of the 5th priority of the regional OP is built on a top-down and bottom-up approach in that it considers the objectives of both regional and supra-regional entities (UE and Wallonia) and of local actors (municipalities). The strategy identifies different themes emerging from the initiatives of the different actors: reindustrialisation and diversification of the local economy; revitalisation of the central urban areas; sustainable mobility; connectivity and attractiveness; culture and tourism (GRE-Liège 2015).

Together with the elaboration of an IUDS in collaboration with the University of Liège, the selection process is another core mission of the GRE-Liège. However, this mission was also dependent on the decisions taken by the regional task force. Indeed, it was decided that the GRE-Liège would only consider projects that would receive (from the regional task force) the guarantee of co-funding by the Walloon region.

The individual projects are drafted and submitted by the municipalities or by public institutions working in collaboration with the municipalities. They are also managed and implemented at local level.

At this stage of the research, no organisations specifically dedicated to immigrant populations have been identified as taking part in the drafting of the IUDS or the selection process. However, at local level, municipal authorities did organise — at least in some of the cases that have been explored in this study — public consultations. During these consultations, local associations aware of the diversity of the population were able to participate.

In addition to the IUD projects, the city of Liège is also a member of an URBACT initiative, which involves a programme of exchange between cities in order to address issues of sustainable urban development. The city is also a part of the ROOF network, which aims to fight homelessness by promoting rapid access to decent housing for homeless people.

4.3.2 Description of the projects and target areas

In the FUA of Liège, the priority 'Integrated Urban Development' of the 2014–2020 ERDF programme includes six projects, concentrated in three municipalities (Liège, Seraing and Herstal).

The projects are as follows:

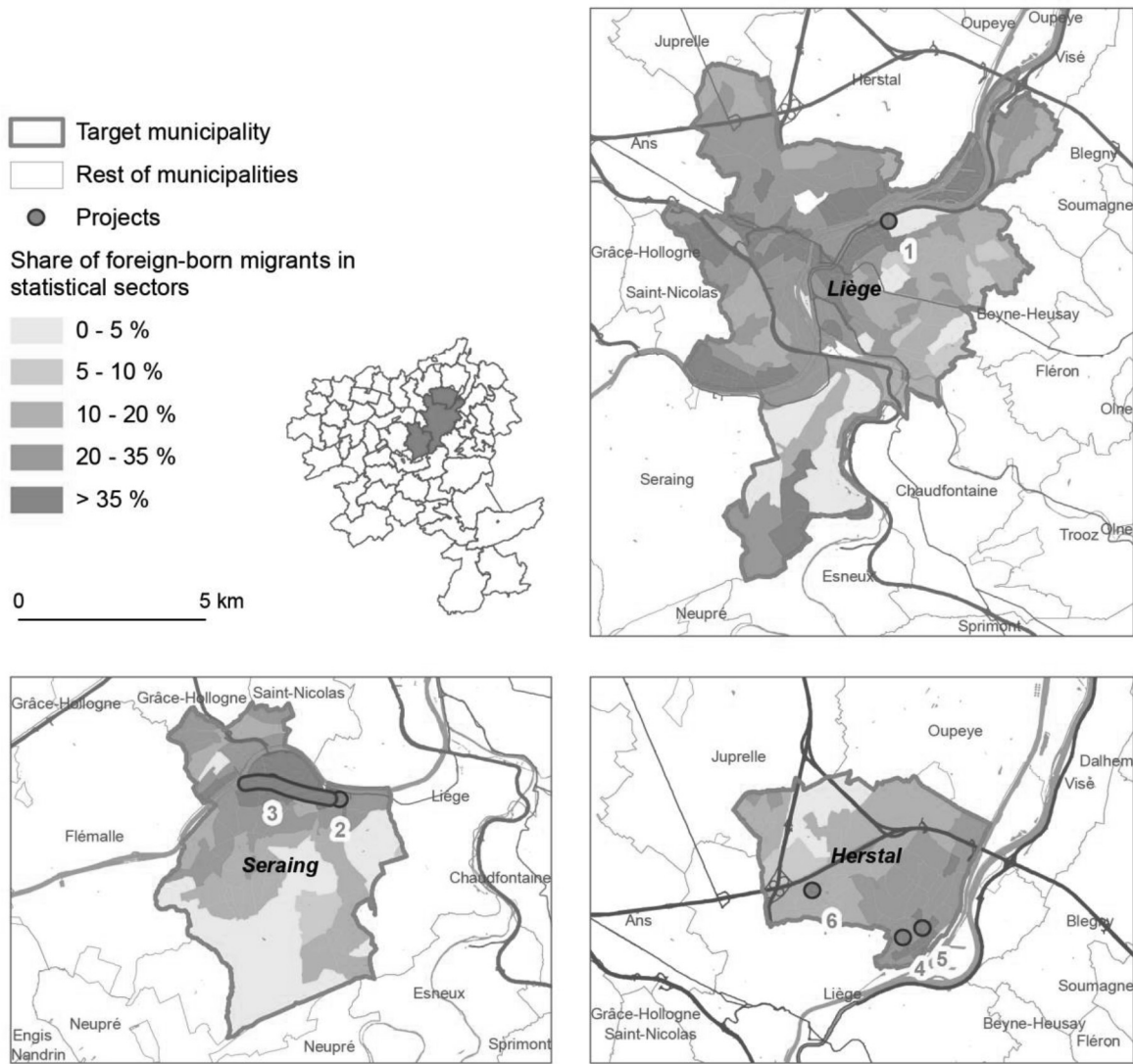
1. The development of access to the multimodal area of Bressoux: The project involves the transformation of the end of the highway entering Liège and bordering the neighbourhood of Bressoux-Droixhes. The project aims to improve access to the neighbourhood of Bressoux and to open up the neighbourhood south of the railroad; to improve the attractiveness of the new infrastructure (exhibition hall and tramway terminal) built in the area; and to downsize the current highway into an 'urban boulevard' while reducing the flows of automobile traffic and encouraging collective and soft transportation modes.
2. The rehabilitation of the 'ateliers centraux', an old industrial site in Seraing. The project includes the construction of a parking area, the establishment of pedestrian access through the old industrial building and the creation of a pedestrian and cyclist connection with the train station.
3. The creation of an 'urban boulevard' traversing the city of Seraing and facilitating mobility throughout the valley.
4. The rehabilitation of an old station (MarexheGare) in the centre of Herstal. The project is part of a larger urban renewal project aimed at improving housing infrastructure and public space. The station is set to welcome local associations. At the time of the study, two associations have been identified as possible candidates: the local office of the Red Cross and the Herstal 'Régie de quartier', an association dedicated to socio-professional inclusion and to the animation of the city's neighbourhood. This association develops activities (such as language courses) that could potentially benefit migrant populations.
5. The transformation of the 'Espace Browning' — a former industrial site in Herstal — into a park and a junction between the station and the city centre. The aim of the project is to create a public space that would be open to the local population. It includes discussions about intergenerational cohabitation as well as attention to the multicultural aspect of the local population (see below).
6. The transformation of the 'Place Gilles Gérard' in the periphery of Herstal. In comparison to the other projects, this one is rather less ambitious. Indeed, the ERDF funding only concerns the creation of a few parking spots.

The city of Seraing is also part of an URBACT network called ALT/BAU. This network is dedicated to the sharing of strategies to 'activate unused and decaying housing stock resulting from demographic, economic and social change.'⁴⁸

The map below (fig. 5) shows the localisation of the IUD projects in the different municipalities of the FUA.

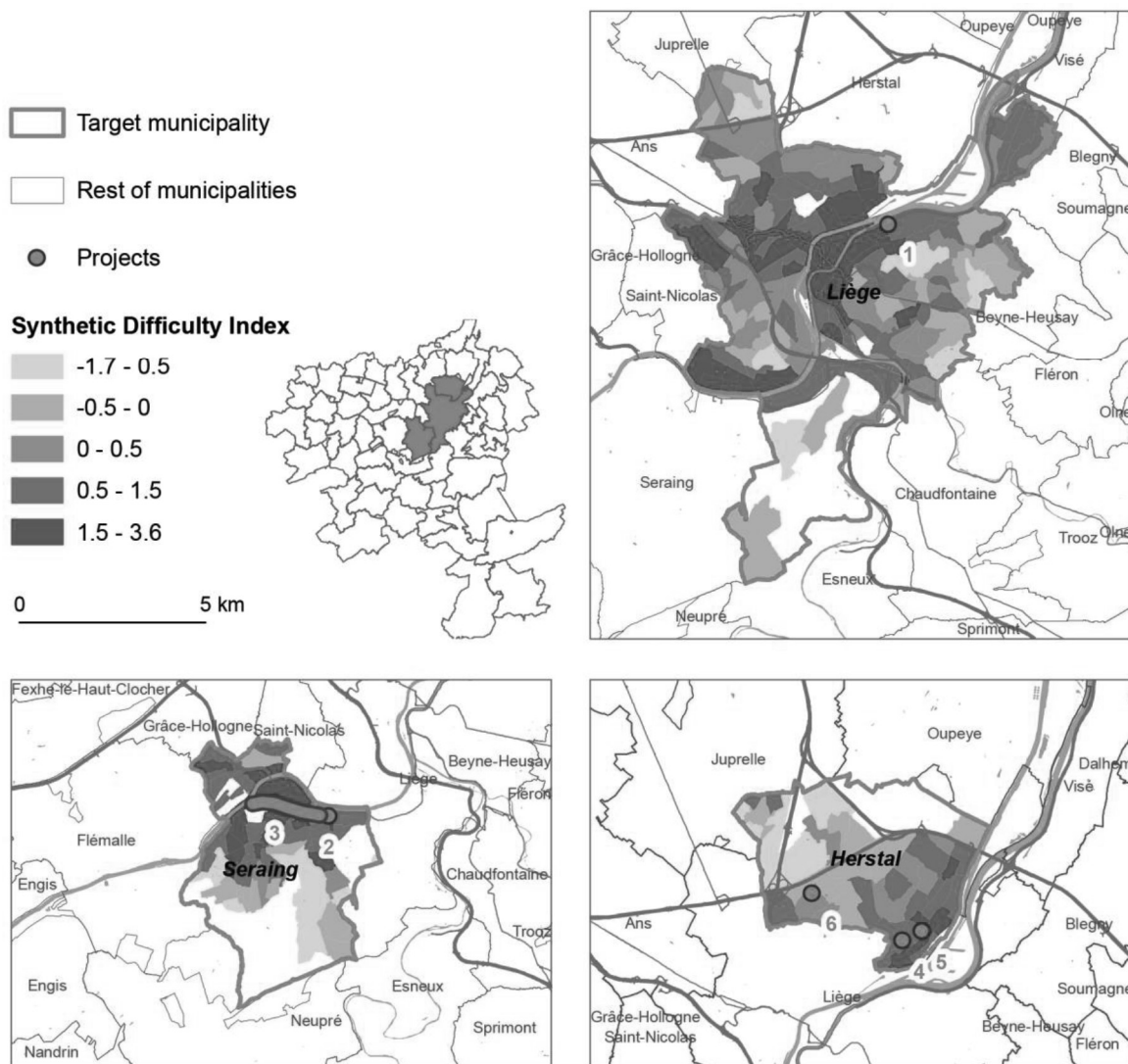
⁴⁸<https://urbact.eu/alt-bau>

Figure 5. Localisation of the IUD projects and share of foreign-born migrants in targeted municipalities



Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics—Statistics Belgium), 2018

Figure 6. Localisation of the IUD projects and difficulty index in targeted municipalities



Source: Grippa et al. (2015)

Looking at the documents available online related to these different projects, it is noticeable that the topics of migration or integration are never explicitly mentioned in the description of the projects. However, some correlations can be observed.

Looking at Figure 5, the first observation that can be made is the fact that most of these projects are actually implemented/planned in or close to areas that are characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA. More specifically, the projects in Herstal and Seraing involve areas that are characterised both by a high proportion of foreign-born populations and also by the poor quality of its urban infrastructures with ageing buildings, unused industrial sites, poor housing infrastructure, etc. Figure 6 also illustrates that (except for Project 6) the projects are implemented in areas that experience correlation between the presence of populations of foreign origin and other socio-economic difficulties.

A second observation is that the ERDF projects are also very often associated with larger urban renewal projects aimed at improving the economic attractiveness of the urban areas, attracting new jobs and improving the quality of housing facilities and public spaces. This (as described earlier in the chapter) echoes some of the issues encountered by the migrant population in the FUA.

These two types of correlation (spatial and thematic) indicate an indirect relation between the projects and the living standards of local foreign populations, even if this relation is not explicitly mentioned in the documents consulted for this study. The following section will try to expand on how this relation is addressed in programme documents and perceived (or not perceived) as relevant by different actors.

4.4 THE POLICIES AND THE INTEGRATION OF FOREIGN POPULATIONS

This section analyses how the topics of migration, integration and the presence of foreign populations are addressed and regarded as a problem in the 2014–2020 programme. It builds on an exploration of different documents available online, including the operational programme document and the description of the different projects available online. Interviews with different stakeholders acting at various level of the implementation process allow to explore the different representations revolving around the projects and their impact on the local immigrant populations.

4.4.1 The strategy level

The previous section shows that the different projects in the 2014–2020 programme are often aimed at the reconversion of areas characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign populations when compared to the FUA general population. The question then becomes: to what extent do the strategy and the different projects address topics such as migrant integration, ethnic diversity, or intercultural policy?

The first part of the answer is that the relation is not explicit, neither at OP level, nor with regard to the selection of the projects by the GRE-Liège.

A rapid analysis of the Operational Programme (OP) document reveals that migration-related vocabulary is little used. Some direct references are made to the ‘population of foreign origin’. Such a reference appears on p. 21 of the OP on the enumeration of the ‘principal needs’ encountered in the FUA territory. The mention of the population of foreign origin appears under the tenth point, titled ‘territory’. In the quote below, I present the part of the text where this mention appears:

[...] It is also in the highly urbanised centre where – more than anywhere else (except in the border areas) – populations of foreign origin are concentrated, whose integration in the job market is sometimes made difficult because of cultural and linguistic differences.⁴⁹

(Région Wallonne 2020:21)

This quote illustrates how the mention of ‘population of foreign origin’ is mainly present in the strategy document only as contextual information that is used to explain the difficulties that are supposed to characterise some urban areas in Wallonia.

The issues of migration and integration do not appear either in the objectives listed in the 5th priority of the OP (Integrated Urban Development) or in the indicators used to evaluate the development of the projects.

Similarly, migration and integration were not specifically identified as relevant subjects in the process of selection conducted by the GRE-Liège. According to a worker from the organisation, the objectives of the ERDF projects developed in the FUA were mostly of an economic nature (phone interview, April 2021). Indeed, the presentation of the Integrated Urban Development priority in the OP document highlights three main lines: employment in urban centres, densification of urban areas in order to boost their attractiveness, and contribution to the reduction of greenhouse gases (Région Wallonne 2020:143). In the same conversation, the worker also stressed the fact that the projects were supposed to ‘benefit everybody’ (phone interview, April 2021). So, even if a thematic and spatial correlation appear, migrant populations are not explicitly targeted in the OP or in the IUDS.

To conclude, the OP makes reference to populations of foreign origin. However, this reference seems to be limited to the description of the context of the Walloon urban areas and to the identification of the socio-economic weakness of specific parts of these areas. In this context, the presence of migrants and populations of foreign origin is largely addressed as a weakness and not, for example, as resources or as relevant actors for the process of urban development. The issues of migration and integration seem also to be absent from the Integrated Urban Development Strategy drawn up by the GRE-Liège and from the selection process. Finally, it is important to identify the limits of the conclusion. Indeed, no interviews have been conducted with officials involved at regional level (Walloon region). The findings are therefore limited to the programme documents, which do not necessarily exclude the fact that the officials who drafted the policy were aware or willing to address issues related to migration or integration.

⁴⁹Translation of the author from French

4.4.2 The implementation of projects at local level

This section moves from the OP and IUDS level to question to what extent issues related to migration, integration and diversity figure in the implementation of SUD projects at local level. As described in section 3.2, the projects are mostly located in areas characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA. Therefore, the question here is the following: how is the presence of migrant populations and the specific issues/needs these populations might encounter integrated in the implementation process of the projects at local level?

The goal of this section is not to provide an exhaustive description of how issues of migration, diversity and integration are addressed in all of the eight projects described above. Rather, it will focus on two ‘cases’, which allows us to open a discussion about the diversity of ways in which the question of migration and integration may emerge within the SUD projects. The cases have been selected because they offered the possibility of ‘entering the field’ and collecting interviews.

In addition to the available documentation, the section also draws on the content of three qualitative interviews (individual or collective) held with four officials involved in the implementation of different local projects.⁵⁰ The four officials are working either in municipal administrative departments or in municipal property management companies.

It is important here to keep the institutional position of the interlocutors in mind. Working for the city, the interviewees mostly speak from a position where they are themselves actively involved in the implementation of the projects. From this perspective the material collected is not so much about the actual impact that the projects might have on local populations of foreign origin, nor is it about how the local foreign populations perceive these projects. Rather, it is about the representations that the institutional workers have of local diversity as well as their representations of the possible impacts that the projects might have in terms of integration or diversity. From this perspective, the material provides us with an insight into the specific ways diversity is considered by municipal administrative workers as well as into the systems of representation circulating within this institutional field. Finally, due to the exploratory nature of the research, the relatively small number of interviews prevent any attempts to produce an exhaustive description of the above-mentioned systems of representation.

A focus on the case of Herstal

As mentioned above, three projects are currently being implemented in Herstal: the rehabilitation of an old station building into a complex hosting local associations (‘Marexhe-Gare’ project); the rehabilitation of an old industrial site into a public park (‘Espace Browning’ project) and the creation of parking spots in the context of the renewal of a public square (‘Place Gilles Gérard’ project).

The projects — with the exception of the ‘Place Gilles Gérard’ project — are located in neighbourhoods characterised by a relatively high proportion of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA (see Map 4 above). The areas are also characterised by the presence of industrial brownfield (Espace Browning), and of ageing buildings and poor housing infrastructure. Both the ‘MarexheGare’ and ‘Espace Browning’ projects are located in the city centre, which is characterised by relatively precarious socio-economic conditions. Both projects are also part of a broader project of urban renewal targeting the city centre.

It is important to state that at the time of the study the projects were not finished. The Marexhe-Gare project was nearly finished but the list of associations to be hosted in the building still had to be formalised. The ‘Espace Browning’ project was still at an early stage, the depollution of the site being an important task to be completed before the start of the construction of the project.

As in most of the SUD projects implemented in the Liège FUA, the subjects of migration, integration and diversity do not really appear in the presentations available online.⁵¹ During the interviews, however, the officials involved in the drafting and implementation of the projects generally recognise the multicultural dimension of the areas where the projects take place. C., a worker involved in the Herstal projects, described the neighbourhood where the rehabilitation of the Marexhe station is taking place:

⁵⁰Because of the time constraints of the project and of the specific context of the Covid-19 pandemic, it has not been possible to conduct interviews with actors involved in the projects implemented in Seraing.

⁵¹ See for example : <https://www.urbeo.be/projets/rehabilitation-de-lancienne-gare/>
<https://www.urbeo.be/projets/amenagement-de-lespace-browning-en-parc-urbain/>

C: Now, it is clear that this neighbourhood, at least in terms of construction, is a neighbourhood that is ageing. I mean relatively impoverished in the sense that there are and there were before the project [...] poorly maintained buildings, multiple constructions in a single building. There are a lot of apartments [that are typical of] slum landlords who do not take proper care of the apartments, who rent the place [...]

JM: With precarious housing...

C: Yes, housing that is more precarious. In terms of the population profile, I don't know... but you know, multicultural. A relatively balanced multiculturalism in my opinion, [multiculturalism] that works. Well, in the current state, the built infrastructure is more penalizing.⁵²

Field Interview, Herstal, May 2021

While C. recognises the multicultural dimension of the centre of Herstal, the dominant elements in their description of the area are the poor quality of the ageing buildings, poverty and the predatory practices of some local landlords. This illustrates the fact that, for the interviewees, the issues that are identified as central in the SUD projects are principally focused on the poor quality of the urban infrastructure (old buildings, industrial brownfield) and on the local problems of housing precarity and poverty. Put differently, while housing is indeed one of the issues that migrant populations have to deal with in the FUA, the officials interviewed do not seem to perceive their actions as particularly oriented toward the migrant population and its needs.

This does not mean, however, that the multicultural dimension of the areas where the projects are implemented is not taken into account. For example, A., a worker in the city administration of Herstal, describes the 'spirit' of the project of creating an urban park in the old industrial site 'Espace Browning':

JM: How would you describe this 'Espace Browning' project? Its spirit. What is expected with this project?

A: Well, we wanted to create an urban park that would be multicultural and intergenerational. So the goal is that in this park, you have a central axis that connects the centre of Herstal to the railway crossing [...] and the goal is to create different places in this park, places for everybody, for every generation. You have places to sit, places for children to play, places with fitness equipment for younger adults, you have a skate park, a basketball hoop, you have places to relax, a water fountain, a hall that stays open where you will be able to perform leisure activities, hold events, and at the top you have a Nordic track for running, picnic tables and more areas for relaxing.

Field Interview, Herstal, June 2021

Later in the interview, V., also working in the city administration, explains how the multicultural dimension of the area was taken into account in some aspects of the project design:

V: I have a small anecdote [...] I did part of my training in Herstal before coming here and when I arrived, we went to Brussels to [...] a meeting and a woman was describing how to deal with the designs [...] and I remember that she told me about [...] Moroccan women, Algerian, who talked a lot together, and who always eat sunflower seeds. And it was super important to have this kind of bench in a semi-circle. These benches especially, where they would be able to come and talk and stay here for hours and I found this very interesting [...]. And so this is something that was mentioned for the project.

Field Interview, Herstal, June 2021

These two accounts illustrate how, while not being primarily directed toward the local migrant population in particular, the multicultural aspect of the area is nevertheless integrated — at least to a certain extent — in the elaboration of the project. More specifically, it seems integrated as part of a broader attention to the local 'diversity' not limited to the dimension of origin but also including generational dimensions.

It is unclear however, to what extent this recognition of the multicultural dimension of the local population has been translated into actual practices during the elaboration of the projects. During the interviews, the interviewees mentioned the organisation of consultation sessions with the population (either associations or the public), and while the interlocutors mention the diversity of the people present during these sessions (in terms of age, origin, profession, etc.) they were not able to tell whether representatives of migrant associations were part of the process.

⁵² In this chapter the author translated all the interviewees' quotations from French to English.

The previous subsection described how — while not explained as the primary focus of the projects — the diversity of the local population was indeed taken into account in the elaboration and implementation of the projects. The question then became: What impacts could such projects have on population diversity?

During an interview, C. explained what he identifies as one of the objectives pursued throughout the different urban renewal projects taking place in Herstal:

C: [...] People think that Liège is the centre, Herstal is... it is a secondary area. So capture investment, capture new inhabitants I mean who... are middle class... because I don't want to stigmatise, well it's more complicated in Herstal. And this is also the idea behind all these projects. That is to say: we are innovative, we aim at making a better living environment, hoping that indirectly, in the near future, it will encourage other populations to come to live here. To create a true mix. Because we are absolutely not against... we want a mix, we don't want Herstal to become a bourgeois city, absolutely not! But you know, a good balance.

Field interview, Herstal, May 2021

One of the imagined — and indeed hoped for — effects of the urban transformation within which the SUD projects take place is to attract ('capture' as C. puts it) investors as well as a new population in the city. C. describes this population using the category of class. This objective of attracting a new 'middle-class' in the centre of Herstal also needs to be contextualised in regard to the proximity of the city to Liège. One of the aspects of the urban renewal of Herstal is also to encourage a form of continuity between Liège and Herstal, allowing people working in Liège to come and live in Herstal.

The goal of 'transforming' the local diverse demographic into a more middle-class one was also sometimes expressed in relation to the local migrant population. For example when I asked A. and V. to describe the population of Herstal in terms of migration, A. again emphasised the multicultural dimension of the city and described the attention being given on a municipal level to controlling the types of shops that are created in the centre of the city.

V: Then yes, we have an immigrant population, which is very present, which is very precarious also.

A: Especially in Marexhe.

V: Especially in Marexhe, exactly.

A: It is really a multicultural area and... before you had many Italians. Now, there are still many Italians but you also have other nationalities, more from the South, more from the East and...

JM: Yes, we are really in the centre of Herstal.

A: Yes, and you can see this with the shops which appear here. Not all the permits are accepted but we have many applications for night-time shops, many kebab shops too, and so we try to be careful and to diversify so that it does not become... Well, you know, it needs to remain open for everybody. [...] We try to diversify.

Field interview, Herstal, June 2021

These two accounts also illustrate how the dimension of class and ethnicity are connected when it comes to describing the local context. In this perspective, the presence of immigrant populations is often associated with social characteristics such as poverty or precarious situations.

One of the objectives of the local urban renewal projects is the transformation of the urban infrastructure to attract middle-class families in the city centre in order to transform the local diversity. The way this transformation is envisioned is interesting in the sense that it is based on the attraction of relatively prosperous individuals and families to the relatively impoverished areas of the city. This echoes the observation of Van Criekingen (2013) about the 'incorporation of gentrification among the objectives of urban policies' (Van Criekingen 2013:1).

At this stage of the research the impact of the SUD projects on the living standards of local migrant populations is not easy to see, also because some of the projects have not yet been finalised. One can, however, formulate a number of hypotheses:

On the one hand, the urban transformation project which integrates the SUD projects contributes to the renewal of ageing or abandoned infrastructures and in particular old and poor quality housing. As we know that finding quality housing is one of the issues that newcomers are likely to face in the FUA, the renewal project might

have a positive impact on local migrant populations. It is additionally important to note that the city authorities are also trying to ensure that a share of the new buildings constructed include social housing apartments. A positive impact can also be postulated in the case of the 'Espace Browning', especially as local inhabitants were able to give their feedback and to make suggestions about which equipment should be built in the park. By providing a green space with leisure facilities, the project certainly carries potential for a positive impact on the local population (including migrants).

On the other hand, such urban renewal projects that aim to create a new form of diversity by attracting middle-class families to impoverished areas (and thus encouraging forms of gentrification) also run the risk of negative impacts for more disadvantaged populations such as those who are part of the local migrant population. The renovation of the urban context and the subsequent attraction of new middle-class candidates for housing may increase competition for access to housing opportunities, and therefore push less advantaged populations to deteriorated parts of the city (Van Crieelingen 2008:160).

4.4.3 The URBACT network ROOF

ROOF is an URBACT network bringing together stakeholders from nine partner cities: Ghent (leader partner), Thessaloniki, Toulouse, Braga, Timisoara, Glasgow, Liège, Poznan and Odense.

The goal of the network as described on its official website is to end 'structural homelessness'.⁵³ From this perspective the goal of the network is clearly distinguished from other initiatives that focus on homelessness management (emergency shelters for example), rather than on the eradication of homelessness.

The ROOF network focuses on two principal missions. First, it aims to consolidate the collection of data regarding homelessness. Second, it promotes a specific approach to the issue of homelessness called 'housing first; housing led'. This approach breaks with the 'housing ready' paradigm, which is based upon the provision of temporary accommodation for homeless people as well as training programmes before providing more long-term accommodation. The housing first, housing led approach aims for rapid access to permanent housing for the homeless, and at the same time for the provision of appropriate support for the person.

Unlike the SUD projects explored during the study, migration and migrant populations are more explicitly presented as an issue that the ROOF network has to deal with. For example, the paragraph of an online article published in January 2020 on the website of the network reads:

Even though the numbers are difficult to collect and compare, studies show that more than 4 million people are affected by homelessness each year in Europe. 'Only crisis — actual or perceived — produces real change,' said Milton Friedman. And for homelessness, the multiple crisis level is evident: the Global Financial Crisis brought higher levels of poverty; the Housing Crisis today makes the housing market become highly inaccessible for most vulnerable people and the European migrant crisis causes difficulty for migrants in finding affordable housing and a homelessness risk, due to their complex situation (such as lack of finances, language barriers, cultural differences, (mental) health issues.⁵⁴

(URBACT ROOF 2020)

In this case, the issue of housing is directly connected with some of the difficulties that migrants might experience when arriving in the city: weak financial resources, lack of local cultural capital, network, (language, knowledge of local knowhow) and health issues. This echoes the issues listed earlier in this chapter. Another dimension that could be added to this list is the lack of resident status for undocumented migrants present in the FUA.

In Liège, this attention to migration as one of the dimensions of the homelessness issue also comes from the fact that some local officials involved in these networks are well aware of the situation of immigrant populations and their integration in the city. This is the case for interviewee R., who has a good knowledge of the different social dynamics (including migration) at play in the city. While, in the case of Herstal, migration and integration appeared as secondary considerations, R. explained how the relation between homelessness and migration became clear very early in the project:

⁵³<https://urbact.eu/roof>

⁵⁴<https://urbact.eu/9-european-cities-acting-together-end-homelessness-ambitious-hell-yes>

R: And in this project, for example, we clearly see that there is an overlapping of the problem of undocumented migrants [on the one hand] and of the... of the drug addict and of traditional homelessness [on the other hand].

Field interview, Online, March 2021

R's account illustrates how migrants appeared as one of the groups facing risks of homelessness. Moreover, they are also characterised by a specific profile, at least partially different from the rest of the homeless population. In addition to the dimensions already described above (lack of status, lack of economic or cultural capital, etc.) R. also describes how homeless migrants are much less afflicted by drug addiction problems in comparison to the Belgian-born homeless population.

R. points out the difficulties in properly addressing the issues faced by this group within the ROOF network. R. mentions different types of difficulties, some of which are not directly connected to the URBACT program specifically but — from his point of view — to the programmes funded by the EU in general.

The first difficulty identified is the specific situation that characterises the migrant population at risk of homelessness:

JM: Is the question of migration, of migrants and of their integration, part of the discussion about homelessness [that is carried out within the ROOF network]?

R: In fact, this is precisely a big problem. So when we look at the numbers, we see that migrants are here among the population of homeless people. However, implementing the 'housing first' strategy, so the fact to house people, of course, is only possible with people who have a prolonged residence permit.

JM: I see...

R: So it is not possible to... to do this with undocumented people. So this is a real question for us. We have the feeling that they are a forgotten population. Forgotten by Europe but also by the local authorities [...]

Field interview, Online, March 2021

The specific situation of the migrant population facing high risks of homelessness in the FUA (i.e. lack of long term residence status) prevents them from being included in the scope of the 'housing first' approach promoted by the network. In this case, the difficulty of including the migrant population in the scope of the project is not exactly due to resistance or lack of attention on behalf of the local actors involved in the network. Instead, it is the local, national and European rules regarding migration which are contributing to the exclusion of part of the migrant population from these projects by making access to a regular status more difficult for part of the population.

A second set of difficulties identified by R. is related to the way powers are divided between different levels of authority in Belgium. For example, while R. would favour a cross-cutting approach on the question of homelessness (thus including the migrant population as a focus of the programme), city authorities are sometimes reluctant to do so because migration policy is a regional jurisdiction. This tends to reduce the scope of action of the Liège stakeholders involved in the ROOF network on the particular topic of migrant homelessness.

A third set of difficulties is not directly connected to the ROOF initiative but to the programmes funded by the EU in general. The quote below shows what R. perceives as the rigidity of the funding programmes, as described in the interview:

R: I mean when you send the project... you have to define a priori the... the logical framework with your... your goals, your indicators and you almost define for your three, four, five years programming the different steps of your action plan that you will implement! This is something that is very restricting [...]

Field interview, Online, March 2021

The rigidity of the programmes, which R. identifies with the need to establish the objectives and indicators that will frame the entire project from the start, can also be seen as reducing the capacity of local actors to adapt to the problems that might emerge on the ground during the project (such as the issues faced by specific populations, e.g. migrant populations). However, R. tends to consider that the URBACT programme is less

exposed to this third set of difficulties as it allows the co-construction of projects within networks of cities, thus allowing more flexibility and adaptability.

To sum up, the ROOF network is paradoxically characterised both by the explicit recognition of migrant issues as an important element and by the difficulty of including this element in the project, in particular due to the national and international rules regulating the migrant access to stable statuses in Europe.

As described above, the ROOF project is characterised by significant restrictions in addressing the issue of homelessness faced by migrant populations in the FUA. From this perspective, it is difficult to assess the impact (positive or negative) that the project might have on local migrant populations. In the interview, R. describes what he thinks would be an achievement of the ROOF network regarding the question of migrant homelessness.

R: And the only thing that would be able to take them out [of homelessness by accessing housing first opportunities], is a regularisation. To have the same rights as everybody else. But again, this project allows us to throw some light on this, that... this problem exists. That among the homeless, you have many... migrants. But we already know this, in the data, in all the data from emergency shelters and day care, we see this for a long time.

Field interview, Online, March 2021

From R's point of view, the main impact that the project might have on the condition of homeless migrants is rather symbolic. It is limited to the possibility of raising awareness about this issue rather than being able to act on it.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter showed that migrants' integration is not explicitly addressed in the ERDF operational programme of Wallonia. While the presence of populations of foreign origin is mentioned as an element of context and as a factor of difficulty for some urban areas, at strategy level, the main objectives guiding the general policy are related to the creation of employment in the urban centres, the densification of urban areas, and the contribution to the reduction of greenhouse gases. Strong emphasis is placed in the programme document on the improvement of the 'attractiveness' of the targeted urban areas. The lack of explicit mention of migrant integration as a specific focus of the policy is confirmed by the absence of this subject area in the project selection process.

At local level however, the relation between the projects and the lives of local migrant populations seems more visible. While it is still not explicit in the document available online, the interviews do touch on some aspects of this relationship. In the case of Herstal for example, the projects are part of a larger programme of urban renewal targeting the centre of the city. The interviews suggest that the question of 'diversity' is important in the way local actors perceive the project. This diversity however, does not only involve markers of origin but also dimensions of class and generation. In this perspective, one of the implicit goals of the renewal is to 'attract' a new population of young and active middle-class workers in areas that were previously characterised by the predominance of working class populations.

In the case of the URBACT network ROOF, consideration of the local migrant population seems more explicit. However, while homeless migrants are clearly identified as a reality in Liège, the project faces the impossibility of including this community in its projects because these individuals lack valid administrative status. This illustrates the fact that the limited inclusion of migrant populations in the scope of SUD projects is not always the result of resistance or lack of consideration from the local actors. It is also sometimes the result of structural limits resulting from national and European regulations preventing part of the migrant populations from accessing stable residence status where they live.

References

- Bonaventure, K., & Martiniello, M. (2001). L'immigration subsaharienne en Belgique. *Courrier hebdomadaire du CRISP* 1721(16), 5–49. doi: 10.3917/cris.1721.0005.
- Caponio, T., & Maren B., (2010). *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme. (2012). *Baromètre de La Diversité: Emploi*. Centre Interfédéral pour l'Egalité des Chances.
- Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme. (2014). *Baromètre de La Diversité Logement*. Centre Interfédéral pour l'Egalité des Chances.
- European Court of Auditors. (2018). *The Integration of Migrants from Outside the EU*.
- Fasani, F., & Mazza, J. (2020). *A Vulnerable Workforce: Migrant Workers in the COVID-19 Pandemic*.
- Filomeno, F. A. (2017). *Theories of Local Immigration Policy*. Cham: Springer International Publishing: Imprint: Palgrave Macmillan.
- GRE-Liège. (2015). *Stratégie de Développement Urbain Intégré Pour La Province de Liège et Prioritairement Pour Les Villes de Herstal, Liège, Seraing et Verviers*.
- Tais, G, Van Hamme, G., Marissal, P., May, X., Wertz, I. & Loopmans, M. (2015). *Dynamiques des quartiers en difficulté dans les régions urbaines belges*. doi: doi/10.5281/zenodo.1182963.
- Hollinger, D. (1995). *Postethnic America : Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Laflleur, JM., Martiniello, M. & Rea, A. (2015). 'Belgique'. In *Dictionnaire des migrations internationales*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Laflleur, JM., & Stangherlin, G. (2016). 'Les Nouveaux Liégeois. Migrations et Transformations Urbaines'. *Dérivations: pour le Débat Urbain* (3).
- Lambert, S., & Swerts, T. (2019). 'From Sanctuary to Welcoming Cities': Negotiating the Social Inclusion of Undocumented Migrants in Liège, Belgium. *Social Inclusion* 7(4), 90–99. doi: 10.17645/si.v7i4.2326.
- Mandin, J., & Martiniello, M. (2013). *La participation culturelle des habitants de Bressoux-Droixhe. Structure de la vie culturelle, modalités de participation et dynamiques de genre/Rapport de recherche pour l'échevinat de la Culture de la ville de Liège*. L'échevinat de la Culture de la ville de Liège.
- Myria. (2016). *La Migration En Chiffres et En Droits 2016*. Centre Fédéral Migration.
- OECD. (2018). *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees*.
- OECD, & European Union, (2018). *Settling in 2018: Indicators of Immigrant Integration*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Région Wallonne. (2020). *La Stratégie Wallonne Pour Une Croissance Intelligente Durable et Inclusive En Partenariat Avec l'Union Européenne. Programme Opérationnel FEDER*.
- Schiller, N. G., & Çağlar, A. (2009). Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(2):177–202. doi: 10.1080/13691830802586179.
- STATBEL. (2020). *Nouvelle Statistique Sur La Diversité Selon l'origine En Belgique*. Retrieved 11 May 2021 (<https://statbel.fgov.be/fr/themes/population/origine#print>).

- Statistical Office of the European Union. (2021). *Migrant Integration Statistics: 2020 Edition*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Tintori, G., Alessandrini, A. & Natale, F. (2018). *Diversity, Residential Segregation, Concentration of Migrants :A Comparison across EU Cities : Findings from the Data Challenge on Integration of Migrants in Cities (D4I)*. Luxembourg: European Commission Publication Office. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2760/183258> (July 13, 2021).
- Van Criekingen, M. (2008). Réurbanisation ou gentrification? *Espaces et sociétés*, 134(3), 149–66.
- Van Criekingen, M. (2013). La gentrification mise en politiques. De la revitalisation urbaine à Bruxelles. *Métropoles* (13). doi: 10.4000/metropoles.4753.
- Zapata-Barrero, R., Caponio, T. & Scholten, P. (2017). Theorizing the ‘Local Turn’ in a Multi-Level Governance Framework of Analysis: A Case Study in Immigrant Policies. *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 83(2), 241–46. doi: 10.1177/0020852316688426.