Welcoming City Initiative for Urban Economic Development:

An Interpretive Policy Analysis of Four U.S. Welcoming Cities

by

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A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved April 2017 by the
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ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2017

ABSTRACT

Cities today face new economic, political, and social challenges spurred, in part, by the growth of immigrant and newcomer populations and increasing competitive pressure in the context of contemporary globalization. In the face of these challenges, some U.S. city and county governments have adopted the "welcoming city initiative," which promotes both immigrant integration and economic growth. To date, little research has explored why different U.S. cities decide to pursue the welcoming city initiatives, what cities really hope to achieve through them, or what governing arrangements emerge to develop and implement these initiatives. In addition to illuminating the emerging discursive, political, and organizational dynamics of welcoming, this dissertation contributes to the literatures in urban asset development, urban regime theory, and political and bureaucratic incorporation.

Drawing on 30 interviews with key actors and document analysis, this dissertation employs a multiple case study design to conduct an interpretive policy analysis of the initiatives of four U.S. welcoming cities: Austin, Texas; Boise, Idaho; Chicago, Illinois; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The analysis explores three independent but interconnected themes. The first theme concerns multiple, context-specific framings of "welcoming" and the types of assets cities seek to leverage and develop through the welcoming city initiatives. This investigation finds that while each city puts a priority on developing a certain set of assets based on its unique political, economic, and demographic contexts, welcoming efforts tend to encourage immigrant entrepreneurialism, the leveraging newcomers' human capital and financial assets, and the development place-based assets to attract and retain newcomers. The efforts to

strengthen community capacity seek to institutionalize a new norm of welcoming, structure immigrant-friendly governance practices, and engage newcomers and longer-term residents in their community affairs. The second theme probes the ways in which these four cities create and maintain governing regimes for the initiative. The analysis finds that, while the four cities develop different governing structures, all pursue the creation of mixed types of governing coalitions that combine pro-growth and opportunity expansion regimes by incorporating the goals of economic growth and immigrant integration. The third theme investigates different modes of immigrant incorporation and their contribution to immigrant integration, the final stage in immigrant settlement. The analysis suggests that political leaders and bureaucratic agencies of the welcoming cities tend to build reciprocal relationships, rather than principal-agent relationships, in which political leaders rely on the positional, professional, and technical expertise of bureaucrats. In these early stages on the initiative, political and bureaucratic incorporation aim to create institutional changes that help immigrants and newcomers to be viewed as political constituents and clients of bureaucratic agencies.

This dissertation broadly concludes that the welcoming city initiative is a promising new urban economic development framework that could reshape urban space by integrating pro-growth demands with social integration and inclusion. Going forward, however, deeper consideration of the perspectives and rights of immigrants and newcomers themselves is needed in these initiatives.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is not only the final project of my doctoral program, but it is also the most important accomplishment in my life. This work would have been impossible without the support and help of many people around me. First, I would like to thank the people whom I met and interacted with in the field. I appreciate all the interviewees not only for sharing their ideas but also for their efforts to make their cities a welcoming place for immigrants and refugees. Without such efforts, this research could not have happened.

I want to thank my committee members, who always provided me with insightful and wise guidance. Working with them was great experience in which I was exposed to different perspectives, had my thoughts revised and sophisticated with the help of diverse ideas, and generated something that everyone in the committee can enjoy. I would like to thank Dr. Karen Mossberger for her excellent work on urban regimes on which I heavily relied to understand the governing arrangements of the welcoming city initiative. The fourth chapter of this dissertation would not have been possible without her previous research on urban regimes. Dr. Paul Lewis has supported my work in countless ways and helped me with my two comprehensive exams, dissertation proposal, and dissertation research by giving me thoughtful feedback and comments. I would like to thank Dr. Joanna Lucio not only for her academic advice but also for her kindness and encouragement. In every presentation of my research and work, her presence was a great relief and helped me deliver my thoughts with more energy. I could not be more grateful to have met Dr. Linda Williams, who is one of the pioneers in the field of welcomeness and welcoming. Her work has inspired me and gave me a motive for my future research

on welcoming. I owe special thanks to Dr. Thomas Catlaw. He has given me endless support as my advisor, mentor, role model, supporter, advocate, colleague, and more. He has shown me an ideal example of a researcher and a teacher, which I hope to achieve in future. Although I tried, I cannot find the exact words to express my gratitude to him.

There are too many professors, colleagues, and friends to name at the School of Public Affairs, in my church, and in my hometown who have given me numerous amounts of advice, prayers, and emotional support. I will not list their names as I would not want to exclude even one of them. However, if you are reading this, you are in my mind. Thank you all.

My parents, brothers, sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephew all offered huge support and encouragement throughout. They have exemplified "Do your best" in their lives and have taught me to have a positive and proactive attitude toward my life. Also, hearing their voices over the phone always soothed my tense and tired mind. While my family is in Korea, I was lucky to have another family here in Arizona. My boyfriend's family has provided enormous support for my physical and spiritual health and always welcomed me.

Finally, I would like to thank Hyun Bo Kang for his love, friendship, and constant companionship. He let me know where to go, how to stop, and when to pause. I was able to endure this long adventure because of his support.

Writing a dissertation is a long journey; it requires careful preparation similar to a traveler's suitcase; it needs companions to explore an unknown world with and share good memories; and it gives one an opportunity to dream about going on another journey.

I have been fortunate enough to complete this dissertation and feel grateful for everything I have been given during this journey.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Increasing numbers of city governments around the world have adopted policies to enable a favorable environment for the economic and social incorporation of newcomers into their communities, thereby maintaining and enlarging their productive role for urban economic growth and development (Welcoming America, 2012). For example, the city of Copenhagen, Denmark has developed a comprehensive immigrant integration plan, focusing on the government services for immigrants and the incorporation of diverse community stakeholders. The city of Stuttgart, Germany adopted the Stuttgart Pact for Integration that includes policies to provide services to immigrants and improve interactions between Germans and newcomers as well as to attract highly skilled immigrants and capitalize on cultural diversity. The city of Chicago has developed the New Americans Plan to support immigrant integration and foster urban economic growth.

In the United States, these kinds of governmental efforts, called welcoming city initiatives, have spread rapidly, in part, by Welcoming America, a national and grassroots-driven collaborative initiative that promotes a welcoming atmosphere in which immigrants are more likely to be integrated into the social fabric of the community they live. Welcoming America connects a network of nonprofits and local governments in the U.S. and supports them in developing plans, programs, and policies for a welcoming city initiative. More than 60 U.S. city and county governments across the country have joined the membership of Welcoming America since 2013, and the number continues to grow.[1]

[1] For a full list of the member cities, see Appendix A.

With this growth of welcoming cities, one in eight Americans lives in a welcoming community (Welcoming America, n.d.). Highlighting opportunities rather than challenges brought by growing immigrant populations, Welcoming America has provided its member cities with general guides and toolkits for developing a welcoming city initiative, and the member city governments have enacted a variety of programs to create a favorable environment for the economic and social integration of immigrants and position themselves favorably in the global economy (Welcoming America, 2012).

Prior to the diffusion of the welcoming city initiative, city governments, which are concerned about increasing immigrants, have developed and implemented individual programs and practices for immigrant incorporation such as English language programs and assimilation programs in local libraries and schools (Singer, Hardwick, & Brettell, 2008). Scholars have focused on these programs and practices and studied "welcoming" largely in terms of the "receptivity" of a receiving community. Assuming the positive influences of receptivity on immigrant integration, scholars have studied 1) political, economic, and sociocultural factors affecting receptivity, 2) key actors promoting receptivity, and 3) the ways in which receptive attitudes encourage economic, political, and/or, social integration of immigrants (Bloemraad, 2006; De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004; Deufel, 2003; Fennelly & Federico, 2008; Lester & Nguyen, 2016; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2005, 2009; Prins & Toso, 2012; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008; Williams, 2015).

While these studies provide important understanding about *receptivity*, there are still other themes that need to be investigated to understand *welcoming.* First, those factors affecting receptivity need to be reconsidered in the context of contemporary

globalization as cities face different types of challenges in such environment and seek to find new urban assets for creating a receptive and economically prosperous community. In addition, those factors can be conceived as not only being conducive to creating a welcoming environment but also for being strengthened and reproduced in a socially and economically desirable way in a welcoming environment; the welcoming city initiative aims to leverage new urban assets for urban competitiveness by promoting immigrant integration. Second, the key motivators of welcoming may not be limited to political institutions and community organizations, which have been highlighted in the previous research on receptivity, and need to be expanded to city governments and immigrants. City governments create governing arrangements to develop and implement the welcoming city initiative, and immigrants are encouraged to be engaged in the welcoming efforts, which ultimately benefit themselves. And third, considering the more active roles of city governments, we need to examine which efforts of political and bureaucratic institutions are more conducive to immigrant incorporation in the context of welcoming.

Seeking to fill those gaps, I show in this dissertation that the welcoming city initiative is a proactive and comprehensive strategy that combines the goal of immigrant integration with the goal of urban economic growth and that aims to address the challenges imposed by contemporary globalization, such as increasing competitive pressure, dwindling fiscal sustainability, and demographic and cultural diversity. By incorporating immigrants into urban communities, city governments seek to promote urban economic development as immigrant incorporation contributes not only to quantitative and qualitative improvements in asset development through immigrants'

human capital and financial resources but also to accommodating different cultures and addressing new social challenges.

In this regard, I suggest that the goals of the welcoming city initiative can be constructed in multiple ways by differentiating between economic *growth* and economic *development*, with the latter conceived as achieving both of economic growth and social progress by developing and leveraging economic and extra-economic assets. Since the challenges imposed by contemporary globalization call for strategies to achieve both economic and social advancement, urban economic development in the context of globalization needs to be defined in broader terms: It need not be limited to achieving a city's competitive advantage and building new revenue sources but broadened to develop a sustainable wealth-creating system by addressing diverse social challenges associated with globalization. The welcoming city initiative advances precisely this notion of development.

In addition, the multiple conceptualizations of the welcoming city initiative examined here may also be conceived in relation to a variety of dynamics of asset development, governance of the initiative, and immigrant integration. Depending on which terms frame the welcoming city initiative and the discourses around the initiative, the types of assets leveraged through the initiative, the ways in which the assets are leveraged, and immigrant integration is achieved vary. More specifically, different framings lead cities to focus on different types of assets and to mobilize different types of resources and participants in the process of developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative, thereby changing the ways in which immigrants are integrated.

Given that the welcoming city initiative is embodied in the conceptual connection between contemporary globalization, economic growth and development, and immigrant integration, this introductory chapter explores these concepts. Discussing these conceptual elements, I seek to bridge the general understanding of globalization, economic growth and development, and the integration of newcomers to the welcoming city initiative and provide a framework in which the following investigation of the welcoming city initiative is anchored.

Globalization and Its Impacts on Urban Economy and Society

Cities today are not merely sub-national entities that are affected by national policies and domestic conditions. They are directly involved in globalization, which has transformative effects on cities and urban regions as well as nation states. In this changing urban context, cities face challenges for urban economic development and seek new opportunities to advance their economies.

In the economic dimension, globalization is mainly related to the liberalization and expansion of market economies (Friedman, 1999; Greider, 1997; Stiglitz, 2002). Scholars have pointed to the liberalization of national economies and increasing competitive capitalist pressure as the main accelerant for economic globalization, although technological advances provided momentum for the formation of a global network of markets (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982; Hall & Soskice, 2001; Le Heron, 2009; Sassen, 2001). Since the Second World War, capitalist institutions, such as firms, corporations, and especially transnational corporations, have put forth efforts to reorganize and restructure national as well as global economic system to cope with increasing competition and conflicts in global markets (Friedmann & Wolff, 1982;

Stiglitz, 2002); they have tried to free themselves from national constraints and to organize global markets to increase their profits. These profit-seeking efforts of firms and corporations have increased the level of privatization and deregulation and encouraged states around the world to open up their economies to foreign companies as well as a growing number of influential actors in global markets. As a result, trade barriers have been lowered or removed for freer trade; flows of international trade, finance, and information have been increased; and national economies have been integrated more closely and intensely as those changes of economic liberalization profoundly influenced national markets since the late 1970s (Barma & Vogel, 2008).

This competitive pressure of globalization is not limited to nation states. As nation states are more open to the global economy, cities are also more exposed to the global forces (Kaothien & Webster, 2000) and restructured in terms of their extent, content, and relative importance in global networks (Swyngedouw, 1997). In this changing environment, cities come to function as key nodes in global networks (Castells, 1989; Friedmann, 1995; Sassen, 2001, 2011), and many of the responsibilities for the critical factors of competitiveness are devolved to urban regions (Webster & Muller, 2000). This functional change of cities and urban regions in the global economy provides an opportunity for as well as a threat to urban economies (Webster & Muller, 2000). There are opportunities if cities can access global markets and more diverse sources of investment more easily, develop innovative industries clusters adapted to the changing economic environment, and attract human capital more effectively. In other words, they might develop different types of strategies for competitiveness that have been rarely considered as part of the local governmental "tool box" for urban economic growth and

development. However, threats could also arise because the environment is competitive and not every city can enjoy such competitive advantage. For example, a city may fail to attract investment from global markets as cities compete with each other for the investment (Cox, 1995). Since capitalists search for areas where they can get more profits, they tend to invest in or move to metropolises and inner cities as well as newly built suburban regions where they have a greater chance of profitable investment and capital accumulation (Hill, 1977). This concentration of capital into certain areas simultaneously generates economic growth in certain urban areas and decay in other areas (Harvey, 2011; Massey, 1994; N. Smith, 2008). Similarly, certain urban regions can be successful in creating innovative service industries clusters or specialized locational clusters that are on the rise in the economy while other cities traditionally specialized in heavy manufacturing industries fail to achieve such industrial restructuring (Dauth & Suedekum, 2016; Desmet & Rossi-Hansberg, 2009; Glaeser, Ponzetto, & Tobio, 2014; Scott, 2006). In addition, cities may grow faster when they attract more human capital as these people bring in economic and social vitality as workers, consumers, and voters (Glaeser et al., 2014; Shapiro, 2006) whereas other cities' economies decline due to the loss of population who will sustain their economy. As a consequence, certain cities come to experience a higher rate of growth than peripheral cities (Jaret, 1983), and cities are restructured and relocated in a competitive urban hierarchy. This uneven growth is not always good even for the cities enjoying the higher rate of economic growth because those cities need to pay additional costs to address the problems of rapid urbanization, congestion, pollution, etc.

In addition, cities come to face different types of challenges entailed with globalization (Scott, Agnew, Soja, & Storper, 2001), which come not only with the flows of finance, commodities, and trade but also with the flows of people, ideas, and services (Dani, 2006; Marcuse & Kempen, 2000). Because not all of the flows are welcomed by all parties (Dani, 2006), globalization generates demographic, cultural, and social challenges in urban society. Among others, one typical impact of globalization on urban society is intensified demographic and cultural diversity that is accompanied with increasing immigration into urban regions (Scott et al., 2001). Facing increasing competitive pressure from national and global scales, cities tend to focus on the growth of value-creating and high-wage occupations to be filled with high-skilled immigrants. At the same time, cities also promote the proliferation of low-skilled and low-wage jobs especially with the help of a large-scale influx of immigrant populations. Given this, it becomes important for cities to develop social policies conducive to maintaining and enlarging the productive roles of immigrant populations (Scott et al., 2001). Furthermore, cities need to address potential conflicts caused by cultural diversity. While cultural diversity may enrich the lives of residents in receiving communities by introducing new ideas and different ways of life, it also generates potential social conflicts between immigrants and long-term residents because of the new ideas and different ways of life (Friedmann, 2002). These challenges call for practical as well as scholarly efforts to develop strategies for a cohesive urban society, which include efforts to economically, socially, and politically integrate immigrant populations into urban society (Friedmann, 2002; Scott et al., 2001). With these strategies, cities can transform "explosive dangers" that could be brought by the increasing demographic diversity and cultural heterogeneity

into “creative new opportunities” for social mobility and social justice (Scott et al., 2001, p. 18).

Globalization at the urban scale requires city governments to develop urban economic development strategies that can advance their competitive advantages as well as address social challenges associated with globalization. This implies that the goals of urban economic development should be understood broadly to involve diverse dimensions of urban society. I consider this issue next by discussing and comparing the discourses of economic growth and economic development.

Economic Development and Economic Growth

Economic development and economic growth have often been used interchangeably in the literature of diverse disciplines as well as in practice without careful consideration of the conceptual differences and practical implications of the terms. However, these two terms have different conceptual bases, and, in this regard, some scholars differentiate economic development from economic growth, conceiving of economic development as a broader concept (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012; Kindleberger & Herrick, 1977; Sen, 1999; Wolman & Spitzley, 1996). This differentiation is meaningful for cities under the influence of economic globalization in that it has implications for setting appropriate goals and strategies to deal with the challenges that the cities face in the changing environment of economic globalization.

According to Kindleberger and Herrick (1977), economic growth and economic development differ in terms of conceptual broadness that each term covers. Economic growth is an output-oriented concept; it involves “more output derived from greater amounts of inputs” as well as “greater efficiency, i.e. an increase in output per unit of

input" (Kindleberger & Herrick, 1977, p. 3). In a similar sense, G. P. Green and Haines (2012, p. 4) explained that growth, in general, is focused on outputs that have both quantitative and qualitative aspects; growth is defined as "increased quantities of specific phenomena" such as jobs and income, and it also refers to improvements in quality such as better jobs and secure sources of income. Economic growth is defined and measured based on quantitative data regarding jobs and businesses in an area, per capita or household income, unemployment, and other measures of economic performance (Beauregard, 1993, p. 275) as well as correlations between those variables (Eisinger, 1988, pp. 34-54; Thompson, 1965). Regarding this, Wolman and Spitzley (1996) commented that most economists mean by economic development "an increase in area employment, income, or both" (p. 116).

On the other hand, economic development is based on the idea that distinctions between social, political, and economic dimensions of life are fuzzy (Blair & Carroll, 2008). It focuses not only on the increase in outputs but also on economic, political, and social changes that lead to improvements in material welfare and functional capacities of an economic system. Such changes include changes in the allocation of inputs and in the composition of outputs accompanying shifts in the underlying production system, increases in the participation of broadly based groups to affect the decision making of directions for welfare improvement, and the advancement of social conditions that enables productive employment to be general among the working-age population (Kindleberger & Herrick, 1977, p. 3). In other words, economic development involves economic growth as well as social and political development that improves the ways in which economic growth is achieved. In this regard, Mier and Bingham (1993, pp. 287-

301) explained that economic development can be considered in terms of seven metaphors of "problem solving, running a business, building a growth machine, preserving nature and place, releasing human potential, exerting leadership, and a quest for social justice." Similarly, Sen (1999) defined development as freedom that consists of five dimensions: political freedoms which means civil liberty; economic facilities that are utilized for the production, consumption, and exchange of goods in the marketplace; social opportunities for the improvement of quality of life; transparency guarantees defined as the level of trust in a society; and protective security that provides a social safety net especially to the disadvantaged. Although Sen's (1999) definition of development is not confined to economic development, his main argument is that development is differentiated from growth because development is related to a broader process of advancing individuals' quality of life. In the community development literature, Wiewel, Teitz, and Giloth (1993) depicted community economic development as a quest for social justice that directs economic growth toward generating conditions favorable to particular populations and communities. In this regard, the concept of community development is in line with economic development rather than economic growth since it aims at structural changes in the system of managing markets in order to satisfy societal needs and therefore to reduce vulnerability to shifts in the market environment (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012).

Notwithstanding this conceptual difference between economic development and economic growth, economic development has been equated with economic growth when it comes to measurement. For example, even Kindleberger and Herrick (1977) suggested measuring economic development as an increase in national income. Similarly, Wolman

and Spitzley (1996) commented that economic development is manifested by "changes in the level and distribution of area employment and per capita income" (p. 116). This tendency to use economic growth as a proxy for economic development seems fair to some extent in that economic development includes economic growth in its concept. For example, it may be possible to use positive change in income or employment as an operationalized measurement for economic development as greater input of capital and labor is considered key factors for economic development (Le Heron, 2009) as well as economic growth (Eggertsson, 2005; Koo, 2005; Vogel, 1998).

However, this interchangeable usage of two concepts becomes inappropriate and limited when we discuss urban economic development in the changing environment of economic globalization; conflating economic development with economic growth may limit the practices as well as the potential of urban economic development. For instance, within the frame of economic growth, an increase in immigrant population coming into a city may be interpreted as a positive impact on the urban economy since it means an increasing input of labor (Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). Consequently, a city government may want to develop practices to attract and maintain the new source of labor input while it pays less attention to the challenges associated with the demographic change (A. E. Green, 2006; Syrett & Sepulveda, 2012). On the other hand, within the frame of economic development, an increasing immigrant population is interpreted as an impact that brings about changes in the ability of an economy to adapt or in the functional capacity of an economic system. For example, the expansion of economic sectors marked by small businesses, in which immigrants play a vital role (Scott et al., 2001), requires a city government to have practices that connect the small business development to the

overall development of its economy by reducing the difficulties that immigrants have running their businesses. In a broader sense, because such a demographic change may increase or decrease the functional capacity of an urban economy, a city government may try to develop practices to revise a production system, decision making processes, and social conditions, thereby making a productive economy keep working.

Urban economic development is temporal and spatial, and the practices of urban economic development vary by surrounding context and conditions (Le Heron, 2009). This implies that an appropriate set of urban economic development practices is something that recognizes and addresses challenges deriving from the changing environment. Applying this implication to the example above, such practices need to be based on recognition of social impacts of demographic changes entailed with economic globalization and aim to address the challenges that demographic changes bring to urban society. In this regard, it seems more appropriate to frame urban economic development practices in both terms of economic and extra-economic factors. Given this, I examine which of the terms actually guides the welcoming city initiative and find the implications of the initiative on urban society in the following chapters.

Integration of Newcomers for Economic Growth and Development

The conceptual differentiation between economic growth and development can be articulated within the perspectives of immigrant integration. The two distinct theoretical frameworks for understanding immigrant integration, namely the human capital framework and the receptivity framework, connect the discussion of economic growth and development to the discussion of immigrant integration and shed light on the

understanding of the welcoming city initiative by suggesting the ways in which the initiative can be framed as an economic growth and/or economic development strategy.

On the one hand, city governments consider newcomers as human capital for economic growth under globalization (Borjas, 1985, 1999). Focusing on the individual characteristics of immigrants, this framework suggests certain individual characteristics, such as education credentials, language skills, and time spent in the U.S., as the determinants of successful immigrant integration (Marrow, 2005). Based on neoclassical theory, which considers an increase in the quality of local labor supply critical for urban economic growth (Bartik, 2012), this framework suggests that immigrants of higher quality labor are better integrated as they generate positive impacts on local per capita earnings. Although this framework does not argue that the individual characteristics are the only factor defining the level of immigrant integration, it is criticized because it ignores the influence of social and cultural context on economic outcomes or the level of integration. For example, this framework fails to account for the different level of integration among immigrants with similar skill levels (Marrow, 2005). Notwithstanding this criticism, the human capital framework for immigrant integration is still influential in the changing environment of economic globalization where urban competitiveness is highlighted for urban economic growth. To cope with the increasing competitive pressure under globalization, city governments search for new factors of urban competitiveness, and, in this regard, adopt strategies to attract immigrants with high skill, investment opportunities, and entrepreneurial ideas. Given this continuing importance of the human capital frame, a welcoming city initiative can be understood as one type of administrative strategy that city governments may use to attract skilled and talented newcomers in order

to enable them to contribute to urban economic growth by framing their cities as open, creative, and inclusive places; and providing newcomers with easy access to government services (Clark, 2010).

On the other hand, the receptivity framework focuses on social and structural factors that affect successful or unsuccessful immigrant integration. Accepting the importance of individual characteristics on immigrant integration, this frame highlights receiving communities' cultural and social contexts and receptive attitudes toward newcomers that help immigrants and newcomers to unfold their potential to achieve socioeconomic mobility (De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004; Lester & Nguyen, 2016; Marrow, 2005; Prins & Toso, 2012; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008). This receptivity framework suggests that a welcoming[2] context can be generated and promoted by various forms of efforts including legislation, local immigration policies, local political mobilization, and bureaucratic incorporation (Bloemraad, 2006; Lester & Nguyen, 2016). For example, regarding street-level bureaucrats' welcoming attitude toward newcomers, welcoming is conceptualized as the degree to which government agencies show regularity, fairness, accessibility, and rule-abidingness to immigrants (Williams, 2013, p. 7). In this vein, a welcoming city initiative commonly involves policies related to good governance that seeks quality services, social cohesion, interculturalism, and civic participation (Teixeira & Li, 2009). Furthermore, a welcoming city initiative is not only about attracting and retaining newcomers but also about integrating them into their society through two-way

[2] The concept of welcoming discussed here is differentiated from the sanctuary city movements; it is related to economic, social, and political incorporation of immigrants and newcomers while the sanctuary city movements have more of a political agenda that resists federal regulations to deport undocumented immigrants and helps these immigrants reside in a city's jurisdiction with less fear of deportation.

processes that require mutual adaptation between newcomers and long-time residents (*Proposed model for the welcoming communities program: Information paper*, 2012). To this end, the initiative emphasizes the engagement of diverse community actors such as government authorities, nongovernmental organizations, immigrants, and current residents in governing coalitions and the mobilization of resources that can contribute to the benefit of all in their community (*Proposed model for the welcoming communities program: Information paper*, 2012; Welcoming America, 2012).

Given these two different frameworks for understanding immigrant integration, the recent development of the welcoming city initiative suggests a utility of considering the frameworks in terms of a continuum rather than separate; the initiative is framed by the human capital frame and the receptivity frame simultaneously. This implies that the welcoming city initiative may be based on diverse approaches to incorporate newcomers that have varying influences on the ways in which newcomers are integrated and urban economic development is achieved. In so doing, the initiative may generate opportunities for social progress of newcomers' upward mobility or reduce to another neoliberal project of rendering newcomers a tool for economic growth and encouraging them to consider themselves entirely responsible for enhancing their own well-being (Larner, 2000). In other words, depending on which end of the continuum city governments put a priority on, the welcoming city initiative may generate positive outcomes for economic development and more cohesive urban society of neocommunitarianism (Jessop, 2002a) or encourage a new round of neoliberal urbanism in which government intervention reinforces a paradigmatic urban landscape and finds ways to impose market rules on every aspect of economic as well as social life (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Peck, 2005).

Research Questions and Chapter Summary

The diffusion of the welcoming city initiative is a very new and interesting phenomenon in that cities in different contexts together proclaim that they want to be a welcoming city. However, there is little research about why different cities adopt the welcoming city initiative, what cities really hope to achieve through the initiative, or what kinds of governing arrangements emerge to develop and implement these initiatives. Given this, this dissertation explores three themes of the welcoming city initiative by asking the following questions. The first and third themes are mainly about what city governments aspire to achieve and how they try to achieve that end with the welcoming city initiative. The first theme investigates how welcoming and the welcoming city initiative seek to achieve economic growth and development based on asset development, which is focused on attracting immigrants and newcomers; and the third theme investigates different modes of incorporation employed by the welcoming city initiative for the integration of immigrants and newcomers, which is focused on retaining immigrants and newcomers. Connecting these two themes, the second theme addresses topics shared by the other two themes: It considers the ways in which city governments create governing arrangements for the welcoming city initiative and the ways in which immigrants and newcomers gain access to the governing arrangements. In so doing, this dissertation critically investigates how city governments develop, frame, and implement the initiative to address challenges entailed with globalization and try to achieve the goals of economic growth and immigrant integration:

Theme 1. Multiple conceptualizations of welcoming and different types of assets leveraged and developed through welcoming: Why do the cities decide to become a welcoming city? How is the concept of "welcoming" understood and interpreted by individual city governments? How is the concept of welcoming embodied in policy programs of individual cities? Did they intend to develop assets for urban competitiveness and community capacity with the welcoming city initiative? How do they propose to develop such assets?

Theme 2. Governing arrangements of the welcoming city initiative and immigrant incorporation into the arrangements: What types of governing coalitions have emerged to develop and implement such policy programs, and how is the collaboration achieved within and across institutional boundaries? How do immigrants and newcomers gain access to governing arrangements?

Theme 3. Bureaucratic incorporation and political incorporation of newcomers through the welcoming city initiative: Do the welcoming city initiative and its policy programs generate unique characteristics of immigrant incorporation? How is incorporation achieved through the initiative conceived as contributing to immigrant integration?

To answer the questions regarding the first theme, this dissertation introduces an analytic framework based on diverse strands of theories in economic sociology and the community development literature that focus on the concepts of urban asset, urban

competitiveness, and community capacity building. With these theories, Chapter 3 conducts an analysis to explore why or in what conditions the cities under investigation try to adopt a welcoming city initiative, how they conceptualize welcoming, and how they develop similar or different scenarios to achieve the goals of asset development through the welcoming city initiative. In doing so, this chapter shows that the cities commonly promote the welcoming city initiative to develop assets for urban competitiveness as well as assets for community capacity. With this possibility of developing diverse types of urban assets through the initiative, each city advances its own path for asset-based economic growth and development. Furthermore, this chapter finds that the welcoming city initiative contributes to competitiveness-driven economic growth in a more desirable way as asset development to strengthen community capacity for immigrant integration that alleviates detrimental effects of competitiveness-driven economic growth.

The second theme (Chapter 4) adopts an urban regime perspective and analyzes the governing arrangements of the welcoming city initiative. It investigates how the city governments are creating a mixed type of governing coalitions with goals of economic growth and immigrant integration, how each city evolves a governing coalition with distinct characteristics, and the kinds of internal dynamics lead to the maintenance and evolution of such coalitions. This chapter highlights mayoral leadership as well as the roles of city governments and community-based organizations in developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative. It also finds that immigrants and newcomers gain access to the governing arrangements with the potential capacity as a regime partner.

The third theme (Chapter 5) investigates the influences of the welcoming city initiatives on the integration of newcomers into urban communities. This section compares and contrasts bureaucratic and political incorporation and analyzes how these two modes of incorporation work in the welcoming city initiatives to foster the integration of newcomers. This chapter finds that the welcoming city initiative employs both bureaucratic and political incorporation and so seeks the integration of immigrants and newcomers by promoting bureaucrats' receptive attitude towards immigrants and newcomers and by making these groups into a constituency of their community.

Finally, the concluding chapter closes this dissertation with a summary of findings and contributions to the literature of asset-based urban economic growth and development, urban regimes, and immigrant incorporation and integration. It elucidates what asset development and immigrant integration sought through welcoming means for urban economic growth and development in the context of globalization.

I turn to Chapter 2, which presents this dissertation's methodology, a research design for interpretive policy analysis, and approach to data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN OF INTER PRETIVE POLICY ANALYSIS

This dissertation conducts interpretive policy analysis using a qualitative multiple case study design that is rooted in constructivist-interpretive methodology. Policy analysis, which is also termed policy science and policy evaluation, is an activity "to supply information about complex social and economic problems and to assess the processes by which a policy or program is formulated and implemented" (Fischer, 1995, p. 2). Policy analysts can take different onto-epistemological positions depending on the types of knowledge that they think they can generate and on the ways they generate such knowledge. For example, policy analysis that is done with a naturalist orientation to social reality and a positivist epistemology seeks to produce objective and generalizable knowledge about a policy with pre-determined evaluation criteria.

However, the knowledge generated in this way becomes less meaningful when the pre-determined evaluation criteria do not reflect the reality constructed by the people involved in policy formulation and implementation as the language of the evaluation criteria are not directly drawn from a conceptual framework which is based on a meaning system that the people have developed (Yanow, 2000). Because human beings interpret and understand phenomena around a policy through a conceptual framework that is manifested in the language they use (Farmer, 1995), policy analysis that lacks sufficient consideration of the specific meaning system loses its merits. This limitation of essentialist-positivist approach to policy analysis requires another approach, namely interpretive policy analysis, which is based on philosophical presuppositions that

emphasize a context-specific meaning system and the meaning-system-based understating of social realities.

In advance of conducting interpretive policy analysis of the welcoming city initiative in the following chapters, this chapter discusses constructivist-interpretive methodology, in which this policy analysis is rooted, along with a discussion of interpretive policy analysis. Then I explain the rationale behind choosing a multiple case study design and for including certain case cities in this research, followed by the description of the various types of data utilized and the analytic strategy that I adopted. This chapter concludes with a discussion of how this research design of interpretive policy analysis achieves the analytic rigor and trustworthiness of required of social research.

Constructivist-Interpretive Methodology

Methodology refers to the presuppositions regarding ontology and epistemology that guide research; it informs an understanding what we think we learn and the reality and nature of the thing being studied (McNabb, 2013; Neuman, 2006; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). With this understanding of methodology, I employ a constructivist-interpretive methodology that guides knowledge generation based on constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology. The constructivist ontology assumes that we understand the world through "social artifacts" as "products of historically situated interchanges among people" (Gergen, 1985, p. 267) and allows multiple truths about social, political, and cultural events (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). To reach these multiple and intersubjectively constructed truths, the interpretive epistemology presupposes interactions between a researcher and people in research settings and co-

generates interpretations that make sense to them (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). In the following section, I explain the constructivist-interpretive methodology more in-depth and discuss the applicability of this methodology to public administration research as well as to this dissertation research.

Constructivism and the Language of the Welcoming City Initiative

The constructivist approach to research assumes that meaning or knowledge is constructed out of an intersubjective interpretation of phenomena; meaning or knowledge is created through a process in which people's diverse experiences, abilities, and common sense are communicated and shared to generate a socially constructed interpretation and understanding. Contrary to an exogenic perspective on knowledge that assumes proper knowledge maps, mirrors, or copies the facts of the real world, the endogenic perspective of constructivism views the origins of knowledge as being rooted in humans' inherent tendencies to think, categorize, and process information; namely subjective understanding, rather than in the features of the world in itself (Gergen, 1985). This subjective understanding of a phenomenon is reproduced in accordance with society and culture in the process of generating a socially accepted interpretation of the phenomenon (McNabb, 2013). In other words, the constructivist approach emphasizes knowledge created through human interaction, the process of interpreting the interaction, and the valuational underpinning of the interpretation (Gergen, 1985). Furthermore, because individuals bring different elements into the interpretation and the society to which the individuals belong shapes discourses around the interpretation in various ways, there can be multiple meanings or truths about a phenomenon. Therefore, constructivism does not

claim an absolute truth or suggest that a certain construction is always preferable or viable (Stahl, 2003).[3]

With the recognition of socially constructed meanings, the constructivist approach acknowledges that the meanings are manifested in artifacts of three broad categories including language, objects, and acts; these artifacts are the specific expression of more abstract meanings (Yanow, 2000). Furthermore, the meanings are again maintained, reinforced, or changed as people use or engage with the artifacts. This dynamic process is shown in the following figure (see Figure 1).

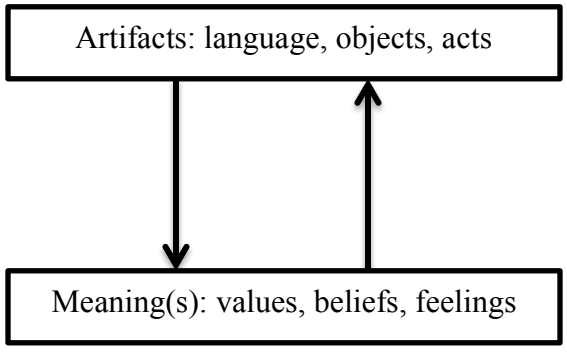

Figure 1. Manifestation of meanings in artifacts and maintaining and changing meaning by the use of artifacts. Adapted from "Conducting Interpretive Policy Design," by D. Yanow, 2000, pp. 15-16.

Among the different types of artifacts, particular concerns have been with language that constitutes individual world views and social practices and with the functions of language as a form of social participation and a system of reference (Gergen, 1985). By looking into the language that pervades a society, it is revealed how terms gain their meaning from their context of the usage and how people reach negotiated understanding as well

[3] This argument of multiple truth is also found in the literature of social psychology (Gergen, 2009).

what the implications of such understanding for other range of social activity are. This focus on language and the representation of knowledge through language also direct our attention toward greater emphasis on the macro-level context including the social, political, and economic institutions that sustain and are supported by the usage of language and meaning-making at the micro-level.

This constructivist approach to research is useful for answering ontological questions in public administration, which mainly seek to understand institutions, political behaviors, and administrative phenomena (McNabb, 2013), as those being studied are socially engineered and socially constituted (Farmer, 1995). To elaborate on this usefulness, I focus on phenomena around policy processes that involve policy formulation and implementation to address policy issues and problems occurring in the dynamic and pluralistic context of the contemporary era.

In any policy situation, we expect that multiple and numerous actors participate in policy process (Yanow, 2000, pp. 10-11). There are at least three types of actors including policymakers, implementing agency personnel, and affected citizens or clients, each of which has internal communities divided by organizations, agencies, and occupations, to name a few. In addition, there are other policy-relevant actors including cognate or competing agencies, interests groups, potential policy clients, and unheard voices. This multiplicity of actors involved and potentially involved in the policy process is even greater and becomes more complex in today's changing administrative and social environment. Public administration and governance of this era entails diverse participants across public and private sectors whose boundaries are blurring (Pesch, 2005; Weintraub,

1997); society is constituted based on different world views as social fragmentation is intensified and social actors come from different backgrounds (Stout, 2012).

What these multiplicity of policy actors implies is that the meaning-making of policy issues also becomes diversified and contextualized as the actors are located in more diverse contexts which involve multiple and separate "meaning communities" (Yanow, 2000, pp. 10-13) and which provide the members of meaning communities with reference points to understand policy issues. Because the policy actors in the same meaning community share certain cognitive, linguistic, and cultural practices through a process of interaction and use these practices as a frame to understand policy-related artifacts, the actors in different meaning communities construct different or contending frames, focus on different dimensions of policy issues, and attach different meanings to policy issues. Furthermore, they also have different expectations of policy interventions and courses of actions as they attend different policy discourses. This implies that the ways in which policy issues and policy-related artifacts are understood and appropriate policy interventions are defined are set by how the policy actors frame policy issues and artifacts rather than by objective facts of policy issues (Yanow, 2000).

Given this possibility of constructing multiple meanings of a policy issue, it is not necessary to search for one single correct formulation of a policy statement. Rather, it is necessary to seek "local knowledge" about policy phenomena since this local knowledge is based on " expert understanding of and practical reasoning about local conditions derived from lived experience" and it is provisional knowledge that can be reconstructed and corrected as circumstances and individuals in a policy situation change (Geertz, 1983; Ruderman, 1997; Yanow, 2000, p. 5). As such, the constructivist approach

becomes especially relevant given the dynamic and pluralistic context where multiple truths about a policy issue coexist and claims to truth are regularly contested. Furthermore, the constructivist approach leads to better understanding of the phenomena of public policy and public administration by revealing the discrepancy between what we believe about existence or what a policy says or intends and what we do in practice and by generating local knowledge that can reduce or eliminate the discrepancy (Lipsky, 1980; Prottas, 1979; Yanow, 2000).

With the usefulness and importance of the constructivist approach for understanding public administration phenomena, scholars have paid special attention to the language of public administration (Box & King, 2000; Catlaw, 2007; Farmer, 1995; Harmon, 1989; Spicer, 2001; Yanow, 2000). In broader terms, the theory or a set of substantive information of public administration is conceived as a language; public administration theory incorporates a variety of assumptions, ideas, and approaches, which are expressed and arranged through a language, to understand public administration and to conduct public administration (Farmer, 1995). This implies that the language of public administration sustains and expands the knowledge of public administration as the ways those assumptions, ideas, and approaches are expressed and arranged shape and reshape the understanding of public administration.

In this vein, policy and the policy process can be understood as a policy language that embodies policy frames for making sense of policy-related phenomena. Because a policy language involves metaphors and symbols, which are culturally and historically specific, it can accommodate multiple meanings generated through different policy frames constructed by actors in different meaning communities (Yanow, 2000).

Therefore, we can understand policy-related phenomena by looking at how various actors read a policy language in different ways and how a policy language communicates the meanings of the phenomena.

Applying the constructivist approach and its focus on language to this research of the welcoming city initiative, I presuppose that the meanings of "welcoming" are constructed differently by multiple actors in a wide sweep of temporal, spatial, historical, political, economic, cultural, social, and personal context of urban communities and that each city government intends to achieve different goals with its welcoming city initiative by arranging different types of local regimes and collaborative efforts occurring in the context of urban communities. Furthermore, I assume that the investigation of the language of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative will lead to the understanding of the multiple meanings of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative and of the relevance of the entailed policy actions.

Interpretive Epistemology and Interpretive Policy Analysis

To gain context-specific and intersubjectively constructed interpretations and knowledge, interpretive researchers seek understanding within specific settings by getting into the settings, engaging with the meaning communities in the settings, and learning how to interpret the meanings of artifacts considering the context of the settings (Rowlands, 2005; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Yanow, 2000). In this regard, interpretive researchers emphasize that knowledge is co-generated in interpretation processes as researchers build a relationship with the things being studied as well as the meaning communities around them, both of which are embedded in the context of a specific time and space. This implies that the ways in which researchers develop the

relationship with or approach research settings influences how they can gain knowledge in specific settings.

Given the possibility of socially constructed multiple truths, interpretive researchers hold that people understand phenomena in their settings with their meaning systems constituted by different sets of assumptions and social constructions. In addition, interpretive researchers reflect on the ways in which different meaning systems work in search of different ways of understanding. When interpretive researchers first access research fields, they bring their past experience, knowledge, education, and individual background, i.e. their own meaning systems, to research settings to interpret what is being studied. Based on their meaning systems, they develop initial research expectations as educated provisional inferences, rather than research hypotheses (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Interpretive researchers explore these initial expectations by communicating with the meaning communities in research settings and reflecting on the communities' meaning system as well as their own meaning systems, assuming a potential mismatch between what they expect and what they actually experience in research settings. If there is a mismatch, interpretive researchers investigate this difference to understand how different meaning systems lead to different ways of seeing, understanding, and doing. In this way, they uncouple "different" from "wrong" and find ways to gain or access to knowledge emerging from the very specific context (Yanow, 2000).

Based on the preceding discussion, this research takes the interpretive approach and relies on interpretive policy analysis[4], which has been articulated and elaborated by Yanow and Schwartz-Shea (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Yanow, 2000), to gain local knowledge about the welcoming city initiative. Actors in a policy situation generate various interpretations of a policy phenomenon, which are constructed by their meaning systems, and create local knowledge about the phenomenon. Because these actors are active constructors of meaning, rather than passive policy targets, interpretive policy analysts focus on what the actors bring to the construction of interpretations and meanings and how they communicate the interpretations and meanings (Yanow, 2000). In so doing, interpretive policy analysts gain local knowledge by mapping the multiple interpretations and meanings generated by diverse meaning communities in a policy situation. To map the multiple meanings, interpretive policy analysts identify 1) the artifacts that the members of meaning communities in a policy situation use to carry their interpretations and understanding of a policy phenomenon, 2) relevant meaning communities in a policy situation, 3) the specific meanings and discourses communicated by the meaning communities through the artifacts, and 4) conflicting interpretations and understanding as well as the rationale behind the conflict (Yanow, 2000, pp. 20-22). Furthermore, interpretive policy analysts can generate new ideas for policy action from

[4] Interpretive policy analysis shares some similarities with ethnography: Both interpretive policy analysts and ethnographers go to the field, investigate the ways in which a phenomenon constructed by the people in the field, and use similar methods for data generation including interviews and observations. However, ethnography is more focused on understanding unfamiliar cultures and studying "what is foreign or strange in our society and how social subcultures or subworlds are constructed" (Flick, 1999, p. 641) while interpretive policy analysis is not necessarily focused on the cultural dimension of a policy phenomenon.

the multiple interpretations by synthesizing or reframing the interpretations (Roe, 1994; Yanow, 2000).

Applying this interpretive policy analysis to the welcoming city initiative, I examine the language of the welcoming city initiative used by each of the welcoming cities. In particular, I try to understand what kinds of discourses shape the meanings of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative and how and why different cities shape the meanings in different or similar ways, focusing on the official representation of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, the differences in this representation among cities, and possible disparity between the official representation and informal use of the concepts.

Role of Theory in the Analysis of the Welcoming City Initiative

Interpretive researchers focus on the concepts emerging from the field, which are used and defined by those in the field and embodied by their lived experience (Haverland & Yanow, 2012; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). However, this does not mean that interpretive researchers enter the field without predefined concepts or theories in mind. Rather, they need both empirical material and theoretical concepts to generate context-specific knowledge since there is a recursive and reiterative process between theories and research settings (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Encountering and interacting with research participants' "everyday language" and "everyday theories," interpretive researchers try to make sense of them in light of their understanding of theories pertaining to their research and create contextual understandings with the words and phrases they select (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Golden-Biddle & Locke, 1993, 2007;

Gusfield, 1976; Haverland & Yanow, 2012; Polkinghorne, 1988; Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Van Maanen, 1988).

In this regard, this research utilizes diverse sets of theories for data generation and analysis. First, I use the theories to frame interview questions and find relevant documents, news media articles, and archival records. I also use the theories to develop coding frames for analysis as theories point out important aspects of research topics and research questions and suggest what I may find in the field (Blaikie, 2009). If the theory-inspired concepts do not work in the field or conflict with field realities, I abandon or modify the concepts and focus on the concepts and meaning emerging in the field.

Setting the Scene: The Four Welcoming Cities

This dissertation raises a set of questions about why city governments adopt the welcoming city initiative, how they create governing arrangement to formulate and implement the initiative, and how immigrant incorporation may be achieved with the initiative. It tries to answer these question based on a constructivist-interpretive methodology. In this regard, this dissertation utilizes a case study design, which is appropriate for research that tries to answer "how" and "why" questions and to discuss contextual conditions related to the phenomenon under study (Yin, 2003). Case studies are useful for the exploration of a case in its real-world contexts, which leads to the in-depth understanding of the case as well as new knowledge about a real-world phenomenon and its meanings (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2012). In addition, case studies can be used to analyze the outcomes of policy interventions (Yin, 2012).

Case studies can follow a single- or multiple-case study design, and this dissertation employs an interpretive multiple-case study design to understand the

welcoming city initiative that has been developed and implemented by the U.S. welcoming cities. This multiple-case study design seeks to understand the multiple framings of the welcoming city initiative by *mapping* the research settings, gaining *exposure* to multiple perspectives on the research topic, and achieving *intertextuality* across the sources of evidence (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012, emphasis added). In other words, the research design aims to maximize research-relevant variety by looking at various locations, namely different cities, widening exposure to different understandings of the welcoming city initiative by cities, and generating an intertextual interpretation of the initiative by drawing on multiple interpretations of welcoming and relating these interpretations to one another.

A case is defined as a "phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 25) and as a "bounded system" (Stake, 2005, p. 444). This boundedness needs to be carefully incorporated into a research design since it preserves a meaning-context link that makes context relevant meaning-making possible. This implies that random selection of cases is not appropriate for interpretive research. Furthermore, the concept of non-random sampling is often viewed as inappropriate for interpretive research, whether it is purposive, snowball, or theoretical sampling; the concept of sampling presupposes a researcher's control over the selection process, which often does not fit field realities (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). In this regard, this research employs the concept of "exposure," rather than "sampling," and includes cases that increase exposure to different settings, contexts, and perspectives.

Since this dissertation investigates the welcoming city initiative developed and implemented by the U.S. welcoming cities in the context of the growing welcoming city

movement, the case cities are first selected from the member cities of Welcoming America. Although many U.S. cities may have implemented initiatives and programs similar to the welcoming city initiative regardless of their membership in Welcoming America, the cases are drawn from the membership roster because the member cities tend to have welcoming city initiatives that are more visible. This visibility of the welcoming city initiative reduces the difficulties of accessing the field of each city, thereby increasing the possibilities of gaining a better understanding of the welcoming city initiative. For example, it is easier to contact city government officials when there is an assigned government agency that is in charge of leading the welcoming city initiative. Furthermore, the case cities are selected to maximize contextuality of the cases along various dimensions, thereby creating the possibilities for multiple interpretations and understanding of the welcoming city initiative (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). In other words, the case cities are chosen considering which cities will expose more and varied understandings of the welcoming city initiative rather than which cities represent the totality of the initiative in across U.S. welcoming cities and ensure unbiased descriptive and causal inferences (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012; Stake, 1995). This requires a group of cities to be included regarding diverse local conditions in which the welcoming city initiative are developed and implemented to gather rich and diverse data for the initiative. This approach is especially appropriate given the lack of prior research about these initiatives.

Given this, ten first-cohort cities that joined Welcoming America by 2013 are identified: Austin, Texas; Baltimore, Maryland; Boise, Idaho; Chicago, Illinois; Columbus, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; High Point, North Carolina; Lincoln, Nebraska;

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and St. Louis, Missouri. These cities have been the members for a relatively longer period than the other member cities; therefore, in principle, they have had more time to develop and implement their welcoming city initiatives. In addition, several local conditions that contextualize the welcoming city initiative are considered to allow contextual diversity in the selected cases: immigration history, foreign-born population ratio, economic conditions, geographical regions, and presidential election result. First of all, the current trend in immigrant settlement patterns is considered. Singer, Hardwick, et al. (2008) developed a historical typology of urban immigrant settlement in the U.S., which categorizes cities into six types: former gateways, continuous gateways, post-World War II gateways, emerging gateways, re-emerging gateways, and pre-emerging gateways (see Table 1). Among these, continuous gateways, emerging gateways, re-emerging gateways, and pre-emerging gateways are included; former gateways and post-World War II gateways are excluded to focus on more recent trend in immigration. Furthermore, case cities were chosen in light of the foreign-born population ratio, ranging between 4% and 20%, because the foreign-born population ratio of the first cohort cities falls within this range.

Table 1
A Typology of Immigrant Gateways

Type	Description
Former gateways	Cities that attracted considerable numbers of immigrants in the early 1900s but no longer do.
Continuous gateways	Long-established destinations for immigrants that continue to receive large numbers of newcomers.
Post-World War II gateways	Cities that began attracting immigrants in large numbers only during the past 50 years or less.
Emerging gateways	Cities that have had rapidly growing immigrant populations during the past 25 years alone.
Re-emerging gateways	Cities that began the 20th century with a strong attraction for immigrants, waned as destinations during the middle of the century, but are now re-emerging as immigrant gateways.
Pre-emerging gateways	Cities where immigrant populations have grown very rapidly in the 1990s and are likely to continue to grow as immigrant destinations.

Note. Adapted from "Twenty-first Century Gateways: Immigrants in Suburban America," by A. Singer, S. W. Hardwick, and C. B. Brettell. Copyright 2008 by the Brookings Institution.

In terms of economic conditions, this research considered not only domestic conditions but also the extent to which a city is integrated into a world city network. This is because migration of people comes with the flows of capital, investment, and trade. Also, the welcoming city initiative in part aims to promote local economic growth as well as position cities favorably in the global economy. Thus, the case cities are chosen using the classification of world cities developed by the Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network (see Table 2) as well as the gross domestic production (GDP) rank of each city.

Table 2
GaWC Levels of World Cities (2012)

Level	Description
Alpha++ Cities	• Cities that are clearly more integrated than all other cities and constitute their own high level of integration (e.g. London and New York)
Alpha+ Cities	• Other highly integrated cities that complement London and New York, largely filling in advanced service needs for the Pacific Asia (e.g. Paris and Tokyo)
Alpha & Alpha- Cities	• Very important world cities that link major economic regions and states into the world economy (e.g. Chicago and Los Angeles (Alpha) / San Francisco, Washington, and Boston (Alpha-))
Beta Cities	• Important world cities that are instrumental in linking their region or state into the world economy (e.g. Philadelphia, Detroit, Denver, and San Diego)
Gamma Cities	• World cities linking smaller regions or states into the world economy, or important world cities whose major global capacity is not in advanced producer services (e.g. St. Louis, Baltimore, and Columbus, OH)
Cities with sufficiency of services	• Cities that are not world cities as defined here but have sufficient services so as not to be overtly dependent on world cities. • Two specialized categories of city are common at this level of integration: smaller capital cities and traditional centers of manufacturing regions (e.g. Pittsburgh and Austin)

Note. Adapted from "The World According to GaWC." Retrieved from GaWC website: http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/gawcworlds.html

Because different geographic regions have different experiences with immigration and immigrants, the regional distribution of cases is considered as well. For example, cities in western regions traditionally have Latino populations as the most important minority group while cities in the Northeast, Midwest, and South have recently experienced a relative decrease in African American populations and an increase in Latino populations. Regarding this, the case selection is designed to include at least one city for each of the four Census regions (see Figure 2). Finally, presidential election results from 2012 are included as an indicator of the political culture of each city given

that developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative may be influenced by the political culture of a city.

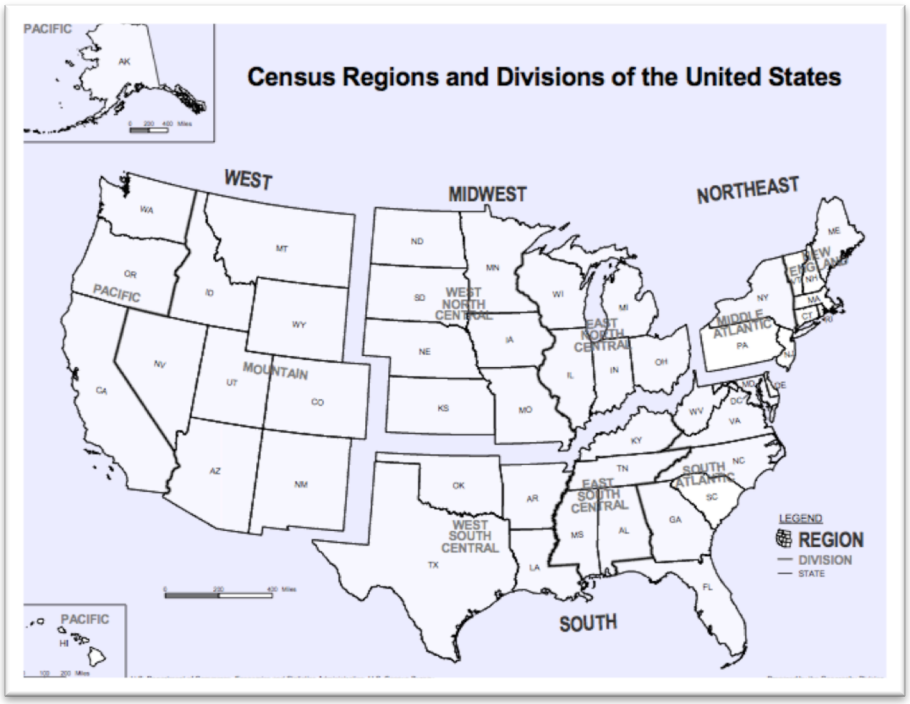

Figure 2. Census regions and divisions of the United States. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/geo/maps-data/maps/pdfs/reference/us_regdiv.pdf

Considering these contextual elements, four case cities from the ten first-cohort cities of Welcoming America were selected: Austin, Boise, Chicago, and Philadelphia (see Table 3). Philadelphia was selected since it is the only city in the Northeast region and it is a Beta+ city. Furthermore, the city is recently recognized as re-emerging gateway city (Singer, Vitiello, Katz, & Park, 2008). Boise was included mainly because of its relatively conservative political culture. Although Boise and Lincoln share the same presidential election result, Boise was selected after considering geographical region and foreign-born population ratio: Boise is the only city in the West region, with a lower ratio of foreign-born population than Lincoln. Austin is included because it is the only pre-

emerging gateway city and high sufficiency city. Similarly, Chicago is included as the city is the only continuous gateway city and Alpha city.

Table 3
Four Case Cities

City	Austin (TX)	Boise (ID)	Chicago (IL)	Philadelphia (PA)
Immigration History	Pre-emerging gateway city	Emerging gateway city	Continuous gateway city	Re-emerging gateway city
FB Pop. Ratio	19.08 %	7.27 %	21.18 %	11.75 %
GaWC Level	High Sufficiency	NA	Alpha	Beta+
GDP Rank	32	86	3	7
Region	South	West	Midwest	Northeast
Presidential Election Result	Democrat	Republican	Democrat	Democrat

Note. Data is from U.S. Census Bureau; GaWC website (http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/world2012t.html); Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce; Singer, Vitiello, Katz, and Park (2008); and Singer, Hardwick, et al. (2008).

Types and Sources of Data

Exposure to different ideas and interpretations require meeting and engaging diverse actors in different settings regarding their roles, levels of responsibility, and locations in the field as experience and views vary by each person's position in the field (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). During this kind of exposure, data occur in various forms since data emerge from the varieties of human activities including physical artifacts, acts by different actors, and diverse language use (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). These multiple forms of data are compared and contrasted in an intertextual fashion to reveal different ideas and interpretations. In this regard, this dissertation

utilizes multiple types of data from various sources. First, this dissertation draws on in-depth interviews with 27 key actors across the four cities who have been involved in the process of developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative and three staff of Welcoming America (see Table 4). I made initial contacts to 61 potential interviewees, and 28 of them participated in the in-person or phone interviews while the other two provided me with their answers via email. The first and second round interviews were conducted from May to June 2015 and from January to March 2016 respectively with local government personnel involved in the welcoming city initiative; directors, chairs, or staff of relevant community organizations or non-governmental organizations participated in the initiative; and leaders or representatives of immigrant communities.

The question format of the interview took a semi-structured form so that unexpected questions brought up during the interview processes could be addressed. For the questions, specific interview protocols were developed for each category of interviewees; the government officials were asked about the backgrounds related to immigrants in their cities, their cities' motives in adopting the welcoming city initiative, the visions and goals of the initiative, the participants involved in the initiative and the partnership with these participants, the types and amounts of resources invested in the initiative, the outcomes or expected outcomes of the initiative, and their cities' experience and relationship with other welcoming cities and Welcoming America. To the staff at nongovernmental organizations, questions were asked about their understanding of the welcoming city initiative, their roles in the initiative, their commitment to the initiative, their suggestions for the initiative, and their relationship with other participants involved in the initiative. For the individuals from immigrant communities, their general

understanding of the welcoming city initiative and the benefits and/or limitedness of the initiative were explored. For the specific questions, please see Appendix B. Anonymity was promised for every interviewee and all the interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Table 4
Distribution of Interviewees

	Government Agencies	NGOs	Business Sector	Total
Austin	5	5	2	12
Boise	2	3	0	5
Chicago	3	3	0	6
Philadelphia	1	3	0	4
Welcoming America	0	3	0	3
Total	11	17	2	30

The number of interviewees raises potential concerns about the trustworthiness of the findings. In collecting interview data, there were practical issues of access. Although I asked every potential interviewee for an interview at least twice, I did not receive a reply in many cases. This issue of access was not controllable in that it was totally up to a potential interviewee's decision whether he or she accepted my interview request or not. For example, I was able to interview a staff member of a nonprofit organization after the executive director of the organization changed; I was not able to get a reply from the former executive director while the new executive director, whom I contacted in the second round of interviews, connected me to one of the staff members. Also, I could not interview any people in local chambers of commerce except for the case of Austin; this

group largely rejected my requests or directed me other participants of the welcoming city initiative.

On the other hand, the leading organization of the welcoming city initiative in each city tends to be operated by a few people since the initiative is still new to the cities. Although the number of interviews is relatively small given the scope of the initiative, I was able to meet all the key actors in the leading organizations in the four cities and they provided me new or unexpected perspectives on welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, which I was able to confirm after reading and interpreting other interview and document data. Furthermore, I conducted in-depth interviews with most of the interviewees.

Archival records, various documents, and news media articles extensively supplement interview data. This dissertation tries to reflect diverse viewpoints by including documents published by different agencies and organizations. It finds data from government documents concerning basic plans of the welcoming city initiative. For example, "The Chicago New Americans Plan: Building a Thriving and Welcoming City" and "Refugee Community Plan" in Boise are included. When a city government does not publish any document describing the plans or goals, vision statements of leading organizations of the welcoming city initiative and mayors' statements regarding the initiative are collected. These basic plans and vision statements are enough to represent the welcoming city initiative of each city as they are well acknowledged by the actors involved in the initiative. In addition, as each city government implements different programs under the welcoming city initiative, other government reports related to the initiative are analyzed. Finally, newspaper articles and magazine articles are included

when they convey stories of welcoming cities and the welcoming city initiative (see Table 5). In addition to this planned document data generation, some document data was generated from the field during the interviews. I was able to have documents provided to me by the interviewees, obtain some brochures located at their offices, and read local newspapers while I was waiting for the interviewees.

Table 5
Types of Document Data

City	Data
Austin	• Austin, Texas Annual Performance Report • Commission on Immigrant Affairs (COIA) Monthly Meeting Agenda • COIA Annual Internal Review • COIA Recommendation • Welcoming City Initiative Final Report • Welcoming Cities Initiative Programs (Web-pages)
Boise	• Mayor's newsletter • Refugee Community Plan
Chicago	• Mayor's newsletter • The Chicago New Americans Plan • Welcoming City Ordinance • Other documents released by government
Philadelphia	• Executive Order on Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs • Introduction to Office of Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs (Web-Pages) • Multicultural Passport to PHL Week Activities Report

In addition to this data collection, the interview processes meant not only gathering information but also experiencing the field. I walked around the cities before and after I met with the interviewees to feel the atmosphere of the places and to get to know how the welcoming city initiative is actually exercised. For example, I visited several places where the interviewees mentioned as the examples of their "welcoming

scene": the downtown area in Austin where urban renewal and redevelopment to attract newcomers have been underway; the Grove Plaza in downtown Boise where the annual world refugee day was held; and the Little Village of Chicago and the Italian Market of Philadelphia where their emphasis on immigrant small business is represented. In this way, I was able to familiarize myself with some aspects of the local context of welcoming as well as contextualize the data I got from the interviews.

Finally, this research also incorporates quantitative data to understand the context of each welcoming city and its welcoming city initiative. For example, the statistical data about economic conditions and demographic changes of each city are collected. These data are used to show the situations the case cities face as well as to compare to or contradict the evidence generated from the interviews and document analysis.

Analytic Strategies

Interpretive researchers focus on artifacts such as language, patterns of action and interaction, written or oral texts, or built spaces to understand human meanings, values, and beliefs attached to certain phenomena. Among the interpretive philosophies concerned with the ways in which researchers or analysts interpret artifacts, hermeneutics suggests analytic methods for deciphering the meanings of artifacts, especially texts, which are similar to the methods used for the interpretation of classical, legal, and biblical texts. It requires interpretations to be based on a holistic and contextualist approach that considers the intent of the creator of texts, the time frame at the time of the creation of texts, and political, cultural, and social contexts of texts (McNabb, 2013; Wachterhauser, 1986). In terms of policy analysis, hermeneutics deals with policy artifacts, government texts, or other policy-relevant documents as symbols to be

interpreted in the context of specific time and space and in accordance with the intent of meaning communities in a policy situation.

In this regard, this dissertation utilizes a qualitative content analysis to interpret the welcoming city initiative and the phenomena around the initiative. Qualitative content analysis is one of research methods used for text data analysis, which focuses on the contextual meanings and subjective interpretations of a text through a systemic classification process of coding (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Lindkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Since the coding process is the key to content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; R. P. Weber, 1990), a coding frame that guides decision-making in the analysis of content needs to be developed carefully. In this dissertation, the coding frame is developed based on a mixed approach that combines directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Potter & Levine‐Donnerstein, 1999) and bottom-up concept development of interpretive research (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

First, this dissertation develops an initial coding frame utilizing the key concepts identified by prior research and existing theories that have framed the scholarly discussion and practical discourses of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative. Since I, the researcher, was already informed of theoretical discussion surrounding welcoming and the welcoming city initiative through the publications of Welcoming America, I cannot help but bring this knowledge into the interpretation process of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative. Given this, I create an initial coding frame that reflects the prior discussion and discourses of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative in a clear and comprehensive manner. In this way, this research investigates whether or to what

extent the prior understanding of welcoming and related discourses, such as receptivity, frame the current understanding of welcoming as well as whether the current understanding validates or extends the prior theories and theoretical framework. Second, the initial coding frame is revised to incorporate experience-near concepts and situated definitions of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, which are drawn from research participants' lived experiences in a welcoming city and their local knowledge of the welcoming city initiative. This revision intends to provide the coding frame with some flexibility to include concepts and themes that have not been expected by the prior theories and research.

Trustworthiness and Scientific Rigor of the Study

Interpretive research emphasizes the possibility of multiple truths by differentiating being "different" from "wrong." Because interpretive researchers cannot anticipate a different perspective ahead of time but try to detect and understand it by engaging in the field, interpretive research designs should be flexible enough to respond to unexpected field realities (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). Although interpretive researchers are required to consider this flexibility in designing their research, they also plan several procedural details to ensure that their construction of multiple truths is trustworthy. In this regard, interpretive researchers seek to provide a transparent explanation for how they generate data and gain local knowledge by utilizing the concept of reflexivity, which is focused on the ways in which researchers incorporate the flexibility into their research designs, address their own personal characteristics as well as prior knowledge in the process of data generation, and achieve the adequacy of their analyses (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012).

For a trustworthy research design and analysis, I include several design elements based on the concept of reflexivity, which can be applied to different phases of the research process. As one way to ensure research rigor and trustworthiness, interpretive researchers interrogate their positionality in terms of their personal histories, capacities, and characteristics as well as their accessibility to research settings and the actors in research settings because the actors in research settings respond to the particularity of researchers and this affects what the researchers can or cannot see (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012). In conducting this research, I consider how my positionality affects my accessibility to the research settings of the case cities, the actors of the welcoming city initiative, and the documents related to the initiative, which might influence on the data generation and analysis as well as ensuing knowledge claims.

Since I have an organizational association at a large American university, I was able to make initial contacts with the actors in the research settings with relative ease. In addition, my limitations as a foreigner were less prominent and the interactions with interview participants went smoothly in most cases as this research has been conducted in the settings of "welcoming" newcomers; the interviewees tended to take a welcoming stance toward me, a newcomer, as they might do to other newcomers in their field. Furthermore, I was able to expand the points of contact in the field by having myself introduced to potential interviewees whom I did not know before I entered into the research settings; several interviewees provided me with other actors in the field whom they think I needed to meet and talk with, and I contacted and interviewed them later.

I also reflect on the ways in which data is co-generated through the interactions with the actors in the research setting and through a recursive process that builds

understanding based on a continuous comparison between my prior knowledge of welcoming and ongoing experience in the field. As I explained how I develop the coding frame to understand welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, I used my prior knowledge to make an initial coding frame and then expanded and revised this coding frame reflecting on the themes and topics emerging from the field experience. In addition, I used Atlas.ti software to track my coding process as well as to ensure that the coding process was consistent.

After the data generation, I tried to convince the readers of this research of the adequacy of the analysis using the concept of reflexivity; I tried to show my meaning-making of the welcoming city initiative out of potential multiple meanings is adequate and relevant by presenting how the evidence from different sources support the meaning-making in a consistent way, how different or conflicting interpretations can be engaged, and how the meaning-making can answer the research questions that I raised. To this end, I utilized several strategies as discussed in the previous sections. First, I used the methods of mapping multiple meanings, increasing exposure to multiple perspectives, and achieving intertextuality across the sources of evidence by employing a multiple case study design and multiple data sources. Second, I seek to construct and reconstruct meanings of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative based on a contextualized understanding of the research settings. This effort to generate context-specific understanding also provides the logical ground on which I formulate the answers to my research questions: I relied on "constitutive" causality that aims to explain phenomena in regard to the contextualized interpretations and understanding of the actors in research settings and tried to explain why city government understood welcoming and welcoming

city initiative in certain ways and how they develop and maintain different types of governing structures and processes. All in all, the methods to ensure the adequacy of the analysis intend to develop contextualized understandings of the welcoming city initiative as the quality of interpretive analyses is determined by whether research achieves contextuality rather than generalizability (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012)[5]; the applicability of this research or whether this research has made generalizable knowledge about the welcoming city initiative can be considered by the readers of this research as they can better reflect on the applicability of my interpretation to their own context.

The explanation of the methods through which I seek to ensure the trustworthiness of this research will be shown more clearly as the analysis of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative unfolds in the following chapters.

Limitations of the Study

Although I design this research to ensure trustworthiness and academic rigor, there are several limitations deriving from field realities and my positionality. First of all, this research only includes case cities that are members of Welcoming America and limits the number to four. They were selected so as to identify more visible and accessible cases and to set a boundary of research. However, it reduces opportunities to investigate other welcoming practices of non-member cities as well as welcoming initiatives outside the United States. Future research can address this limitation by

[5] Ethnographers are also concerned about contextuality in that they focus on unique phenomena in subcultures or foreign cultures. In so doing, they try to describe, examine, and understand the uniqueness in terms of contextuality. However, interpretive policy analysts try to achieve contextuality by mapping different perspectives or ideas and generating his or her own interpretation of the perspectives and ideas.

including more cities or by focusing on more diverse cities' welcoming programs in a specific area of housing, education, employment, human services, etc.

Second, this research investigates a very short time frame of welcoming since the movement just started and still in the process of developing. Because of this reality, I experienced difficulties in accessing the field. For example, there were several occasions in which potential interviewees, especially in the business sector, denied interviews explaining that they do not fully know about the welcoming city initiative even though they were engaged in the initiative to varying degrees. On these occasions, some of them introduced me other participants who might have better knowledge about the initiative, and I also asked them to connect me with other participants. However, some of the participants who I was introduced still declined my interview request due to their limited experience with the initiative.

Third, I also had other limitations on data generation and interpretation. I sometimes experienced difficulty in drawing in-depth conversations with the interviewees as a non-native English speaker. Furthermore, I had to spend more time in interpreting the transcribed interviews due to my evolving understanding of the broader context of American cities. In addition, I had limited access to the immigrant communities in the field since I only contacted individuals who speak English. To grapple with these limitations, I tried to diversify data sources, thereby complementing my limited understanding and perspective.

Finally, I sometimes found that my prior knowledge about welcoming and the welcoming city initiative introduced a bias into the interview processes and generated unexpected reactions from the interviewees. When they did not think about welcoming or

the initiative from the angle that I took in my questions, I tried my best to explain why I introduced that angle into the conversation. When the interviewees and I had different understandings of a concept or context around the initiative, I stepped back and let them discuss their understanding of it. In so doing, I allowed the interviewees express their lived experience of welcoming and their everyday understanding of welcoming more explicitly and they deepened my own understanding of welcoming. In addition, I utilized reflexivity to analyze the data in an iterative way during my deskwork. I moved back and forth between the coding frame and the codes emerging from the field and tried to interpret them based on the specific context of the field.

CHAPTER 3

WELCOMING CITY INITIATIVE FOR URBAN ASSET DEVELOPMENT

City governments try to leverage different types of urban assets to address the challenges and needs that they face. In this era of deepening globalization, city governments need to deal with increasing global competition and accelerating capital and labor mobility as well as cultural and demographic diversity. For example, many U.S. cities have to cope with the transformation of industrial structure and changes in demographic structure and composition. To achieve economic growth and development in these changing internal and external contexts, city governments have adopted and implemented a wide range of policies in search of new urban assets that enhance their competitiveness and strengthen their community capacity. As a way to develop new urban assets, city governments have focused on innovation, new business formation, and new market development and have implemented policy experiments such as public-private partnerships, enterprise and empowerment zones, business-incubator projects, and place marketing (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 368). In addition, city governments have also tried to invigorate community-based development that utilizes internal and external resources and expertise leveraged by engaging community residents and community organizations, by inducing technical, financial, and practical supports, and by promoting broad institutional, policy and structural reform efforts (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012; Kubisch et al., 2002).

In this context, "welcoming" may be viewed as a new tool for asset development that many city governments have begun to recognize for its usefulness in urban economic growth and immigrant integration. Welcoming cities aim to create and promote an open

and immigrant-friendly environment, thereby attracting immigrants who possess diverse types of assets and potential capacity for their communities' competitiveness and capacity building. Although the assets leveraged through welcoming are similar to those that have been highlighted in the literature on the entrepreneurial city (Harvey, 1989; Hubbard & Hall, 1998), knowledge-based development (Boland, 2007; Knight, 1995), creative city (Florida, 2002, 2005), and market-oriented local economic development (Porter, 1997, 2016) as well as those in the literature of community economic development (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012; Shaffer, Deller, & Marcouiller, 2006), welcoming aims to contribute to asset development in ways that have been rarely conceived and articulated.

For example, the welcoming city initiative shows how community capacity development, which prioritizes immigrant integration, also promotes urban competitiveness by creating a welcoming environment where immigrants' potential is more valued and well recognized and where immigrants' current as well as potential skills and talents are more easily leveraged. This goes beyond such arguments that receptive environment is conducive to immigrants' occupational attainment (De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004) or creating tolerant places to live and work is necessary to attract immigrants' skills and talents (Florida, 2002); the welcoming city initiative seeks asset development based on mutual adaptation between immigrants and non-immigrant residents, through which immigrants find opportunities to unfold their full potential and non-immigrant residents better understand the contribution generated by immigrants. Urban competitiveness framed in terms of community capacity building may reduce the detrimental effects of competitiveness-driven economic growth, such as income disparity

and extra social costs, and can be more useful for addressing economic and social challenges of contemporary globalization. Put differently, welcoming as a tool for developing urban assets has evolved from the previous discussion of asset development for urban competitiveness and community capacity. However as I will show in this chapter, it expands the limits that such asset development may achieve by elucidating how different types of assets, namely urban competitiveness and community capacity, can be incorporated into one policy initiative and generate synergetic effects.

In this regard, this chapter introduces a discussion of urban asset development that is drawn from the literature of urban competitiveness and the literature of community development, focusing on how this discussion engages with or frames a discussion of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative that have been suggested by scholars in diverse academic disciplines as well as by Welcoming America. Based on this review of the asset development literature and the discussion of the welcoming as well as my field experience in the four case cities, I develop a coding frame that includes specific asset development strategies of the welcoming city initiative and diverse types of urban assets to be leveraged and developed through the welcoming city initiative. Using this coding frame, I investigate how the concept of welcoming has been embodied in programs of the welcoming city initiative and how welcoming and the welcoming city initiative have been understood and interpreted by the individual cities under investigation. Furthermore, I analyze the ways in which the concept of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative are framed as a tool for asset development and highlight new themes that welcoming brings into the urban asset development literature. In this process, I seek to answer the research questions of the first theme that ask about motivation and rationale behind

becoming a welcoming city, multiple conceptualizations of welcoming, and the specific assets leveraged by the welcoming city initiative. In so doing, I explore the various scenarios of urban asset development based on the welcoming city initiative and critically investigate what this variety means for urban economic growth and development.

Urban Assets for Economic Growth and Development

Globalization generates conditions for the emergence of sub-national scales as new strategic territories for economic growth and development (Sassen, 2001). In this context, there has been an extensive theoretical discussion about what cities can do to enhance their prosperity especially under diverse pressures of globalization. Among others, a wealth of research has studied local practices that seek to leverage both economic and extra-economic factors of places and spaces, contending that economic development is based on the interaction of market-mediated as well as non-market social relations (Jessop, 2002b; Polanyi, 2001). These studies have pointed out that the "diversity, uniqueness, and surprise factors" (Carr & Servon, 2009, p. 28) of a city lead to urban competitiveness and community capacity building, thereby promoting urban economic growth and development (Filion, Hoernig, Bunting, & Sands, 2004; Florida, 2002; Gratz, 1994; Jacobs, 1961; Rypkema, 2003).

In this vein, urban theorists, geographers, sociologists, and community development scholars have focused on the concept of *urban asset*. With the rise of cities as key elements of economic growth and development, scholars have discussed the types of assets a city has or should have to cope with the influences of globalization and the roles of city governments to develop and manage these assets (Amin & Graham, 1997). Regarding this, I examine the literature of economic sociology, urban geography, and

community development, which discuss how cities and urban regions develop and retain different types of urban assets for their economic growth and development. I select the studies in economic sociology and urban geography to see how theories depict the ways in which cities can be successful in developing and maintaining their competitiveness in the changing economic environment. In addition, I include studies of community development, which deal with the concept of urban asset in a broader sense beyond competitiveness and suggest asset development strategies for less advantaged communities. Along with this examination of urban asset development literature, I discuss how these studies provide the conceptual bases upon which the concept of welcoming may be understood by focusing on the issues of promoting urban competitiveness and integrating immigrants into economic and social systems of cities and urban communities.

Assets Development for Urban Competitiveness

The concept of urban competitiveness has been a key element in the discussion of urban economic growth (Begg, 1999; Camagni, 2002; Porter, 1997, 2016; Turok, 2005). It raises questions about what kinds of urban assets need to be leveraged for urban economic growth and how cities can enhance their competitiveness while cities are in a transactional network in which they build complementary and competitive relationships with each other (Scott, 2006). Since urban competitiveness incorporates the concept of inter-urban competition to some extent, a city needs to be better than its rival cities in retaining, inventing, and attracting urban assets. In other words, cities are in a competitive relationship in which they struggle to attract labor and investment, promote business activities, and enhance the quality of factors of production. As a way to secure

and reinforce urban competitiveness, scholars have focused on retaining, inventing, and attracting assets that give rise to productivity growth (Begg, 1999; Gordona & Cheshire, 2001; Jessop, 2002b; Scott, 2006). Regarding this, scholars highlight strategies to promote innovative efforts, such as increasing investment in technological advancement, human and physical capital development, and institutional changes (Amin & Tomaney, 2002; Begg, 1999; Jessop, 2002b). Although cities can attain urban competitiveness with a number of different approaches, the themes that most commonly appear in those approaches have been urban entrepreneurialism, knowledge-based development, and creative city.

The concept of the entrepreneurial city is based on the idea that an entrepreneurial stance of a city government creates conditions conducive to pro-*growth* local economic development under the pressure of economic globalization. To respond to the intense economic and social changes of globalization, city governments search for new business opportunities through partnerships with private actors and implement speculative and risk-taking policies, focusing on the political economy of place rather than territory (Blunkett & Jackson, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard & Hall, 1998). Based on a public-private partnership, entrepreneurial city governments proactively try to leverage local assets such as employment opportunities, tax bases, and small businesses, and promote local places to attract new sources of labor and investment (Blunkett & Jackson, 1987; Harvey, 1989; Hubbard & Hall, 1998). Because of this emphasis on *local* and *place-based* assets, urban entrepreneurialism has been widely accepted by city governments regardless of political ideology. On the one hand, it supports neoliberal ideas to expand market economy; and on the other hand, it focuses on the utilization of local cooperation,

municipal pride, and place identity (Eisenschitz & Gough, 1993). Furthermore, the wide acceptance of urban entrepreneurialism has happened across the boundaries between cities as a collective synergy between cities benefits urban regions such as the Sunbelt and Southern England (Harvey, 1989; Noyelle & Stanback, 1984). However, urban entrepreneurialism also generates inter-urban competition to some extent and makes cities seek a competitive edge over neighboring cities (Boland, 2007; Harvey, 1989). Since urban entrepreneurialism focuses on the accumulation of resources within a city's boundary, it requires cities to have advantages over other cities with which it will be competing for similar and limited resources and enhance their position in the network or hierarchy of cities.

Cities also prosper as a knowledge base and through the resurgence of knowledge agglomeration. First, this strand of studies highlights that competitiveness not only comes from commodified forms of goods and services but also symbolic and representational forms of knowledge in a globalized economy (Amin & Graham, 1997; Lash & Urry, 1994). Urban economies keep growing by generating the flows of this symbolic and representational knowledge, interweaving it into the urban fabric, and consequently tying cities into the network of the global economy (Amin & Graham, 1997; Knight, 1995; Knight & Gappert, 1989; Ryser, 1994). As knowledge resources are considered an important competitive advantage, cities value knowledge resources and try to ensure that these resources are securely anchored in cities (Knight, 1995). In addition to this emphasis on knowledge resources, the livability of cities in which the knowledge resources are based is also highlighted (Knight, 1995); knowledge culture and built environment of cities are critical for the knowledge-based urban economic development.

Regarding this, knowledge-based urban economic development strategies focus on creating an environment that is conducive to creativity, learning, change, and innovation by utilizing the urban landscape of corporate headquarters, media, and institutions of culture, education, research and development, science and technology. In addition, some scholars have focused on knowledge agglomeration as another type of urban asset that is conducive to urban economies (Scott, 1988; Storper, 1997). This new type of agglomeration is still based on the spatial proximity between actors, but focused on the proximity to knowledge resources (Knight, 1995). Knowledge-based agglomeration fosters the exchange of information and knowledge based on close and connected interactions between actors. This exchange of knowledge has a direct influence on knowledge spillovers that enhance understandings of business activities, promoting entrepreneurship, innovation, and long-term growth (Scott & Storper, 2003; Storper & Manville, 2006). Furthermore, the relationship-based exchange of knowledge increases the stock of collective assets in the process of creating an environment conducive to learning, which are called "soft factors" including urban culture, amenity, quality of life, livability, diversity, and so on (Knight, 1995, p. 226; Scott & Storper, 2003). Although this development of a knowledge-based economy focuses on locally rooted assets, the knowledge-based agglomeration need not be created based on territorial division and can be accompanied with the complementary relationship between cities. For example, a city can promote economic growth by being integrated into regional clusters of firms, industries, educational institutions, and community organizations and by capitalizing on the knowledge and assets developed through these clusters (Porter, 1997). Therefore, the knowledge-based agglomeration is considered critical to the regional, as well as urban,

economic growth of this era as it contains diverse key factors of competitiveness including innovation, learning, diversity and social connectivity, and even entrepreneurship (Boddy & Parkinson, 2004; Boland, 2007).

The third strand of studies considers urban and regional space as an asset and discusses how it can support the emergence of "creative cities" (Florida, 2002, 2005; Landry & Bianchini, 1995). Creative cities focus on the specific imperative of changing the economic environment and seek to improve urban production systems through employment structure, cultural life, and the physical make-up of place (Scott, 2006). Contemporary capitalist development in part relies on "flexible specialization" (Piore & Sabel, 1984) that is represented by the proliferation of small business and creative class (Florida, 2002; Krätke, 2004; Scott, 2006). Since labor tends to be fluid, mobile, and competitive in this "new economy" (Scott, 2006, p. 3) or "creative economy" (Krätke, 2004), cities with creative ambitions try to attract this labor force by focusing on development of cultural assets and related promotion of place that lead to the improved quality of life. In this regard, creative cities consider that urban economic development relies on the capacity to create a fine-grained spatial matrix such as shared urban spaces, improved public realms, and multi-purpose urban landscapes in which all kind of urban activities are available. Here, urban policies need to provide support to utilize resources of culture, media, entertainment, sports, and education that a city has. In sum, creative cities try to achieve "practical and humanly reasonable harmony" of economy, culture, and place that could be considered as potential source of competitive advantages (Scott, 2006, p. 15). This focus on urban culture and physical make-up of a city is also considered a tool to promote entrepreneurial ideas. Seeking competitive advantages,

creative cities adopt several entrepreneurial strategies informed by the regional dimension of urban development, which include joint ventures, strategic alliances, and coproduction. Creative cities try to leverage resources based on the idea of collective provision for regional development and achieve resource accumulation (Cox & Mair, 1991; Ward & Jonas, 2004). This importance of region in the economic growth of creative cities, which is based on the complementary relationship between cities, leads to the creation of regional clusters in the global economy and promotes cities to join in these clusters by developing their identity as a creative city (Florida, 2005).

In addition, these three strands of studies focus on a place-marketing strategy to attract factors of competitiveness; the place-marketing strategy has been highlighted as a tool to promote entrepreneurial ideas and leverage human and financial resources (Zavattaro, 2010). The studies emphasize the effort to brand cities as attractive, innovative, vibrant, and hospitable places to live, work, visit, and consume (Barke & Harrop, 1994; Florida, 2002; Harvey, 1989; Knight, 1995; Savitch & Kantor, 1995). This place-marketing strategy seeks to develop or replace urban images and city identities and, in so doing, provide a good urban environment that lures production, consumption, and financial flows, thereby enhancing the competitiveness of a city (Harvey, 1989). Although entrepreneurial cities focus primarily on creating a good "business" climate, creative cities and the knowledge-based economy also consider extra-economic elements that affect the quality of life and provide a better urban experience. Creative cities assert the importance of developing urban places into which creative individuals are willing to move and emphasize open, diverse, and tolerant places where diverse lifestyles, customs, and beliefs are accepted (Florida, 2002). In a similar vein, the knowledge-based economy

emphasizes the improvement of a knowledge infrastructure by building an environment that is abundant with cultural and aesthetic amenities that affect the quality of life, individual and organizational learning opportunities, and diverse ideas that lead to innovation and entrepreneurship (Knight, 1995; Storper & Manville, 2006). To have these new identities, city governments try to find place-specific assets and even invent place myths (Barke & Harrop, 1994; Dunn, McGuirk, & Winchester, 1995; Watson, 1991), asserting the unique identity through cultural events such as festivals and mega-events (Harvey, 1989; Page, 1995).

The concept of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative are in line with these themes of entrepreneurial city, knowledge-based development, and creative city in that the initiative in part focuses on an increase in knowledge resources, creativity, and innovation as well as high quality labor force and capital investment, which are accompanied by a dramatic rise in immigrant populations, and seeks to attract and retain immigrants and leverage their assets for urban competitiveness (Clark, 2010; Welcoming America, 2012). First, urban entrepreneurialism provides one framework for understanding the welcoming city initiative by indicating immigrant entrepreneurship. Because immigrant entrepreneurship spans from small retailers of traditional ethnic business to high value-added, innovative, and knowledge-based activities (Desiderio, 2014), it is expected to reinvigorate small businesses of local economy as well as develop urban and regional clusters of innovation. In this process, immigrant entrepreneurship creates more jobs for all community members, not just those limited to immigrant communities. Furthermore, in some cases, immigrants work as a bridge between the U.S. cities in which they settle and their countries of origin; they also foster trade by utilizing

their personal and business networks that they already built in their home countries by creating a new business network between countries (Shin & Choi, 2015). In this context, immigrants are considered valuable assets and the welcoming city initiative support immigrant entrepreneurship through small business development and the economic integration of immigrants into the urban production system.

Second, welcoming and the welcoming city initiative can be understood as cities' efforts to attract and retain knowledge and entrepreneurial workforce that have been discussed in the studies of knowledge-based development. Knowledge-based economic development emphasizes human capital as well as social capital that immigrants possess as immigrants not only bring knowledge and talents but also promote "brain circulation" (Saxenian, 2006, p. 5) between two societies, where they departed and arrived, by creating "transnational bridges" (Shin & Choi, 2015, p. 11) that reinforce mutual understanding of cultural and institutional differences. By playing a bridging role, immigrants expand opportunities for sharing knowledge and information. In this context, cities are expected to ensure that all actors contributing the city's development have access to its knowledge resources and to the opportunities of developing their own potential since a knowledge-based society emphasizes the accumulation and advancement of knowledge (Knight, 1995). In so doing cities also are responsible for fostering the development of different types of knowledge, such as global knowledge and local knowledge, and balancing these diverse types of knowledge (Knight, 1995). This means that cities need to be open to incorporating local values of diverse cultures (Carr & Servon, 2009), which is also embraced by the concept of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative.

The creative city literature and the welcoming city initiative share the importance of urban culture for urban economic growth and development. An open and tolerant culture is economically important as it helps not only creative class but also immigrants develop their talents by allowing them to validate their varied identities and consequently fosters innovation and entrepreneurship (Florida, 2002, 2005). Immigrants in this context are not confined to the high-skilled and include the low-skilled since they all have talents leveraged for urban economic growth in different ways. For example, high-skilled immigrants lead scientific, technological, and entrepreneurial success while low-skilled immigrants contribute to the development of manufacturing, service, and agricultural industries (Florida, 2005). With strategies to create a culture that is more open and tolerant toward immigrants, a city can utilize new ideas and new people all around the world to attract creativity. Furthermore, this experience of incorporating immigrants as a type of minority group could also enhance the possibility of incorporating other traditionally marginalized but economically important minority groups such as women and LGBTQ individuals (Florida, 2005). In this regard, efforts to make creative cities are seen to be conducive to personal growth, social cohesion, and social change (C. Smith, 2000).

Urban Asset for Community Development

The scholars of community development understand community asset development as a value-laden process that defines the visions of a strong community and seeks to leverage, accumulate, and transfer community assets to achieve the visions (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012). This understanding leads scholars and practitioners of community development to take a different approach to urban assets than the approach

utilized in the competitiveness-driven economic growth. First of all, the community development literature defines urban assets or community assets in a broad or abstract sense, such as the "gifts, skills, and capacities" of "individuals, associations, and institutions" in a community (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993, p. 25) or as "community capacity" which refers to "the interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community" (Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh, & Vidal, 2001, p. 7). Because the concept of community capacity incorporates social capital, community assets are sometimes narrowly viewed as social capital. However, community assets take more diverse forms, such as physical, human, social, financial, environmental, political, and cultural assets; social capital is one type of community assets (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012).

Furthermore, the community development literature pays attention to more socially constructed, socially regularized, and socially embedded assets than the typical set of assets highlighted in the competitiveness-driven economic growth. The community development literature, in common with the studies of competitiveness-driven economic growth, emphasizes the role of non-market goods and services along with the traditional market-based factors of production in promoting economic growth and development. In addition, scholars of community economic development also focus on the factors of competitiveness such as entrepreneurship, knowledge and innovation, and urban culture as these factors play an important role in community change and innovation (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012; Shaffer et al., 2006). However, they highlight that each community should look for the assets that they currently possess and build their capacity from the

current status, which may vary by community, thereby creating conditions conducive to economic *development* (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012).

In this regard, the community development literature suggests a holistic approach to community economic development that does not rely on a fixed set of urban assets (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012; Shaffer et al., 2006). For example, Shaffer et al. (2006) suggested a new framework for community economic development that incorporates six dimensions of urban assets: space, resources, markets, rules and institutions, society and culture, and decision making. With the dimensions of space, resources, and markets, they highlight the similar types of assets that are assumed to enhance competitiveness: agglomeration economy within and across communities; resources of amenities, innovation and knowledge, and technological advancement; and new business opportunities for entrepreneurs to fill gaps and disconnection in local markets. However, the efforts to leverage space, resources, and market opportunities cannot be wholly oriented toward competitiveness when the rules and institutions dimension is included. Since institutions as social, political, and legal rules decide the ways in which a community's resources and opportunities are used, exchanged, and distributed, institutions and rules provide community members with rights and obligations to govern what can be done with space, resources, and markets (Davis & North, 1971; North, 1990). In other words, institutions and rules guide which values govern the goals of community economic development, how community members acquire and control resources, and the ways in which income distribution achieves a certain level of fairness and equity, which is set by community members, and reduce conflicts between different parties in a community (Shaffer et al., 2006). For instance, a community culture attuned

to economic development promotes a community business climate that is favorable to change, experimentation, and entrepreneurship as well as developing cultural competency that is conducive to better communication among groups with diverse background in deciding the ways in which community resources are allocated (Shaffer et al., 2006). With the emphasis on the role of institutions and rules, decision-making capacity of a community becomes more important and the capacity varies affected by political leadership that decides the ways in which community members are involved in the processes of setting community rules, communicating and coordinating different interests, and developing context-sensitive policies. Participating in the decision-making processes, community members provide their financial, technical, and knowledge resources for their community development and build trust and sense of mutual benefit or reciprocity between community members, which nurture the ability to act on what they decide and again strengthen the decision-making capacity of their community.

This holistic approach to community economic development suggests that urban asset development for economic development aims to develop the *overall* capacity of a community. In so doing, community economic development reduces economic, cultural, and political barriers, generate long-lasting impacts on the ways in which markets as well as the surrounding socio-politico-physical environment work, and finds a balance between growth and development. Therefore, although community economic development through community capacity building is applicable to all communities, the concept is often considered more important for communities that are disadvantaged and suffered from economic restructuring and social changes driven by globalization, for example (Noya & Clarence, 2009).

This notion of developing overall capacity of a community for community economic development is based on the idea that the economic development of a city is possible when the city not only attracts more labor and capital but also provides democratic political and social systems in which the operation of labor and capital is managed (Shaffer et al., 2006). This idea also provides a conceptual base for understanding welcoming, which holds that the factors leading to economic development are not always economic in nature (Welcoming America, 2012); welcoming aims to create an inclusive and newcomer-friendly environment that fosters economic, social, and political integration of newcomers, thereby contributing to the economic growth and social progress of an urban society. This welcoming effort is in part related to the community development strategies to create a business climate that is favorable to minorities as well as to build social capital in a community. For example, the studies of community economic development suggest strategies to help minorities develop their capacities as immigrant entrepreneurs since minorities tend to run small businesses due to the lack of opportunities to participate in local labor markets (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012). For minorities to develop their skills as innovative entrepreneurs, the studies investigate how communities can provide institutional supports to reduce the resource deficiency of minorities and find that loan funds and training programs are offered as financial and educational support (G. P. Green & Haines, 2012). Such strategies seek to reduce the economic, cultural, and political barriers in product and factor markets that hinder community economic development (Shaffer et al., 2006). In addition, studies in community development highlight strategies to provide immigrants with more accessible government services, adequate and affordable housings, educational and employment

opportunities as well as opportunities for civic engagement, thereby building strong social networks among community members and making them realize that their own well-being is interconnected with others beyond racial and socioeconomic divisions (Depner & Teixeira, 2012; Kubisch et al., 2002).

Limitations of Asset-based Economic Growth and Development

Although the asset development has potential for urban economic growth and development, scholars have also discussed the difficulties of asset development as well as the limitations of asset-based economic growth and development. The scholars have pointed the lack of governance capacity for asset development and raised doubts about how urban governance can achieve the potential for economic growth and development (Harvey, 1989; Hubbard & Hall, 1998; Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006). In addition, they also criticized the uneven outcomes of competitiveness-driven economic growth and the detrimental effects of urban competitiveness on developmental trajectories, raising concerns about the real outcomes of competitiveness-driven urban economic growth.

First of all, the asset-based economic growth and development, whether the asset development seeks for urban competitiveness or community capacity building, calls for the overall strength of governance capacity, which is hard to build within a short time and is not viable in every city because of the lack of resources. The emphasis on the factors of competitiveness such as knowledge, innovation, and creativity requires greater investments in human capital, institutional design, and physical infrastructure improvement that would bring a balanced and strong local production system. Furthermore, since the balance-seeking efforts demand a strong social and political engagement of diverse stakeholders (Scott & Storper, 2003), urban governance should be

able to draw meaningful public debate and incorporate what has been discussed into a development plan. However, it is not an easy task for urban governance, especially in cities and regions experiencing economic downturns and urban deterioration for example, to address the multiple dimensions as they are too big to operationalize all at once (Shaffer et al., 2006). This implies that a city may focus on a specific dimension or dimensions not based on a serious discussion among community members but considering which one is easy to approach. This selective focus may be understood as a strategic choice of a city, but one that would bring unbalanced outcomes between growth and development.

In addition to this concern about governance capacity, other issues have been raised for the competitiveness-driven economic growth. Although a city has or develops the overall governance capacity and implements the strategies to attain competitive advantages successfully, it is still uncertain whether the competitiveness-driven economic growth is beneficial to all community members. Since it is assumed that high-skilled and highly-educated creative individuals possess more factors of competitiveness, the competitiveness enhancing strategies tend to benefit local elites and reinforce and develop those assets while neglecting those who do not belong to the creative class. While this inequality calls for governmental intervention with distributive policies, competitiveness-enhancing strategies give priority to capital accumulation over distributive issues. In this regard, competitiveness-driven economic growth is criticized for encouraging neoliberal ideas, thereby increasing disparities in wealth and income (Harvey, 1989; Peck, 2005).

Furthermore, critics of urban entrepreneurialism point out that inter-urban competition forces particular cities to follow a similar logic of capitalist growth. As inter-urban competition becomes more potent, it operates as "external coercive power," (Harvey, 1989, p. 10) and every city tries to be more entrepreneurial in the "me-tooist" way (Jessop, 1998, p. 86) resulting in zero-sum competition between cities and convergence of economic development strategies, such as place marketing that highlights similar amenities of urban communities. In addition, some already competitive cities are able to survive competition and succeed in attracting factors of competitiveness, exacerbating uneven development between cities. Regarding this, critics of creative cities warn that creativity as a strategy for competitiveness should be imported with careful consideration of specific local contexts of working and social environment (Heerden & Bontje, 2014; Scott, 2006).

Along with the strengths of the asset-based economic growth and development, these limitations provide another perspective to understand the asset development and asset-based economic growth and development with welcoming. In other words, we can better understand what welcoming and the welcoming city initiative add in terms of asset development when we understand the limitations of asset-based economic growth and development. For example, welcoming and the welcoming city initiative understood in this way may help us to see how a welcoming environment for immigrant integration enhances community capacity in a new and different way, thereby alleviating the limitations of asset-based economic growth and development and suggesting different ways to promote economic growth and development. In this regard, the following sections focus on the conceptualization of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative in

four case cities and analyze the ways in which the conceptualization generates diverse scenarios of asset-based economic growth and development.

A Coding Frame for Meaning-Making

To understand the conceptualization of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, this section provides a specific coding frame that I apply to the community dialogue around welcoming. Applying this coding frame, I assume that each city consists of multiple meaning communities and focus on how the meaning communities generate a shared understanding of welcoming by each city.

As I discussed in the second chapter, I use a mixed approach of directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) and bottom-up concept development (Schwartz-Shea & Yanow, 2012) to develop the coding frame. Based on the previous discussion of asset development and my prior readings on welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, I establish a coding frame of asset development for "urban competitiveness" and "community capacity." I create four code groups for urban competitiveness that are developed through welcoming and the welcoming city initiative: entrepreneurialism, human capital, financial assets, and place-based assets. Then I indicate codes that can be under a same code group. Similarly, I create three code groups for "community capacity" and provide codes under each code group of institutionalization, good government/governance, and civic engagement. With this as an initial coding frame, I develop the final coding frame by adding codes only drawn from the field (see Table 6).

Table 6
A Coding Frame for Asset Development through the Welcoming City Initiative

Urban Competitiveness			
Entrepreneurialism	Human capital	Financial assets	Place-based assets
• Business and professional network • Employment opportunities • Export volume • Global competitiveness • High-tech business • Personal network • *Resilient economy* • Small business development	• Creativity • Diversity • Innovative ideas • Lower-skilled labor • Knowledge • Skills and talents • Workforce development	• Financial asset development • Investment capital • Tax revenue • Tourism	• Amenity • Attractive place • *Better environment for newcomers* • City branding • Cultural vitality • Diversity • Economic vitality • *Immigrant heritage* • Openness • *Social vitality* • Tourism
Community Capacity			
Institutionalization	Good government/governance	Civic engagement	
• Communication • Community dialogue • Cultural competency • Enculturation • Equity and racial equity • *Fairness and equity* • *Humanity* • Immigrant-friendly • Inclusion • Integration • Leadership • Receptivity • Reducing bias • *Reducing racial profiling* • Right • Responsibility/Obligation • Sense of belonging/being valued • *Social Justice*	• *Basic government service* • *Basic needs* • *Consumer protection* • Education opportunities • Financial literacy • Health and wellness • *Health and human service* • Higher education • Housing • *Immigration documentation* • Language access • Language education • Legal service • *Resettlement* • Service accessibility • Technical capacity • Technical education • Transportation • Youth education	• Conflict resolution • Connected community • Engagement of immigrants • Immigrant parent engagement • Leadership • *Ownership* • Public safety • Social Cohesion • Trust building	

Note. The codes in italics indicate codes drawn from the field.

The codes under the category of urban competitiveness tend to be found from the studies in entrepreneurial city, knowledge-based development, and creative city while the codes under community capacity are mostly from the community development literature, the discussion of welcoming, and my fieldwork. The code groups in this coding frame are not mutually exclusive, and I put the same code under different code groups because people understand the same concept and idea in multiple ways. For example, the concept of diversity is understood as a place-based asset because it can promote tourism; it also can be understood as human capital as it brings not only diverse perspectives but also cultural knowledge that is conducive to expanding business activities. In a similar sense, the coding frames applied to individual cities are slightly different from each other as the same concept is understood and interpreted differently in each city.

Based on this coding frame, I seek to map the different conceptualization of welcoming and multiple types of urban assets that have been developed with the welcoming city initiative, especially focusing on the context-specific meanings and assets that individual cities try to construct and leverage.

Scenarios of Urban Asset Development in Welcoming Cities

The diffusion of the welcoming city initiative in the U.S highlights that cities need to develop welcoming plans and policies to respond appropriately to the specific needs and challenges of a city and to utilize existing community capacity or assets in an effective way (Downs-Karkos, 2011; Tobocman, n.d.). This idea presupposes that each city creates its own meanings and understanding of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative upon which the community members can agree. However, it is also possible that cities get on a bandwagon of the welcoming movement to survive from the inter-

urban competition to attract new assets from businesses, newcomers, and visitors. Furthermore, cities tend to find best practices when they first start their welcoming city initiative, which may force them to follow a similar logic of asset development. This implies that the welcoming city initiative may shape the path toward economic development in a certain way while it calls for context-specific asset development.

In this regard, the following sections examine the welcoming city initiative of four case cities and investigate how the cities understand the concept of welcoming and utilize the welcoming city initiative for asset development as well as economic growth and development. Each section starts with the description of the local context within which the conceptualization of welcoming emerged and moves on to the discussion of the types of urban assets leveraged by a city as well as the implications of asset development.

Austin

Austin has been categorized as "pre-emerging" gateway cities where foreign-born populations have grown rapidly since the 1990s and are likely to continue to grow (Singer, Hardwick, et al., 2008). Furthermore, Austin has been one of the fastest growing "second-tier" metropolitan cities, which together have about 20% of all immigrants in the U.S. (Singer, Hardwick, et al., 2008), although the foreign-born population ratio of the city has been slightly decreasing during the last six years (see Figure 3).

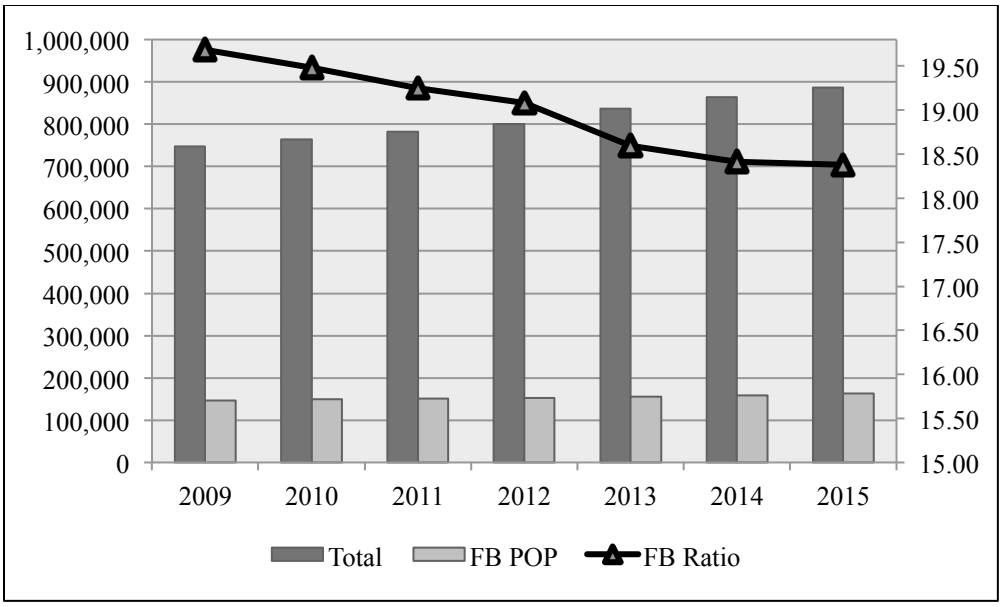

Figure 3. Total population, foreign-born population, and foreign-born population ratio in Austin, from 2009 to 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Among these immigrants, non-citizen immigrants are more than 70%, while this ratio has been continually decreasing since 2009, according to American Community Survey. These non-citizen immigrants are mostly of Hispanic or Latino origin while White and Asian populations have been remarkably increased from 38.1% and 14.3% in 2009 to 59% and 18.4% in 2015 respectively. In terms of income, these non-citizen immigrants tend to earn less than $35,000 per year, although the percentage of this population with income less than $35,000 has decreased since 2009. Notably, the number of non-citizen immigrants who earn more than $75,000 has doubled during the same period. However, the level of educational attainment has been similar: the majority of non-citizen immigrants are high school or less than high school graduates (see Table 7).

Table 7
Demographic Characteristics of Non-citizen Immigrants in Austin (2015)

Race (%)		Class of Work (%)		Earnings ($, %)		Education (%)	
White	59.0	Private wage and salary workers	83.9	1 to 9,999	2.3	Less than high school graduate	41.4
Black or African American	2.2	Government workers	7.7	10,000 to 14,999	10.1	High school graduate	21.7
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.5	Self-employed workers in own not incorporated business	8.3	15,000 to 24,999	30.4	Some college or associate's degree	10.3
Asian	18.4	Unpaid family workers	0.2	25,000 to 34,999	18.7	Bachelor's degree	14.0
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.0			35,000 to 49,999	12.7	Graduate or professional degree	12.7
Some other race	18.7			50,000 to 74,999	11.3		
Hispanic or Latino Origin	70.1			75,000 to more	14.6		

Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

With this demographic change, immigrants in Austin accounted for 33% of the growth in Main Street businesses of small retail shops and services from 2000 to 2013, which had been the key element of neighborhood economy (Kallick et al., 2015). Although more than 80% non-citizen immigrants are private wage and salary workers, the ratio of small business owners has increased from 5.3% in 2009 to 8.3% in 2015. Given this large number of immigrants in the city and their role in promoting local economic vitality, the city highlights the importance of better serving newcomers as one member of Commission on Immigrant Affairs (COIA) described:

> I think that Austin's becoming an increasingly international city, international in a sense that the high-tech industries are attracting lots of foreign born. We have approximately 18, 19% foreign born in the city of Austin. That's a substantive percentage of your population. In as much as it's a substance of percentage of your population, it's important for them to feel a part of the community that's receiving them. I think the city of Austin recognizes that.

On the other hand, Austin was losing its competitiveness in the global market; Austin was categorized as "Gamma-" city in 2010, which means the city is one of the world cities linking smaller regions or states into the global economy (GaWC, 2011), but dropped down to "high sufficiency" city in 2012, which is not included in the category of world cities (GaWC, 2014). Because the city's local economy recovered quickly from the recession started in 2007 and grew at higher rates than the average growth rates of metropolitan areas in the past 10 years (see Figure 4), the city had a motive to utilize its economic vitality to position itself more favorably in the network of global economy and prosper in the global market. This was expressed by a city official in the economic development department:

> Global Business Recruitment and Expansion [Division of the economic development department] looks at the opportunities in attracting companies here into the market. You've seen that we've been successful with very large recruitments like Samsung, I think being the largest, Apple's new regional headquarters here, even down to some of the smaller projects like Facebook office or any of those.

In addition, attracting high-skilled immigrants is important for the city considering the industrial composition of the city (see Figure 5).

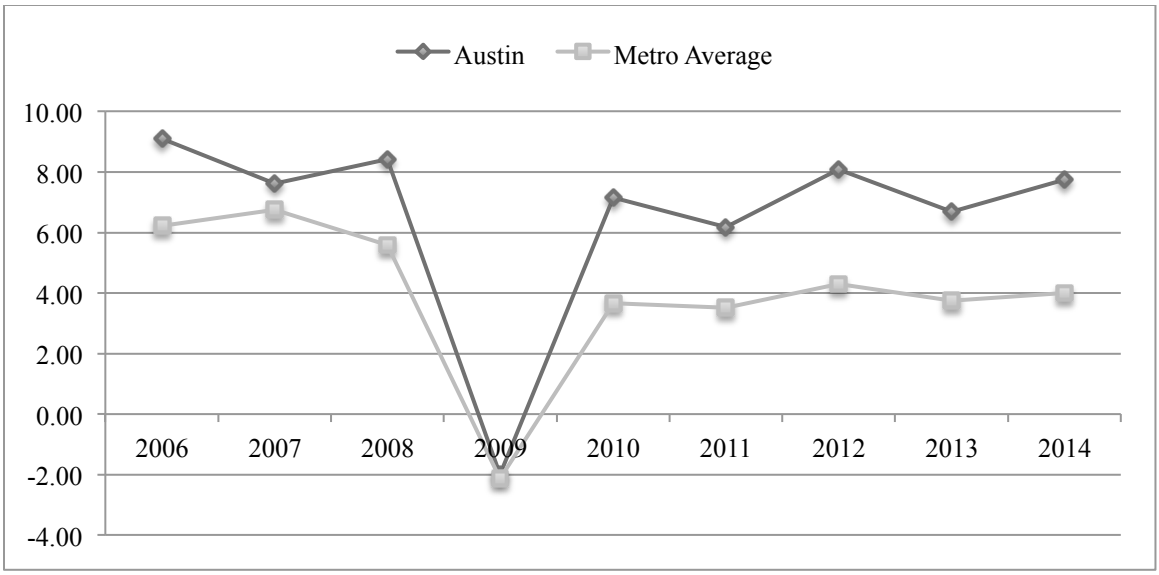

Figure 4. Annual regional GDP growth rate (%) of Austin
Note. Data is from Bureau of Economic Analysis, GDP by Metropolitan Area, 2005-2014.

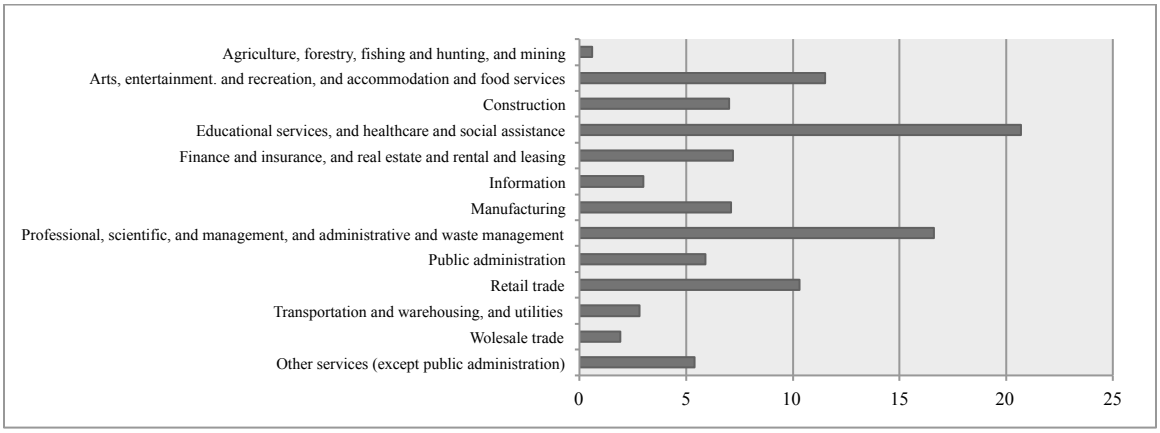

Figure 5. Industrial composition (%) of Austin in 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

In this context of changing demographic and economic conditions, the city of Austin conceptualizes welcoming and the welcoming city initiative as a tool to achieve the improvement of human service and economic growth (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015; The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015). This focus on human service development and

economic growth implies that the city of Austin understands welcoming in terms of leveraging urban competitiveness and building community capacity (see Table 8). First of all, the city puts a priority on institutionalizing a new norm of immigrant integration with the concept of welcoming since the city is at the initial stage of developing its welcoming plan (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). As an institutionalizing strategy, the city of Austin developed a citywide survey[6] to inform the residents of Austin about the areas in which they need to be more immigrant-friendly and to define the city's own meaning of a welcoming city (Coff, Miranda, Johnson, & Horton, 2015; COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). The survey results showed the importance of spreading community dialogue of welcoming through which immigrants and non-immigrant residents become aware of each other, reduce bias, build trust; thereby creating inclusive, immigrant-friendly, and connected communities in the city (Coff et al., 2015). This indicates that the welcoming city initiative of Austin aspires to a two-way process between immigrants and non-immigrant residents, which requires changing perceptions of each other. For example, the survey results highlighted that to promote mutual understanding, non-immigrant residents need to develop cultural competency while immigrants are given opportunities for enculturation (Coff et al., 2015). One member of COIA also articulates this institutionalizing effort regarding welcoming:

> I think that we as a community need to be mindful of going forward. As a government, the city of Austin can say we're welcoming but always remember how is it that the people you're supposed to be welcoming reflect that welcoming back to you and that's where the rubber meets the road. You're welcoming. Are we institutionalizing that at all levels? Are we training our staff on welcoming?

[6] This survey was conducted from October 2014 to February 2015. It had been distributed by COIA and the economic development department and open to the public through the website of the city government economic development department.

Actually, this isn't just for the city as an institution but for nonprofits because I work in the nonprofit sector.

Table 8
Asset Development through the Welcoming City Initiative: The Case of Austin

Urban Competitiveness			
Entrepreneurialism	Human capital	Financial assets	Place-based assets
• Employment opportunities • Export volume • Global competitiveness • High-tech business • *Resilient economy* • Small business development	• Creativity • Innovative ideas • Knowledge • Skills and talents • Workforce development	• Financial asset development • Investment capital • Tourism	• Amenity • Attractive place • City branding • Cultural vitality • Diversity • Economic vitality • Openness • Tourism
Community Capacity			
Institutionalization	Good government/governance	Civic engagement	
• Communication • Community dialogue • Connected community • Cultural competency • Enculturation • Immigrant-friendly • Inclusion • Integration • Public safety • Reducing bias • *Reducing racial profiling* • Sense of belonging/being valued • Trust building	• *Basic government service* • Education opportunities • Financial literacy • *Health and human service* • Higher education • Housing • *Immigration documentation* • Language access • Language education • Public safety • *Right* • Service accessibility • *Transportation* • Youth education	• Engagement of immigrants • Immigrant parent engagement • *Ownership*	

Note. These codes are found in the field and the codes in italics indicate codes emerging from the field.

In addition to this kind of institutionalization of welcoming, the city of Austin values welcoming as fostering the engagement of immigrants into their community and

social lives. Above all, the city points out the engagement of immigrants as a key element in the process of developing the welcoming plan. One member of COIA explained:

> Unless you're engaging the people that are ultimately supposed to benefit from what you're developing or from what you're trying to institutionalize, that lack of ownership is going to ultimately have detrimental effects on the long-term sustainability of whatever you're starting.

In this regard, the city started its welcoming city initiative by engaging immigrants in the process of defining the meaning of welcoming by creating focus groups and giving them opportunities to express their opinions regarding barriers to participating in the community as well as recommendations for making Austin a welcoming city. One member of COIA explained this process:

> The Welcoming City focus groups…we met with different cohorts of representatives from each of the stakeholder groups. We basically had a discussion beyond the survey that we sent out to the community. For the city, on the immigrant residents, we did around 10 focus groups.

Furthermore, the city of Austin has implemented a program called "International Calendar" that aims to offer information about multicultural events and resources. More than 80 locally based community organizations are affiliated with this program and host events including social gatherings, cultural or language exchange, workshops for immigrant businesses, academic conferences on immigration issues, and so on. The affiliated organizations upload their events to a web portal (www.internationalaustin.org) almost every day, and the events are spread again through the organizations' social media. These efforts to engage immigrants show that the city of Austin seeks to

institutionalize formal and informal practices of welcoming immigrants in diverse aspects of urban lives.

The welcoming city initiative of Austin is also related to developing governance capacity and good governance practices that help immigrants have access to basic government services and provide them with better economic and social opportunities. One member of COIA explained as follows:

> Sometimes making someone feel at home is as simple as making sure that agencies and public institutions are complying with federal requirements to provide language accessibility, where you're making access to services that everyone has a right to, equally accessible to immigrants regardless of language or culture of origin or status because it's for the benefit of the greater community

In this regard, the city of Austin pointed out six service areas that the city needs to focus on: health and wellness, children and school, public safety, business and jobs, workforce development and higher education, and civic engagement and community involvement. To promote the service accessibility, the city government has launched and implemented two programs of "Welcome to Austin Orientation Sessions" and "International Welcome Ambassador Program." The orientation is a community outreach program that helps immigrants navigate through Austin's systems and feel more comfortable with local schools, law enforcement, public transportation, finances, housing, and small business start-up; and the ambassador program pairs newcomers with local volunteer ambassadors who help the newcomers get familiar with the city systems. In addition, the city of Austin has tried to legalize the use of municipal ID cards, which promotes service accessibility of immigrants, mitigates the impact of racial profiling, and

thereby contributes to creating inclusive and connected communities (The City of Austin, n.d.).

While these programs have been intentionally developed as part of the welcoming city initiative and have focused on providing links to the basic information about government services, the agencies of the city government also try to support the welcoming city initiative with the pre-existing agency programs. For example, the economic development department focuses on job-related training and skills that immigrants need to have to get employed and be competitive in the workplace or in the market, and the health and human services department tries to deliver services to meet the basic needs of human beings so that immigrants are ready to develop skills and have a job (The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015):

> If you are someone who is an immigrant, if you are someone who has faced poverty or homelessness or any of those barriers economically, you've got very basic needs at first. Maybe it's learning English. Maybe it's coming back and finding your basic needs like housing so you have a permanent location. Health and Human Services helps to address those components. Economic Development is on the backside. Once your basic needs are met, let's get you active in our economy so that you, your family, can prosper and enjoy a quality of life that equates to what it is we define as a quality of life. That's the relationship and how it works.

These efforts of city agencies indicate that the welcoming city initiative of Austin primarily aims to develop human capital, financial assets, and business opportunities with immigrants. As the city recognizes that immigrants have promoted economic and cultural vitality of their communities in several ways (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015; The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication,

May 15, 2015), the city frames a welcoming city as an "international city" where immigrants want to live, feel valued, and have equal access to contribute to their communities (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). By doing so, the city tries to build a city identity of a resilient, globally competitive, and creative place that attracts large, high technology, or global companies and people with skills, knowledge, financial assets, and entrepreneurship (Coff et al., 2015; The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015). Furthermore, the city also believes that such a city identity and immigrant-friendly environment fosters the development of immigrant-owned small businesses and helps its local companies become more successful in the global market (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015; The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015).

In that the welcoming city initiative of Austin focuses on the human service development dimension along with economic growth, it is oriented toward economic *development* to some extent. The institutional changes driven by the welcoming city initiative expand the economic, social, and cultural opportunities that immigrants utilize, and these expanded opportunities strengthen the urban system by allowing immigrants to develop a capacity that will turn out better inputs for the city. However, the scope of the benefits of economic development may be limited given that the welcoming city initiative of Austin tends to focus on attracting immigrants with skills and talents and does not include specific strategies to integrate lower-skilled immigrants.

Boise

The process of becoming a welcoming city was different for Boise. Boise was suffering from a severe economic downturn during 2007-2009, similar to Austin (see Figure 6). In addition to this, the city was experiencing a statewide increasing influx of refugees, mainly from Iraq, Congo, Bhutan, Burma, and Somalia. According to Idaho Office for Refugee (IOR), the administrative agency of refugee resettlement in Idaho, recent refugees in Idaho mostly are from African and Asian countries (see Figure 7).

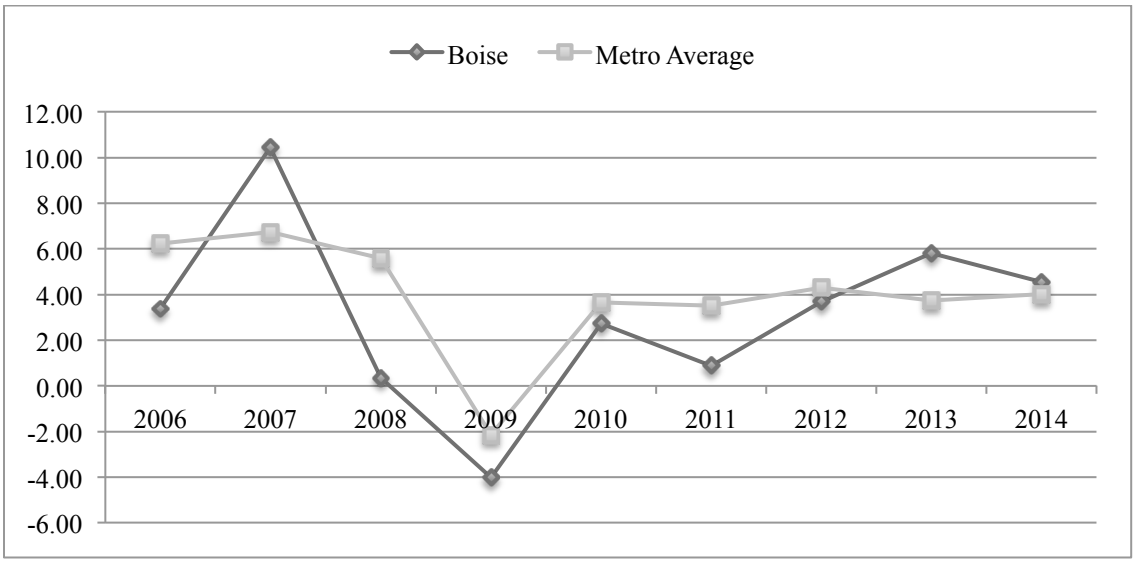

Figure 6. Annual regional GDP growth rate (%) of Boise
Note. Data is from Bureau of Economic Analysis, GDP by Metropolitan Area, 2005-2014.

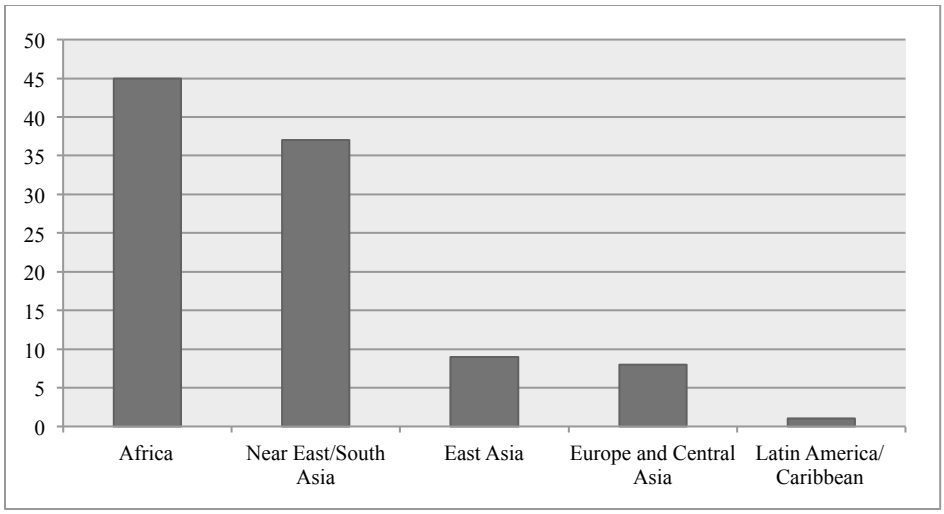

Figure 7. Refugees' nation of origin in Idaho, 2011-2016.
Note. Data is retrieved from IOR website: http://www.idahorefugees.org/refugees-in-idaho.html

This demographic change along with the economic crisis posed new challenges because Boise historically has been a less diverse city in terms of race and ethnicity: Census 2000 showed that about 92% of the total population was categorized as white and this only slightly diminished to 89% in Census 2010. Facing these multiple and seemingly complex problems, fear started to grow among the residents. According to IOR, the residents worried that the increasing refugee population would have negative impacts on the local economy (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). This growing unease implies that refugees in Boise are similar to immigrants in the other cities in that they are defined as "others" by the community members and become a "problem" (Strang & Ager, 2010).

Although the city government and IOR might be able to expect the influx of refugees, they did not expect the reactions that the increase in the refugee population would arouse. In this situation, the community leaders decided to develop a community-wide long-term plan to improve refugee resettlement, reduce the fear of long-time

residents, thereby improving the city's economic situation (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). Because the plan focuses more on improving the self-sufficiency of refugees, the welcoming city initiative in Boise aims primarily to develop and maintain good governance as well as to spread a welcoming culture in the communities. Furthermore, the plan seeks to engage diverse community members including refugees in the process of developing and implementing the plan. In other words, the concept of welcoming is less conceptualized as enhancing competitive advantages and more as building community capacity as the initiative primarily started as a response to concerns about the increasing refugee population.

While institutionalizing a welcoming culture is an on-going process, the city government and the community-based organizations were successful in starting communication and spreading community dialogue about refugee resettlement and related issues by convening a large group of people in the community to discuss different perspectives on those issues and engaging them into the process of developing the plan. This engagement was conducive to creating a widely accepted meaning of welcoming as well as nurturing a sense of ownership of the meaning among the participants, which generated a positive impact on the development of the community plan. A staff member of IOR explained how the community dialogue started and continued:

> What developed out was a long-term commitment on the part of many community stakeholders to work toward developing a plan that would coordinate resources, discover new resources, make current resources more efficient in tackling this problem of refugee self-sufficiency. It started out as, really, a response to a crisis.

Since refugees were invited to this process of developing the plan and refugees' perspective was reflected in the plan, the participants were able to have a better

understanding of refugees and develop a shared idea of the importance of creating welcoming, inclusive, and connected communities (Caramaschi, 2014; Welcoming America, 2013).

This idea was embodied in the "Refugee Community Plan," which was completed in 2010. The plan has been continuously updated and evolved into an initiative called "Neighbors United" in 2015. This recent version of the plan includes "strategic communication" section in addition to the previous six areas of focus for successful refugee resettlement, which consist of education, employment, healthcare, housing, social integration, and transportation (Neighbors United, 2015). By adding the strategic communication element, the city tries to develop a more concrete understanding of welcoming as a new norm of the city: Boise needs to create a refugee-friendly environment not only because it is based on the imperative of humanitarian assistance and social justice but also it contributes to a secure, vibrant, and cohesive society (Neighbors United, 2015). As an effort to ingrain this new norm of welcoming, the city utilizes a cultural event of World Refugee Day as a way through which the residents have opportunities to learn more about diverse cultures, traditions, and plights of refugees in their communities, thereby aiming to reduce fear and ignorance toward their refugee neighbors. A staff member of IOR described the event as follows:

> We have lots of performances, we have a naturalization ceremony that is just refugees becoming citizens, and vendors, food vendors, and crafts and arts type vendors that are bringing their products to display and to sell. It's just that you get great opportunity to see the richness of our international community here in Boise, which is not a traditionally international community.

The Neighbors United plan also seeks to increase accessibility for refugees to the government and community services in the six areas, namely education including higher education and youth education, employment, healthcare, housing, social integration, and transportation, and to expand the opportunities for refugees to engage in their economic, social, and cultural lives. The six areas of focus are aimed to satisfy the basic needs of refugees to resettle in Boise communities, thereby helping them to be self-sufficient, develop their human capital, and be integrated into the Boise communities economically, socially, and culturally (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). For example, by having better access to the government and community service for education, refugees are encouraged to learn about the new culture as well as education and legal systems of Boise. This effort to provide refugees with services to meet their basic needs is possible in part because the city has the well-developed industry of educational services, healthcare, and social assistance (see Figure 8).

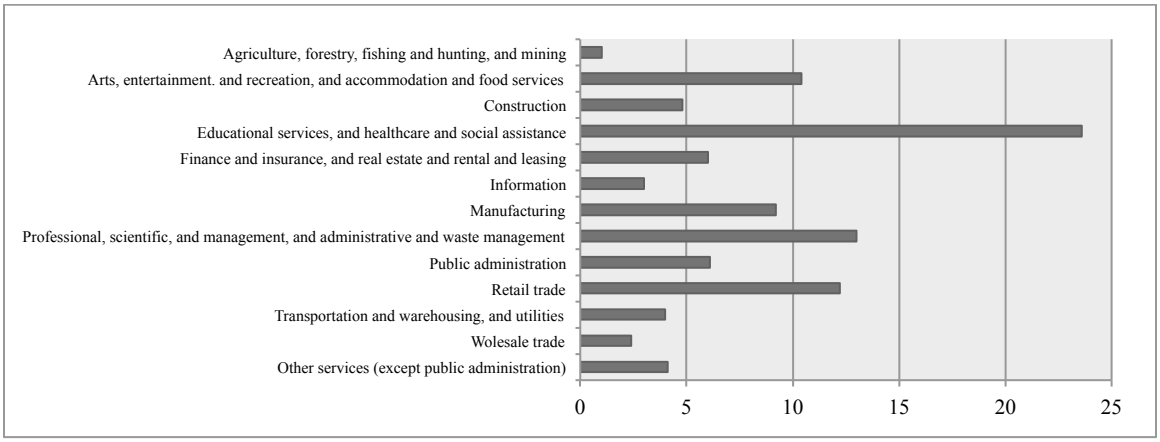

Figure 8. Industrial composition (%) of Boise in 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

The efforts to make diverse types of services more accessible also promotes an idea that creating a welcoming city is based on the mutual adaptation between newcomers and long-time residents. A staff member of IOR provided an example:

> We [IOR] have developed a partnership with Boise State University. We have what we call the "collaboration team," and it's focused on making connections between the university and the refugee population in Boise. Part of that is about experiential learning. There is a "service learning program" at Boise State where students do community service work for maybe 40 hours or maybe less than 40 hours. These are general requirements of certain classes that they take that they have to be engaged in the community for a certain number of hours in order to fulfill the requirements for the class, so we have many opportunities for students to engage with refugees through this partnership that we have around service learning.

With the improvement in service accessibility, refugees are seen as contributing to the whole community in many ways as they resettle in Boise more successfully. A staff member of IOR expresses this idea:

> I think there are many, many, many contributions that refugees make, that they can potentially make. There's no limit. People have human capital, and we just need to make sure that every individual, regardless of where they come from or how long they've been here, has the opportunity to achieve their own individual potential. By doing so, contribute to our society economically, socially, and just civically. It's unlimited.

In this sense, the Boise communities expect that the welcoming city initiative may have a positive impact on economic growth. For example, the mayor of the city highlighted diversity, skills and talents, and cultural vitality brought by refugees and immigrants as factors that contribute to the economic prosperity of the city (Bieter, 2015). Regarding this, the city focuses on the recent launch of the International Market that consists of several multicultural small businesses and values the economic and cultural vitality that refugees promote. A city official at the economic development department explained:

> When people get here, we'd want to make sure that they feel welcome because they create new ideas, they help us to further the ideas that already exist, and they feed into the companies that are here. Keeping our population here, whoever they are, is important in having a diverse population. It makes it easier to attract companies, talent, investment, and all those things. In addition to that, we know that when you look at a national level, immigrants, they're very entrepreneurial. They start new businesses. What we've done at the city by supporting organizations like META or offering assistance to organizations like the Boise International Market and just try to make starting a business in Boise easy and really try to make sure that everyone has an opportunity to take their concept and turn it into a business.

In addition, the city frames welcoming in terms of urban competitiveness as having a diverse population is considered important for attracting companies, talent, and investment (The City of Boise, personal communication, June 18, 2015). This is shown by the fact that the welcoming city in Boise is, in part, interpreted as an international city where diversity is celebrated for its contribution to cultural vitality or economic opportunities (The City of Boise, personal communication, June 18, 2015; IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015).

Compared to the other cities, the welcoming city initiative of Boise, Neighbors United, has focused on the refugee rather than immigrant population. Furthermore, the initiative has been based on a humanitarian approach and social justice that aim to satisfy the basic needs of refugees and help them resettle although it also seeks for economic growth. This tendency is also found from the list of urban assets developed through the welcoming city initiative in Boise (see Table 9). This implies that Boise has conceptualized welcoming and the welcoming city initiative as a tool to achieve economic *development* that incorporates refugee resettlement and community economic growth. Furthermore, although this initiative is still specifically targeted toward the

refugee population, the city officially expects it to have spill-over effects and address the needs of more diverse populations including immigrants as well as non-immigrant residents in poverty (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). Considering this diffusion of the effects, the initiative is expected to contribute to economic development that is based on the advancement of social conditions and the ensuing improvement of a wealth-generating system.

Table 9
Asset Development through the Welcoming City Initiative: The Case of Boise

Urban Competitiveness			
Entrepreneurialism	Human capital	Financial assets	Place-based assets
• Employment opportunities • Potentiality • Small business development	• Creativity • Diversity • Innovative ideas • Potentiality • Skills and talents • Workforce development	• Investment capital • Potentiality	• *Better environment for newcomers* • City branding • Cultural vitality • Diversity • Economic vitality
Community Capacity			
Institutionalization	Good government/governance	Civic engagement	
• Communication • Community dialogue • Cultural competency • Enculturation • *Humanity* • Newcomer-friendly • Inclusion • Integration • Leadership • Receptivity • Reducing bias • *Self-sufficiency* • Sense of belonging/being valued • *Social justice*	• *Basic needs* • Education opportunities • Health and wellness • Housing • Language access • Language education • Technical education • Transportation • Service accessibility • Youth education	• Conflict resolution • Connected community • Immigrant parent engagement • Leadership • *Ownership* • Public safety • Social Cohesion • Trust building	

Note. These codes are found in the field and the codes in italics indicate codes emerging from the field.

Chicago

60% immigrants in Chicago are non-citizen immigrants, according to the American Community Survey. These non-citizen immigrants share similar demographic characteristics with those in Austin: The ratios of White and Asian populations have

increased more than 30%; more than 60% of non-citizen immigrants earn less than $35,000 per year; and the level of educational attainment is concentrated on the category of "less than high school", which has been continually decreasing (see Table 10).

Table 10
Demographic Characteristics of Non-citizen Immigrants in Chicago (2015)

Race (%)		Class of Work (%)		Earnings ($, %)		Education (%)	
White	50.6	Private wage and salary workers	90.6	1 to 9,999	2.3	Less than high school graduate	39.8
Black or African American	4.5	Government workers	3.2	10,000 to 14,999	7.2	High school graduate	27.1
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.3	Self-employed workers in own not incorporated business	6.1	15,000 to 24,999	33.9	Some college or associate's degree	12.5
Asian	16.2	Unpaid family workers	0.1	25,000 to 34,999	21.9	Bachelor's degree	11.5
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0			35,000 to 49,999	14.0	Graduate or professional degree	9.2
Some other race	26.9			50,000 to 74,999	10.8		
Hispanic or Latino Origin	62.7			75,000 to more	10.0		

Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Given this, retaining and attracting newcomers is important for the city and the city's governance. First, newcomers may reverse the population decline, which has been a challenge that the city has faced since the 1950s (Kallick et al., 2015). Chicago experienced a sharp population decline around 2009 and 2010 and has not recovered from the decline, although foreign-born population ratio increased within the same time

frame (see Figure 9). Population decline is a problem since it is related to diminishing tax base, which means decreasing resources and capacities to maintain urban infrastructure and systems for roads, water supply, schools, and so on.

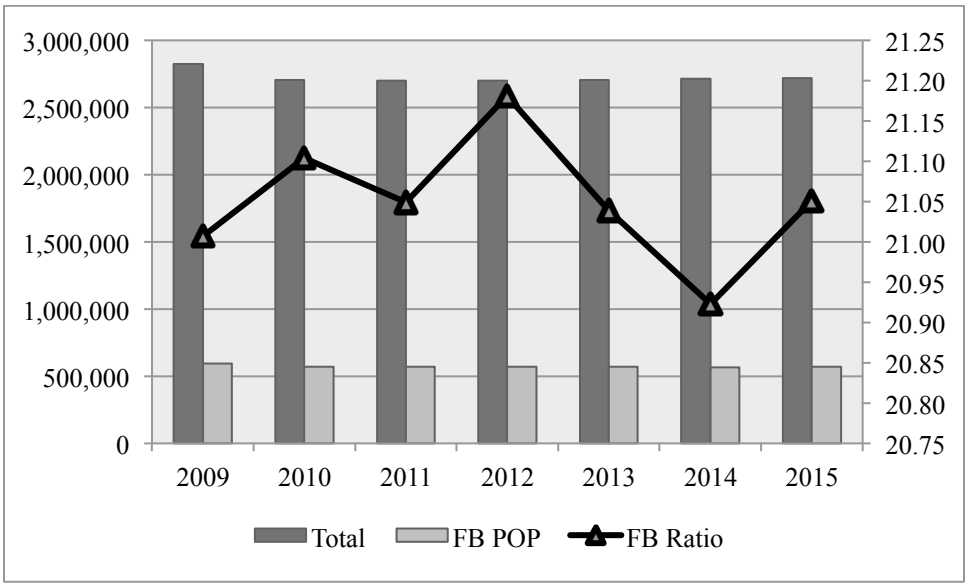

Figure 9. Total population, foreign-born population, and foreign-born population ratio in Chicago, from 2009 to 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

In addition to this issue of population decline, Chicago faced economic downturn during the Great Recession (see Figure 10). Since the industrial composition of the city is focused on the industries that require a high-skilled labor force, such as social services and management (see Figure 11), the city is in need of strengthening a skilled workforce by attracting newcomers with skills and better education and integrating them into the city's local economy. Furthermore, the city's industrial composition also suggests that developing a lower-skilled labor force is important for sustaining the local economy.

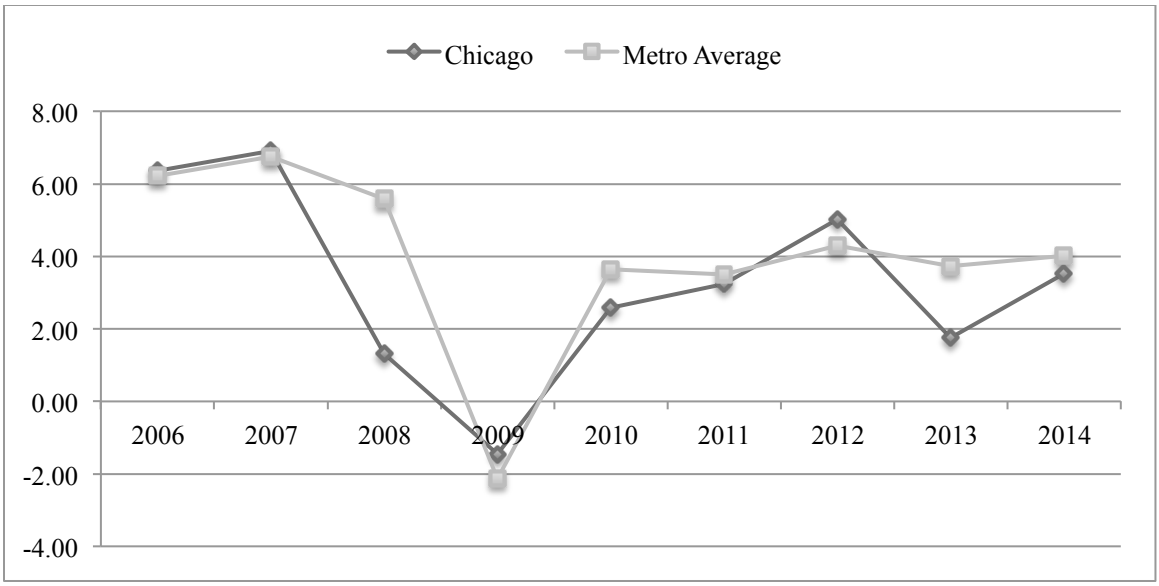

Figure 10. Annual regional GDP growth rate (%) of Chicago
Note. Data from Bureau of Economic Analysis, GDP by Metropolitan Area, 2005-2014.

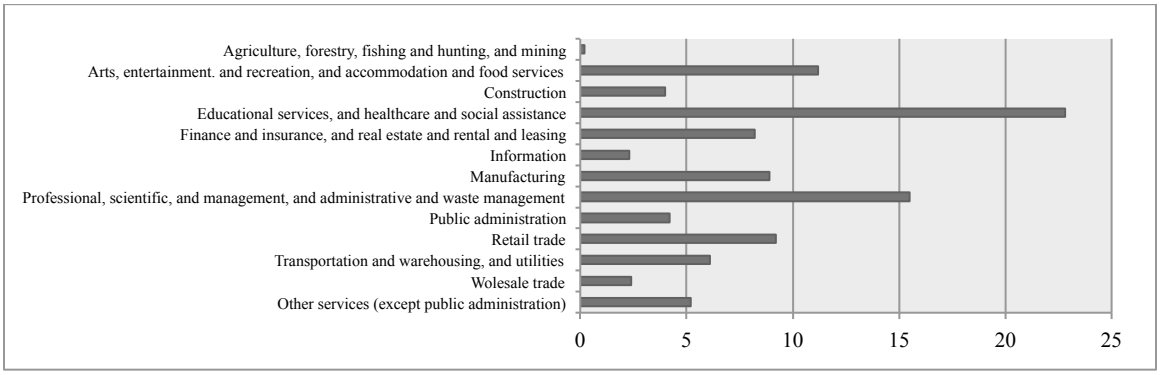

Figure 11. Industrial composition (%) of Chicago in 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

This demographic and economic context gives the mayor and community members of the city a motive to make Chicago attractive to immigrants since immigrants are expected to contribute to population rebound and economic revitalization (Kallick et al., 2015). In this sense, the welcoming city initiative of Chicago started as an economic growth strategy that mainly aims to enhance global competitiveness of the city (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015); as one of

the largest metropolitan cities in the U.S., the city of Chicago wants to establish its position as a leader in the global market with the initiative ("New Americans Plan," 2012). A staff member of the Mayor's Office of New Americans explained as followed:

> There are a lot of things we want to achieve. I think for one, it's about local economic growth. I think we recognize the contributions of our immigrants. So, by becoming welcoming, we're attracting more people here. We're attracting more skilled people here, more people that just want to contribute, to start their lives here. It's just about economic growth really. The Chicago New Americans Plan, it starts with economic growth for a reason, in that we want a very very seriously highlight the fact that immigrants are contributing to our local economy.

In this regard, a welcoming city is in part framed as a global city in Chicago, and the welcoming city initiative is utilized to leverage factors of competitiveness. Furthermore, the city government believed that it could achieve that end by attracting immigrants and maximizing the economic contribution generated by immigrants; the city has a culture of appreciating immigrant heritage as a historical gateway city and Chicago's communities have well recognized the contribution that immigrants have made and will make for the whole of Chicago (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015; "New Americans Plan," 2012). In other words, Chicago tries to leverage and develop place-based assets with welcoming to address the challenges the city faces.

However, population rebound and economic revitalization facilitated by immigrants also generate its own challenges of social conflicts and segregation. These challenges require that the city include the efforts to tackle those issues in the welcoming city initiative. A staff member of the Mayor's Office of New Americans articulates this idea:

> I think, as a city, we take great pride in our immigrant heritage. It's something we're always saying that the city was built by immigrants. There is a history of segregation, unfortunately. In that way, we had different little enclaves that started and which started forming their own communities. I think now we are trying to take that and change it, obviously.

In this regard, the city of Chicago took a comprehensive approach to conceptualize welcoming and the welcoming city initiative and developed its welcoming city initiative, namely the Chicago New Americans Plan. This plan incorporated three broad strategies focused on growth, education, and community building. Based on the plan, the city intends to develop and leverage diverse and different types of urban assets (see Table 11).

Above all, the New Americans Plan aims to create an immigrant-friendly economic environment that is conducive to small business development considering that immigrants are more likely to open businesses than non-immigrants: According to the Census data, immigrants accounted for all of the growth in small business ownership in Chicago metro area from 2000 to 2013 (Kallick et al., 2015). Furthermore, Chicago also expects that creating immigrant-friendly economic environment will generate more employment opportunities for all community members as well as more export opportunities ("New Americans Plan," 2012; Upwardly Global, personal communication, May 28, 2015). In addition to this entrepreneurial stance, the city emphasizes the importance of welcoming for leveraging diverse types of skills and talents that immigrants possess. For example, the city focuses on the positive effects of attracting high-skilled immigrants as highlighted in the literature of creative city and knowledge-based development. A staff member of Upwardly Global who was involved in the process of developing the New Americans Plan shared this idea:

> If Chicago can really fully utilize this talent pool that we're helping, they are going to be able to have a log up on skill shortages that people face like engineering and technology and on people who are equipped to do business in a global world. They can speak multiple languages. They understand how business culture varies in other parts of the world.

Table 11
Asset Development through the Welcoming City Initiative: The Case of Chicago

Urban Competitiveness			
Entrepreneurialism	Human capital	Financial assets	Place-based assets
• Employment opportunities • Export volume • Global competitiveness • Potentiality • Small business development	• Diversity • Innovative ideas • Knowledge • Lower-skilled labor • Personal network • Potentiality • Skills and talents • Workforce development	• Tax revenue • Tourism	• *Better environment for immigrants* • City branding • Cultural vitality • Diversity • Economic vitality • *Immigrant heritage* • Tourism
Community Capacity			
Institutionalization	Good government/governance	Civic engagement	
• Communication • Community dialogue • Cultural competency • Immigrant-friendly • Integration • Leadership • Right • Responsibility • Sense of belonging/being valued	• *Basic needs* • *Consumer protection* • Education opportunities • Financial literacy • Health and wellness • *Immigrant documentation* • Language access • Language education • *Resettlement* • Service accessibility • Youth education	• Connected community • Immigrant parent engagement • Leadership • Public safety • Social cohesion • Trust building	

Note. These codes are found in the field and the codes in italics indicate codes emerging from the field.

Furthermore, the city also considers welcoming in terms of appreciating the assets of lower-skilled immigrants in that they can fill the current and future labor shortage of the city; there were over 100,000 unfilled jobs as of December 2011 and this vacancy is expected to increase, which can be filled by high- and lower-skilled immigrants ("New Americans Plan," 2012). All of these efforts to promote business activities and workforce development indicate that the city's concept of welcoming is closely connected to enhancing its global competitiveness as well as competitive advantages over other similar cities.

In addition, the city government tries to make government services more accessible to immigrants through diverse programs under the welcoming city initiative. This improvement of service accessibility is to satisfy the basic needs of immigrants as well as to help them develop their businesses and human capital, thereby encouraging them to contribute to the economic growth of the city. In this regard, the city passed "Welcoming City Ordinance" that builds on its sanctuary city ordinance to ensure that Chicago is a welcoming, multicultural global city where people have access to services they need to contribute to the city. Based on this ordinance, the city government implements programs to enhance service accessibility of immigrants for their business, education, and civic engagement opportunities. For example, a "Small Business Expo" was held as an outreach of government service to provide workshops on starting and maintaining small businesses. A staff member of the Office of New Americans explained this in more detail:

> What we do is we bring different small business expos to different immigrant communities. We bring city services to those neighborhoods. So you'll have somebody who can speak to the licensing process, the legal barriers or process, or

> whatever. Knowing that not everyone wants to know just how to start a business, there might be some people that want to expand their business, then we also bring workshops where people who can speak on how to access capital or more capital, or whatever it is. Depending on what we view the audience is going to be for that particular expo, we're able to provide with that workshop. So financing of starting a small business, or how to use social media to expand your business. So we try to provide them with the tools to do that.

Another example is a program called "Dream Club" that provides undocumented immigrant youth with various city-funded volunteer, internship, fellowship, and training opportunities. A staff member of the Chicago Public Schools explained the program:

> We have dream clubs at different high schools in Chicago where undocumented students and their allies come together to collaborate and to advocate around issues being faced by undocumented students. In the Chicago Public School we award, we have over 100 different high schools, so just something that schools have adopted and implemented on their own as they see the necessity to advocate for their students. What I would expect is that students hold colleges accountable to make not only their admissions practices but their financial aid more open for undocumented students. The second thing would be to really educate our community, because there's so much misinformation out there, on both sides. On the undocumented side as to what would the Dream Act do and why we don't have a dream act. Also on the side of those who are against undocumented immigrants, they probably don't realize the needs of our student population, so I see the student organizations as the tool to share out information and empower our community.

Although Chicago has a long history as gateway city, this does not mean that the city has ingrained a welcoming culture in its communities. This implies that the effort to institutionalize a new norm of welcoming is necessary and important for creating a welcoming city. To achieve this end, the city utilizes formal and informal community dialogue that is targeted toward city officials and the general public. On the one hand, the city seeks to establish cultural competency of city employees by providing them "cultural sensitivity training"; police officers, fire and emergency personnel, and other city staff

come to understand a better way to serve and protect immigrants ("New Americans Plan," 2012). On the other hand, Welcoming City Campaign is held to have immigrants, non-immigrant residents, and city employees share and expand a welcoming message, which proclaims that immigrants have their rights and responsibilities as Chicago residents. A staff member of the Office of New Americans expressed this idea:

> I think it's a welcoming message. It's like, "This city is yours. You should take pride in it and invest in it." We want to send the message that Chicago is for everybody regardless of immigration status, regardless of whether you've been here for a day to like 100 years.

The efforts to develop welcoming culture and diverse programs that expand immigrants' opportunities for economic and social lives have their own merit since they help immigrants resettle in a new community. However, in the case of Chicago, the efforts become more meaningful when they feed the capacity to develop and accumulate factors of competitiveness. This means that welcoming for expanding opportunities for education and civic engagement is framed largely in terms of economic growth of the city as a whole. Therefore, investment in immigrant education and integration is interpreted as an investment in the future contribution that immigrants will generate. For example, the plan states that increasing graduation rates for high school immigrant students and helping more immigrants earn their general educational development (GED) certificate will contribute to workforce development, increase tax revenue, and grow the gross state product ("New Americans Plan," 2012). A staff member of the Office of New Americans provided another example of the city's effort to promote naturalization:

> There's this whole economic impact study that was done of potential economic contributions that could be made if we were to help naturalize x number of people in our respective cities.

In this way, the city highlights the potential of immigrants, emphasizes immigrant integration, and justifies investment in immigrants. In sum, the assets developed with the welcoming city initiative of Chicago are centered on economic *growth*.

Philadelphia

Like Chicago, Philadelphia started its welcoming city initiative to respond to its population loss as well as the economic slowdown triggered in 2007 (see Figure 12) (The Mayor's Office of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, personal communication, May 20, 2015). While its population loss started in the 1960s, the city government was able to consider the welcoming city initiative as a strategy to cope with the population loss and economic slowdown of this decade as it perceived the increasing number of immigrants coming to the city; Philadelphia's population has increased in recent consecutive years largely due to an increasing immigrant population (see Figure 13) (MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015). The city government also recognizes that Brookings Institution categorized Philadelphia as a re-emerging immigrant gateway city that is experiencing substantial immigration again recently (Singer, Vitiello, et al., 2008). Among the immigrants in the city, more than 50% are non-citizen immigrants, a lower ratio than the other three cities under investigation. These non-citizen immigrants are mostly Asians and White populations and tend to earn less than $35,000 per year. While the city has retained and attracted newcomers with similar demographic characteristics in terms of race, class of work, and earnings during 2009-2015, their level of education

attainment has become more concentrated on the category of "less than high school" (see Table 12).

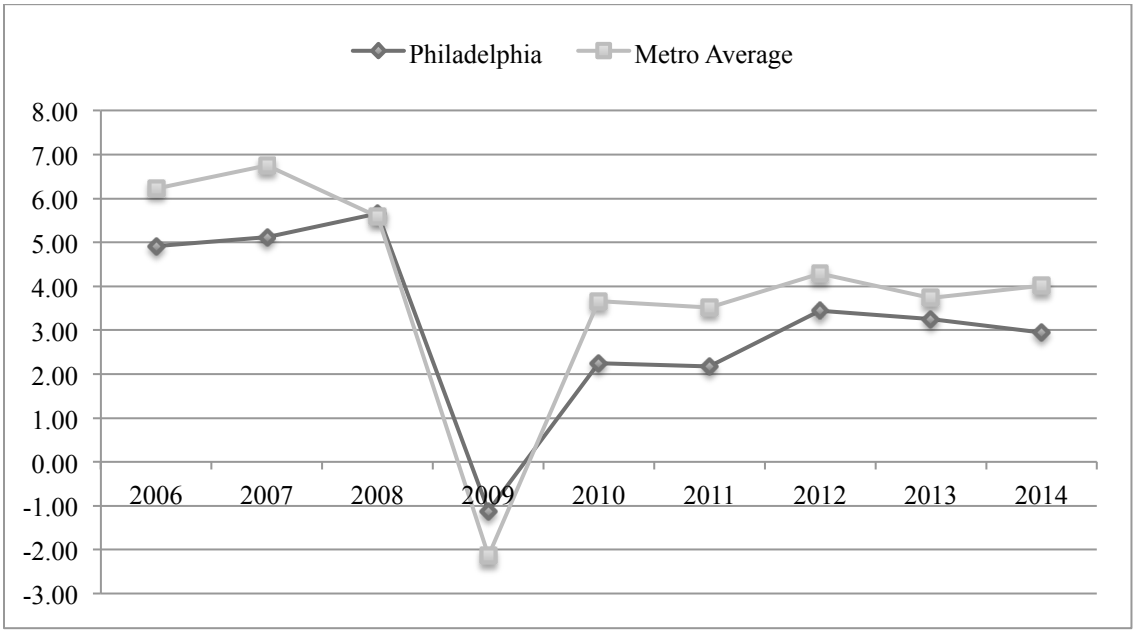

Figure 12. Annual regional GDP growth rate (%) of Philadelphia
Note. Data from Bureau of Economic Analysis, GDP by Metropolitan Area, 2005-2014.

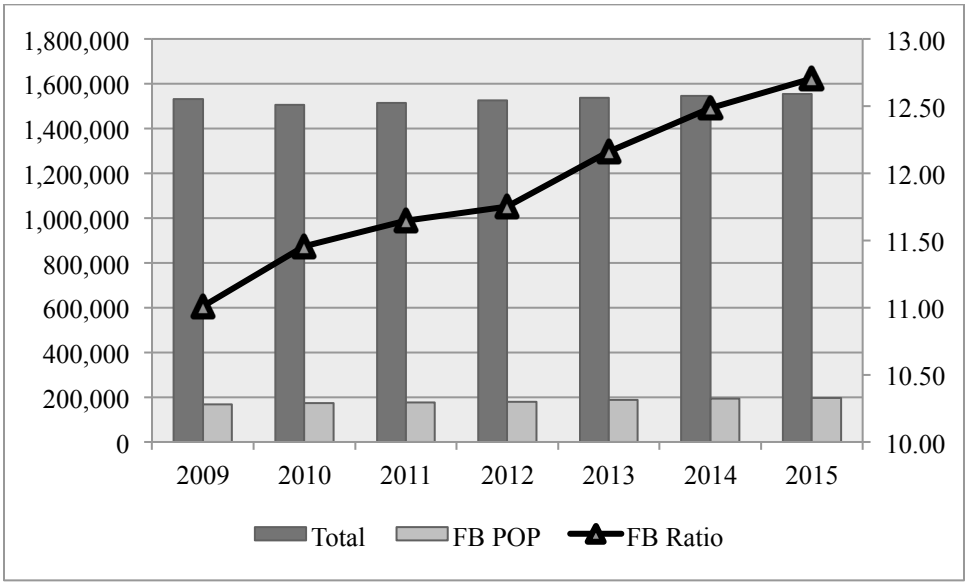

Figure 13. Total population, foreign-born population, and foreign-born population ratio in Philadelphia, from 2009 to 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau, 2009-2015.

Table 12
Demographic Characteristics of Non-citizen Immigrants in Philadelphia (2015)

Race (%)		Class of Work (%)		Earnings ($, %)		Education (%)	
White	30.3	Private wage and salary workers	88.5	1 to 9,999	4.6	Less than high school graduate	34.1
Black or African American	20.9	Government workers	3.5	10,000 to 14,999	10.0	High school graduate	25.0
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.4	Self-employed workers in own not incorporated business	7.6	15,000 to 24,999	28.2	Some college or associate's degree	14.5
Asian	34.2	Unpaid family workers	0.3	25,000 to 34,999	20.3	Bachelor's degree	13.9
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.1			35,000 to 49,999	15.9	Graduate or professional degree	12.5
Some other race	11.2			50,000 to 74,999	11.7		
Hispanic or Latino Origin	25.0			75,000 to more	9.3		

Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Given this, the city government focused on the economic, social, and cultural vitality that immigrants provide to the city (MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015). While attracting newcomers from across the skills spectrum is important for the city's local economy whose industries are relatively spread across diverse sectors (see Figure 14), the city highlights small business development driven by immigrants. In the economic sector, immigrant-owned small businesses are over-represented considering the foreign-born population ratio in Philadelphia (Singer & Wilson, 2013); the immigrants shared about 30% of small business ownership where the foreign-population ratio was

slightly over 12% in 2013, and made up 18% of growth in small business ownership from 2000 to 2013 (Kallick et al., 2015). Immigrant-owned small businesses contributes more than 70% of the whole small business revenue generated in the city (Welcoming Center for New Pennsylvanians, personal communication, March 30, 2016). This economic contribution of immigrants is perhaps most visible in the Italian Market, which consists of 265 commercial corridors revitalized by Mexican, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Indonesian, and Bhutanese immigrants.

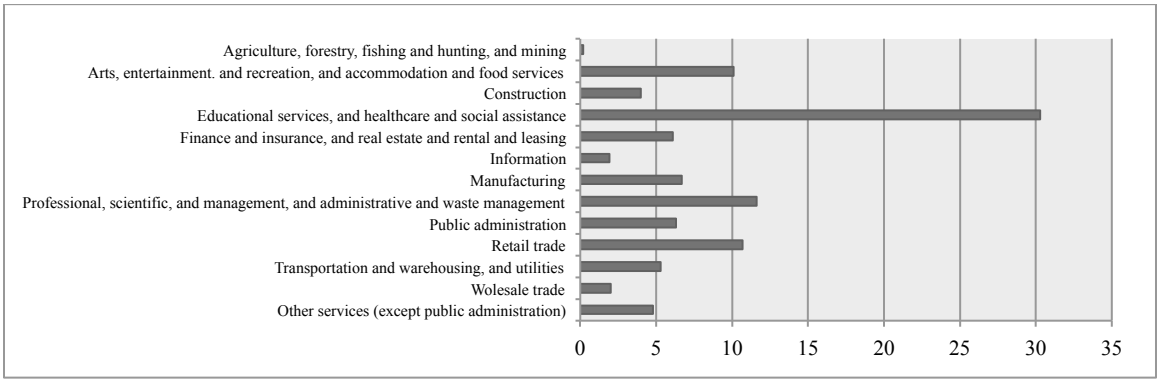

Figure 14. Industrial composition (%) of Philadelphia in 2015.
Note. Data is from American Community Survey, U.S. Census Bureau.

Highlighting these contributions of immigrants, the political leaders of the city have supported the idea of attracting immigrants for population rebound and economic growth. In particular, the current and previous mayors of Philadelphia have been strong advocates for immigrants. With this strong political leadership, the previous mayor Michael Nutter decided to adopt the welcoming city initiative and established the Mayor's Office of Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs (MOIMA), the leading organization of the initiative, in 2013. A staff member of MOIMA also pointed out that the political leaders wanted to leverage and develop the contribution made by immigrant through the welcoming city initiative:

> The city council in the city of Philadelphia is very immigrant friendly and supports the community. The mayor sees the contribution of the immigrants in the city to the population growth, to the economic vitality and social and cultural vitality. So he created the office.

In this context, the welcoming city initiative of Philadelphia is conceived as a strategy to promote service accessibility of immigrants to city resources and services, fair and equal treatment of immigrants, social integration of immigrants, asset development, and economic growth. This signals that the initiative seeks to provide a better environment for immigrant populations and to leverage the assets brought by immigrants, thereby reviving the economic, social, and cultural vitality of the city and reversing economic and population decline. In this regard, the city of Philadelphia frames a welcoming city as a heritage city as well as an international city, where the diverse types of contribution that immigrants generate are developed, utilized, and celebrated for vibrant local communities and global competitiveness (see Table 13).

To help immigrants and non-immigrant residents have a better understanding of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative, the city government holds events and ceremonies that highlight cultural diversity and vitality. This is because the city government emphasizes the importance of cultural competency as a building block of a welcoming city (Kallick et al., 2015). Furthermore, the city seeks to leverage the cultural assets of immigrant heritage through the welcoming city initiative. A staff member of MOIMA shared this idea:

> [Non-immigrant Philadelphians] should understand that [immigrants] may have different religious practices. They may have different food that they eat. They may have a different language, but they are culturally enriching our city. They are contributing, so to the average Philadelphian, it's important that we push that out.

> Our very public face really is about telling Philadelphians that celebrate the diversities, celebrate the culture.

Table 13
Asset Development through the Welcoming City Initiative: The Case of Philadelphia

Urban Competitiveness			
Entrepreneurialism	Human capital	Financial assets	Place-based assets
• Employment opportunities • Export volume • Global competitiveness • Small business development	• Knowledge • Skills and talents • Workforce development	• Investment capital • Tourism	• *Better environment for immigrants* • City branding • Cultural vitality • Diversity • Economic vitality • *Immigrant heritage* • Openness • *Social vitality* • Tourism
Community Capacity			
Institutionalization	Good government/governance		Civic engagement
• Communication • Community dialogue • Cultural competency • Enculturation • *Fairness and equity* • *Humanity* • Immigrant-friendly • Inclusion • Integration • Leadership • Right • Sense of belonging/being valued	• Education opportunities • Financial literacy • Health and wellness • *Immigration documentation* • Language access • Language education • Legal service • *Resettlement* • Service accessibility • Youth education		• Conflict resolution • Connected community • Engagement of immigrants • Trust building

Note. These codes are found in the field and the codes in italics indicate codes emerging from the field.

In this sense, the city has implemented three major programs that aim to raise awareness of cultural diversity: City Hall Welcomes, Multicultural Passport Week to Philadelphia, and Immigrant Heritage Month. These programs help immigrants have a sense of

belonging, promote public awareness of diverse populations in the communities, and foster interaction between immigrants and non-immigrants. A staff member of MOIMA explained how these programs are utilized as the welcoming city initiative:

> [The city of Philadelphia] do a lot to really raise awareness and really raise the profile of immigrants in the city of Philadelphia, so we have a program that we call City Hall Welcomes and this is a way of formally welcoming different immigrant groups into the city. We help them do sort of a cultural showcase. We raise their flag. We use city hall, we invite them to have a reception in city hall. We have a week of activities that we call multicultural passport week to Philadelphia. We've held that for two years. We're going to hold it again. It is part of welcoming counties and cities initiative. We have probably the largest week in the country with over 40 events. We have immigrant heritage month in which we currently have about 20 events scheduled for immigrant heritage month.

Along with these efforts to develop community culture that values diversity, the welcoming city initiative of Philadelphia focuses on providing immigrants easier and better access to government services. The city government believes that immigrants have equal rights to access city service and tries to provide diverse services that help immigrant resettle in new communities. This implies that the welcoming city initiative aims to expand opportunities for immigrants to be engaged in economic, social, and cultural lives with fewer barriers.

By cultivating a welcoming culture, the city also expects that immigrants will generate contribution beyond cultural vitality. As mentioned earlier, the development of immigrant-owned small businesses not only benefits immigrants and their families but also contributes to the city as a whole by generating more employment opportunities and tax revenues. In addition the small business growth, immigrants bring skills and talents conducive to workforce development and to expansion of business opportunities at the global market. In this regard, a staff member of MOIMA commented as follows:

> [Economic development dimension of the welcoming city initiative] has the idea that immigrants are more likely to develop or do business creation than residents. It also has the idea of the city of Philadelphia looking to become a player in the global economy and having already immigrant assets and people in the city and how could we use that human capital to facilitate our international trade. The city of Philadelphia, the Commerce Department already has I would say a fairly successful immigrant sort of strategy.

Although the welcoming city initiative of Philadelphia involves efforts to develop a welcoming culture as well as to leverage assets for economic growth, the initiative tends to focus more on the former. This tendency derives from the fact that the leading organization of the welcoming city initiative, MOIMA, takes the role of a convener or technical assistance provider that connects with other government agencies in provision and delivery of government services. In other words, MOIMA concentrates its capacity to develop strategies aimed at developing a welcoming culture while it helps the pre-existing programs of other government agencies to be utilized for leveraging immigrants' assets for economic growth. This implies that Philadelphia's welcoming city initiative may promote economic *development* by inducing changes of urban culture and systems in a way that is beneficial to immigrants.

Discussion

The four cities under investigation share, to varying degrees, the challenges of the economic crisis triggered in 2007 and recent demographic changes; the increasing global migration as well as the declining local economies motivated the four cities to adopt proactive strategies to foster a welcoming climate (Reeves, 2015). While the economic downturn was a common phenomenon, the patterns of the demographic challenge are different across the cities. As such, the major drive of adopting the welcoming city

initiative varies by each city. In Austin and Boise, managing the large and increasing newcomers has been an issue. Austin tries to deal with the increase in immigrant population as a pre-emerging gateway city focusing on transferring demographic challenges into opportunities for economic development; and Boise needs to reduce social conflict and create a stable urban system while facing unprecedented racial and ethnic diversity due to the large influx of refugees. On the other hand, attracting more newcomers has been considered more important in Chicago and Philadelphia. Chicago has recognized the economic contributions generated by immigrants and wants to capitalize on the assets of immigrants for economic growth of the city; Philadelphia thinks that attracting immigrants can be a strategy for population rebound and economic development of the city.

In these diverse local contexts, the city governments try to search for new types of urban assets through the welcoming city initiative. In a broad sense, all four cities try to develop assets for urban competitiveness and community capacity with the welcoming city initiative. In other words, the four cities utilize the initiative to spread welcoming as a new norm, strengthen government capacity for good governance, and engage immigrant and non-immigrant community members in the process of developing and implementing programs of the initiative; and they develop strategies to leverage immigrant entrepreneurship, human capital, financial assets, and attractive city identity.

However, the asset development through welcoming also suggests diverse paths to urban economic development rather than the “me-tooist” way of economic growth (Jessop, 1998, p. 86). Since each city takes a different approach to deal with the challenges that they face, they focus on certain areas or specific assets with the

welcoming city initiative. On the one hand, a city may try to address the economic and demographic challenges by changing the institutional design of its urban system in a way that newcomers have same rights and responsibilities to the city; on the other hand, a city may focus on the assets of immigrants that can be leveraged for greater input into the production system of the city. The case of Boise well represents the former while the case of Chicago exemplifies the latter.

With these similarities and differences across the four cities, what newly emerges in terms of asset development and asset-based economic growth and development is that welcoming can be conceived as generating synergetic and complementary effects by incorporating different types of urban assets, namely urban competitiveness and community capacity. Conceptually, welcoming not only contributes to the development of diverse assets but also generates synergetic effects between different types of assets by combining and connecting the goals of immigrant integration, which is fostered by community capacity building, and economic growth, which is driven by urban competitiveness. In so doing, the efforts to strengthen community capacity for welcoming influence the ways in which the assets for urban competitiveness are leveraged and utilized.

First of all, welcoming is conceptualized as a new community-wide norm to address the challenges of rapid and intense demographic changes and to achieve an inclusive urban society. In these four cities, welcoming guides the practices to help long-time residents recognize and appreciate the positive aspects of a united and diverse community as well as the efforts to institutionalize the inclusion and integration of newcomers. For example, the welcoming cities try to create a community dialogue that

highlights the economic and social benefits of reducing unconscious bias against newcomers, trust building between newcomers and long-time residents, and building connected and inclusive communities. To spread this inclusive dialogue within their communities, the city governments focus on leveraging and utilizing place-based assets such as campaigns, festivals, cultural celebrations, and programs that connect newcomers and long-time residents. Here, they try to incorporate the elements of an entrepreneurial place-marketing strategy and aim to develop attractive and vibrant urban communities filled with cultural, economic, and social vitality (Collett, 2014; Welcoming America, 2012, 2014). In this regard, welcoming can be conceptualized as leveraging marketable assets in each city, such as immigrant heritage, and promoting tourism considering the money flows accompanied with tourists as well as newcomers.

However, welcoming as an *intentionally* developed identity of inclusive communities is different from the inclusive place image created through the entrepreneurial place-marketing strategy, which is expected to achieve community solidarity and social cohesion as a by-product of ingraining a climate of optimism into urban culture (Harvey, 1989). In addition, the welcoming events are different from those for the entrepreneurial place-marketing strategy that has specific targets of a middle class, professional and knowledge workers, and even international audiences in that the main audience of the welcoming events is more general and current residents of a city. Furthermore, this inclusion of long-time residents is considered necessary to reduce potential tension aroused by the efforts to attract immigrants rather than to market city images.

In addition, welcoming is conceived as helping newcomers achieve their potential and have opportunities for economic integration by providing them with easier access to city services, thereby allowing them to contribute to community economic growth. The four city governments commonly adopt policies to increase the service accessibility and include programs to enhance newcomers' awareness of opportunities to use city services, as newcomers tend to have limited information to access city services for economic integration. These efforts aim to give newcomers more and better opportunities for education and job-related training, employment, entrepreneurship, financial literacy, legal advice, and involvement in local business networks, which lead to opportunities to contribute to the economic growth and development of their communities. In so doing, welcoming is also understood as generating more fair and equitable outcomes of competitiveness-driven economic growth. Since providing easier access to newcomers is more related to enabling and empowering newcomers than leveraging the assets that newcomers possess, this enabling and empowering stance of welcoming may address the problem of "partial incorporation" (Sassen, 2001), which is concerned with the instrumentalization of immigrants, especially low-skilled immigrants. Such a welcoming stance opens opportunities for newcomers to voice their preferences for the conditions that enable them to access and participate in the local economic and social institutions. By reducing barriers against economic, social, and cultural integration of immigrants, welcoming generates conditions through which immigrants claim more fair distribution. In other words, welcoming allows the allocation of city services in the consideration of racial equity, thereby developing a sustainable urban economic system (Bollens, 2002).

Making city services more accessible is also related to expanding the boundary of human capital, a factor of competitiveness, since it makes the potential of low-skilled immigrants' potential is more valued and easily recognized. These four welcoming cities commonly recognize the value of immigrant entrepreneurship for urban competitiveness and find the factors of competitiveness from human capital. In a way, the welcoming city initiative aims to leverage skills and talents that high-skilled and highly educated immigrants would bring. In addition, the welcoming cities consider that low-skilled immigrants can contribute to the cities' production systems when they have opportunities for education and job training. As the case of Chicago shows, immigrants with limited skills are considered to be able to fill the gap in the local workforce demands.

As such, the concept of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative suggest that the efforts to enhance urban competitiveness can be less detrimental when those efforts are connected to and combined with the efforts to build community capacity for a welcoming and receptive environment. This implication of the combined efforts also indicates that city government may adopt the welcoming city initiative as a strategy to respond to the economic and social challenges entailed by contemporary globalization.

Conclusion

Welcoming cities try to attract and retain immigrants, who are believed to bring and develop diverse assets that would contribute to urban economic growth and development. In this process of asset development, the concept of welcoming is considered to be a tool to leverage and attract, rather than retain, assets that contribute to the urban competitiveness and community capacity building. Cities leverage and develop these seemingly different types of urban assets by designing a comprehensive plan,

namely the welcoming city initiative, which incorporates both goals of immigrant integration and economic growth. This implies that the welcoming city initiative can be understood as an effort to incorporate the goals of immigrant integration and economic growth, thereby developing diverse urban assets beneficial to urban economic development that allows a city to prosper in a stable, sustainable, and unique way. In so doing, welcoming cities seek to develop their own paths to economic growth and development, promote asset development based on mutual adaptation between immigrants and non-immigrant residents, and alleviate the limitations of competitiveness-driven economic growth to some extent. In the next chapter, I analyze the ways in which these four city governments create governance arrangements for asset-based economic growth and development from an urban regime perspective.

CHAPTER 4

EMERGING REGIMES OF THE WELCOMING CITY INITIATIVE

This chapter examines the governing arrangements of the welcoming city initiative. As suggested in the previous chapter, welcoming is conducive to generating governing arrangements in which diverse actors can be engaged and their abilities and resources are leveraged. Considering that city governments are able to adopt a governing ideology that decides whether immigrants' voices are heard or barred from making public policies that create the conditions for the minority's capacity to engage in political action (Bollens, 2002), the city governments of welcoming cities open opportunities for immigrants to be engaged in their community and social lives by adopting the welcoming city initiative. This implies that city governments can respond to the issues of immigrant integration and economic growth proactively; the city governments intend to create institutional arrangements that encourage newcomers to actively participate in community and social affairs and in which immigrant stakeholders and immigrant community representatives are engaged in the process of developing and implementing a welcoming city initiative.

In this regard, this chapter investigates the questions in the second theme, which ask about the type of governing coalitions that have emerged to develop and implement the welcoming city initiative, the collaboration occurring in the coalitions, and the ways in which immigrants are incorporated into the governing coalition. These questions are closely related to the analytic dilemma of urban regime analysis (Mossberger, 2009) in that they concern how the city governments of welcoming cities can have governing coalitions that aim to address social issues beyond or along with economic growth

emerge, mobilize resources and capacity for the coalitions, and make the coalitions work for and evolve into a new platform for immigrant incorporation.

To answer these questions, this chapter focuses on the concept of *emerging regimes* (DiGaetano & Lawless, 1999; John & Cole, 1998; Mossberger & Stoker, 2001) and analyzes the types of urban regimes that are being created for the welcoming city initiative. In so doing, this chapter also suggests the specific conditions in which the urban regimes of the welcoming city initiative are operated and maintained in a stable way. Furthermore, this chapter will show how immigrants who tend to lack resources to be regime participants can gain access to governing coalitions and maintain their influence throughout policymaking as well as implementation processes. By doing so, this analysis highlights the ways in which the conditions for being a regime participant can be relaxed in certain circumstances.

This chapter begins by reviewing the urban regime perspective as an analytical framework. It then examines emerging regimes of the welcoming city initiative by focusing on the regimes' goals, structures, and governing dynamics. The final section discusses findings and policy implications.

Urban Regime Perspective

The urban regime perspective has been one of the dominant frameworks for understanding local development politics (Crowley, 2001; Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In addition to this interest in growth politics, regime scholars have investigated urban regimes around other social issues and analyzed how various interests are incorporated into governing coalitions, including women, lesbians and gays, African-Americans, and neighborhoods (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001; Stone, 1998). However, urban regimes that

prioritize broader goals of social justice for immigrants are less studied (Friedmann, 2002; Mossberger, 2009). Rather, scholars have focused on the detrimental or conflicting effects of urban regimes on immigrants' social rights and immigrant integration (Arbaci, 2008; Gerometta, Häussermann, & Longo, 2005; Sainsbury, 2006). For example, Arbaci (2008), focusing on ethnic residential segregation, investigated the ways in which the mechanisms of differentiation in urban and housing regimes affect the integration of diverse immigrant groups into urban communities in a negative way by treating inequality issues residually. Similarly, Gerometta et al. (2005) found that the regime changes after the end of the Fordist era exacerbated the social divisions caused by increasing immigration in urban society, and suggested an alternative of neo-communitarian regimes (Jessop, 2002a) that integrate civil society into local governance arrangements and foster a form of social innovation for emancipatory, inclusive, and needs-satisfying urban communities. In this regard, this chapter analyzes the governing arrangements around the welcoming city initiative with the urban regime perspective to better understand how urban regimes can emerge and be maintained to achieve the goal of immigrant integration along with the goal of economic growth.

Who is Involved in an Urban Regime?

Stone (1989b, p. 6) defined an urban regime as a set of arrangements in which "public bodies and private interests function together to make and carry out governing decisions." It is an informal yet relatively stable governing coalition in which diverse participants with access to institutional resources make public policies. Here, the private interests are not narrowly defined as business interests; rather, a broader range of interests, such as labor union officials, party functionaries, staff of nonprofit

organizations or foundations, and church leaders are included (Stone, 1989b, p. 7). To incorporate these diverse interests, Elkin (1987) argued that urban political institutions be revitalized to incorporate a democratic ethos so that they can "help to form a citizenry that has a concern for the public interest" (p. 150) and encourage the citizenry as well as local public officials to engage in reasoned debate about the public interest and public policy. In this sense, immigrants' participation into regimes tends to be considered in relation to their accessibility to getting citizenship (Bloemraad, 2006; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012), although providing immigrants with citizenship is not enough for fully engaging immigrants (Baubock, 2003).

Although the urban regime perspective highlights the participation of diverse actors, business participation is treated as a critical element in defining urban regimes (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001; Stone, 1989b). Empirically, it is hard to ignore the ability of business to control and mobilize resources (Stone, 1989b) as this ability meets the requirements of effective regime partners who possess "strategic knowledge of social transactions" and a capacity to "act on that knowledge" and to "control resources that make one an attractive coalition partner" (Stoker, 1995, p. 60). Theoretically, the participation of businesses is indispensable to the urban regime perspective, which is based on a political economy approach (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001; Stone, 1989b).

However, this relative strength of business does not mean that urban regimes are always dominated by business interests or consist of a fixed body of actors dealing with every kind of agenda. Rather, the urban regime perspective understands that participants of governing coalitions change as problems or issues to be addressed vary (Stone, 2005). In this regard, Stone (1998) argued that business interests do not play a dominant role in

some local issues, such as education, which are less attractive to businesses because of the redistributive attributes of an issue (Henig, Hula, Orr, & Pedescleaux, 1999; Peterson, 1981). This idea resonates with the regime typology developed by Stone (1989b), which shows that regime participants may vary by agendas and diverse urban regimes can be created and sustained by different types of regime participants: 1) maintenance or caretaker regimes, 2) pro-growth development regimes, 3) middle-class progressive regimes, and 4) lower-class opportunity expansion regimes.

This regime typology also suggests that certain types of regimes may be hard to develop due to the difficulties of mobilizing resources (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). Given businesses' capacity to mobilize resources, the third and fourth types of regimes that require a measure of coercion or regulation of business are difficult to form (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In this regard, Mossberger (2009) suggested that building coalitions for progressive regimes and opportunity expansion regimes require extraordinary efforts or unusual circumstances. With respect to this difficulty, Stone (1998) argued that it is possible to develop opportunity expansion regimes through broad mobilization of "civic capacity," which focuses on a *broad* base of community members' *active* involvement in support of a community-wide cause. Because civic capacity becomes stronger when community members build a strong identity with as well as duty to the larger community (Stone, 1998), promoting citywide identity and institutionalizing commitment are important for leveraging and maintaining civic capacity. To this end, leadership plays a key role as it connects diverse actors with different focuses and resources, thereby developing civic capacity in a more effective way (Jones, Portz, & Stein, 1997; Stone, 1998). As a way to develop a citywide identity and leverage civic

capacity, leaders can promote a "city dialogue" (Ravazzi & Belligni, 2015) that confirms common goals shared by participants in governing coalitions, facilitates a collective construction of new urban agenda, and spreads a shared understanding of new urban agenda. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that civic capacity developed for one issue area does not apply to another area as each group of community members builds an identity with and feels obligated to contribute to a specific issue area (Stone, 1998). For example, businesses try to contribute to the economic health of their larger community whereas social service providers are interested in improving the social health of the community. This suggests that regime participants vary by the ways in which a city dialogue defines a problem.

How Coalitions are Maintained in an Urban Regime

According to Stone (1989b), the study of urban regimes focuses on who cooperates and how their cooperation is achieved within the institutional sectors of a community. In other words, urban regimes are concerned with the ways in which formal and informal collaboration between diverse interests occurs through a governing coalition (Brown, 1999; Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). The urban regime perspective highlights collaboration because it recognizes the "fragmentation of power" and "interdependence between the policy-making capacity of democratic institutions and the wealth-generating resources of the market economy" (Mossberger, 2009, p. 41) It understands that formal and informal modes of collaborative relationships are required to realize policy goals as collaboration overcomes the fragmentation of power and fundamental tensions between institutions. As the urban regime perspective discusses collaboration in relation to the fragmentation of power, it considers participants of the governing coalition to have their

own interests and not to represent identical interests. In this regard, governance realized through regimes is closely linked to "how certain forms of coordination of effort prevail over others" (Stone, 1989b, p. 5).

As local governmental authorities are more limited by law and tradition than state and national authorities, informal arrangements are considered more important in urban politics (Stone, 1989a). In other words, civic cooperation achieved through informal arrangements plays an important role in a system of weak formal authority: It complements the weakness of formal authority and helps community actors achieve cooperation beyond what could be formally commanded. In this sense, an urban regime or a set of informal arrangements is closely related to empowering citizens to cooperate. The urban regime perspective describes political power as the "power to" or the capacity to act, rather than the "power over" others (Stone, 1989b, p. 229), and it understands governing processes as those in which diverse elements of a community are involved and coordinated through mobilizing efforts. Therefore, the focus of the urban regime analysis is on the "internal dynamics of coalition building," "civic cooperation," or "informal modes of coordination across institutional boundaries" (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001, p. 812).

Goals and Purposes in an Urban Regime

Stone (2005) recognized that his early work on the regimes of Atlanta (Stone, 1989b) undervalued the role of purpose in mobilizing resources and promoting collaboration. He had initially focused on selective incentives and small opportunities to explain the motives of actors to participate in a governing coalition. Selective incentives provide regime participants with material rewards of jobs, facilities, contracts, and so on.

Because regime participants can expect to receive such rewards by participating in a governing coalition, they are motivated to collaborate and build consensus. In addition, regime participants are mobilized by attainable and more immediate purposes—namely, small opportunities, rather than grand visions or goals.

Although there have been cases where selective incentives are available and work well, in many situations, such material incentives are rare and less feasible (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). It is also important to note that regime participants are not always interest-driven creatures, but may also be "meaning seekers" (Stone, 2005, p. 322), which implies that their identities are influenced by moral codes and purposes (Barnard, 1938; March & Olsen, 1989; Muir, 1977). Given this, a grand purpose itself can motivate people by giving direction and meaning to the work of a governing coalition. People may contribute their time, energy, and resources without expecting immediate and particular material rewards (Stone, 2005). Here, a city dialogue can be used to mobilize the necessary resources by spreading meaningful purposes and goals across community members, thereby promoting them to develop a strong identity with their community. Moreover, the direction of mobilization can vary depending what kinds of purposes are pursued. Similar to the logic of civic capacity, the ways in which purposes and goals are framed attract different actors with different strengths. This signifies the importance of promoting socially worthy purposes for a broader scope of mobilization.

Based on this discussion of the urban regime perspective, the following sections analyze who participates in the governing coalitions of the welcoming city initiative, how the participants and their civic capacity are mobilized to achieve the goal of immigrant integration as well as the goal of economic growth, and which forms of coordinating and

collaborating efforts appear. This analysis will suggest how urban regimes that aim to achieve immigrant integration and economic growth emerge and evolve.

A Coding Frame for Urban Regime Analysis

Using the same method of content analysis, a coding frame that consists of 1) goals of the welcoming city initiative, 2) participants in the governing coalitions of the initiative, and 3) governing dynamics of the coalitions was developed (see Table 14). Different from the coding frame used in the previous chapter, most of the codes under the coding frame for regime analysis are directly drawn from the field, except for the codes in the code group of governing dynamics.

Table 14
A Coding Frame for the Regimes of the Welcoming City Initiative

Goals	Participants	Governing Dynamics

• Asset building
• Economic growth
• Employment opportunities
• Workforce development
• Education
• Higher education
• Youth education
• Community building
• Civic engagement and community involvement
• Fairness and equity
• Integration
• Service accessibility
• Health/Wellness and human service
• Housing
• Public safety
• Transportation
	• Actors
	  • Attorney's office
	  • Business
	  • City council
	  • City government department
	  • City manager/mayor
	  • College and University
	  • Community organization
	  • County government
	  • Elected officials
	  • Federal government
	  • Financial institution
	  • Funder
	  • Immigrant commission
	  • Intern
	  • Leading organization
	  • Library
	  • Metro
	  • School district
	  • Social service provider
	  • State government
	• Centralized hub
	• Leadership
		• Civic engagement and community involvement
		• Coalition building
		• Collaboration and partnership
		• Interaction and communication

Urban Regime Analysis of the Welcoming City Initiative

Goals and Purposes of the Welcoming City Initiative

Although the goals of the welcoming city initiative in the four cities are expressed in slightly different terms, the goals are common in that they are set around two central themes of immigrant integration and economic growth (see Table 15). This is because the welcoming city initiative started as a response to issues related to both demographic changes and economic downturn as explained in the previous chapter. These two themes of immigrant integration and economic growth are framed in a way to highlight that newcomers' current and *potential* contributions will ultimately benefit all community members, including newcomers as well as long-time residents; as newcomers more successfully resettle in the receiving communities, they can contribute to the whole community in productive ways. This framing of the goals aims to reduce conflict around the development and implementation of the welcoming city initiative and to motivate diverse community actors to mobilize and contribute their resources by participating in the governing arrangements around the initiative.

Although the four cities share these similar goals, they also set different types of goals or highlight different dimensions of the goals. The city of Austin, which is in the initial stages of developing a welcoming city initiative, tries to enhance residents' awareness of the benefits of the initiative and institutionalize a citywide understanding of a welcoming city, thereby building an identity as a welcoming city with broader community members (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). In the case of Philadelphia, the welcoming city initiative aims to better serve immigrant populations by

focusing primarily on reversing the trend of demographic decline, thereby reviving the economic, social, and cultural vitality of the city.

Table 15
Goals of the Welcoming City Initiatives in the Four Cities

City	Goals
Austin	1. Economic growth • International city • Human capital development 2. Human service for immigrants • Health and wellness • Children and school • Public safety • Business and jobs • Workforce development and higher education • Civic engagement and community involvement
Boise	Refugee resettlement • Education including higher education and youth education • Employment • Healthcare • Housing • Social integration • Transportation
Chicago	1. Economic growth • Global city • Immigrant-owned business development • Human capital development 2. Youth education • Children of immigrants • Parents and schools 3. Community building • Public safety • Access to Service • Civic engagement
Philadelphia	Economic, social, and cultural vitality • Economic growth • Asset development • Easy access to city resources and services • Fair and equal treatment of immigrants • Social integration

Chicago highlights the economic growth dimension explicitly, and the goals of its welcoming city initiative largely cohere around economic growth; the opportunities for education and community building are framed in terms of the economic prosperity of the city as a whole. Meanwhile, the welcoming city initiative of Boise is more concerned with human service provision than the economic growth aspect, although it involves both aspects, as Boise has started programs based on a humanitarian approach that aims to satisfy the basic needs of refugees and is developing programs to serve a more diverse population, including immigrants, by advancing institutional settings of the city.

Emergence and Maintenance of the Governing Coalitions

The welcoming city initiative promotes newcomers' economic and social integration by highlighting the contributions of newcomers to the economic growth of their cities. This helps leverage multiple forms of motivation and create durable governing arrangements. Thus, the welcoming city initiative may lead to the emergence of a mixed type of urban regime that combines the elements of lower-class opportunity expansion regimes and pro-growth regimes (DiGaetano & Lawless, 1999; Orr & Stoker, 1994). However, such emerging regimes may evolve into opportunity expansion regimes or progressive regimes that prioritize social issues rather than economic issues by developing a stable structure and process of allocating resources and increasing economic and social opportunities for newcomers.

Given this, this section examines how the emerging regimes of the welcoming city initiative are structured and maintained. In terms of structures, it first focuses on the characteristics of the institutional arrangements of the emerging regimes as well as the types of actors and regime partners that participate in them. Then, this discussion

investigates how the emerging regimes are maintained by focusing on the civic capacity regime participants bring into governing coalitions and the internal dynamics of coalition building.

The structures of governing coalitions. The four cities are creating urban regimes for the welcoming city initiative that are structured in different ways. I name these differing structures dual-core, multi-layered, centralized, and flat and open. However, these cities have incorporated similar types of actors into the regimes (see Table 16).

Table 16
Structures of Governing Coalitions

City	Structural Attributes and Key Participants
Austin	Dual-core • COIA & Economic Development Department • County and city government agencies • Community-based organizations
Boise	Multi-layered • Planning team: Mayor's Office, IOR, and a coordinator • Steering committees: 25 community leaders • Sub-committees and Implementation teams: IOR staff, city government agencies, and community leaders
Chicago	Centralized • Mayor's Office of New Americans • City government agencies • Community-based organizations
Philadelphia	Flat and open • Mayor's Office of Immigrant and Multicultural Affairs • City government agencies • Community-based organizations • Immigrant commissions

As regime participants, government authorities tend to provide administrative, financial, and technical supports, and other community-based organizations share their expertise and connect preexisting networks with their clients and other community members.

Austin's dual-core structure. Austin has created a governing coalition in which COIA and the city of Austin's economic development department play the key role. The actual leadership for the initiative comes from COIA, which motivated the start of the initiative in Austin; the commission recommended that the city council get to know about its city in terms of a "welcoming city" and to become a member city of Welcoming America. At the same time, the city of Austin's economic development department governs the implementation of the initiative; it is one of the programs and services that the department provides. As such, the emerging regime has a dual core.

This kind of governing coalition has assigned the goals of economic growth and human service to COIA and the economic development department, respectively. COIA embraces the human service dimension and brings the pre-established networks of immigrant service providers into the regime. The economic development department focuses on the economic growth dimension through efforts to attract global businesses and talents and develop the workforce with immigrants (The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015). These two organizations are also in a collaborative relationship as the economic development department provides resources to COIA as the sponsoring organization. For example, the department and COIA, along with the other regime partners of the county government and Immigrant Services Network of Austin (ISNA), created the steering committee for

the recent Austin Welcoming City Summit and collaborated in building a network of stakeholders regarding the welcoming city initiative and developing a common understanding of a welcoming city in Austin (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015).

In this dual-core coalition, other public and private actors participate in the governing coalition, including the city manager, city council, Austin/Travis County health and human service department, Austin Independent School District (AISD), Travis County health and human services and veteran service research and planning division, the ISNA, Caritas of Austin, Capital Metro, and diverse community organizations. However, business participation—one typical characteristic of urban regimes—is limited, although economic growth is one of the major stated goals of the welcoming city initiative. The business community only participated in the input-collecting process of the citywide survey as a stakeholder of the initiative. Furthermore, immigrants' direct participation is also limited in that the majority of them participated in the process of collecting input as the survey respondents. Although the key regime partners understand that integrating immigrants into the process of developing the initiative is important, such integration has not been fully actualized yet. A staff member of COIA explained this as follows:

> [The city of Austin] had a big celebration formalizing the Welcoming City Initiative but it hadn't engaged any of the immigrant stakeholders in that conversation. Unless you're engaging the people that are ultimately supposed to benefit from what you're developing or from what you're trying to institutionalize, that lack of ownership is going to ultimately have detrimental effects on the long-term sustainability of whatever you're starting.

Boise's multi-layered structure. Boise's governing coalition for its welcoming city initiative—namely, the Neighbors United initiative—is based on a multi-layered

structure consisting of a planning team, steering committees, sub-committees, and implementation teams. Diverse actors participate in this governing coalition, including the city government and mayor, county government, state government, IOR, regional public transportation authority, school district, local colleges and university, and social service providers (see Appendix C). The city also used an intergovernmental linkage to higher-level governments to build a partnership with the county- and state-level governmental authorities that provide relevant services. The roster shows the efforts to incorporate refugee and immigrant communities by incorporating ethnic community leaders into the governing coalition. Although refugees and immigrants may not have resources for the implementation of the initiative, they can be part of the governing coalition because they know better what they need in order to resettle successfully and to develop their human capital. In this setting, business participation is rare in Boise, and businesses are instead considered a policy target in the community plan; the business community is induced rather than coerced to hire more refugees to foster refugees' economic integration (Neighbors United, 2015).

At the top of the hierarchy, the planning team, which consists of the mayor, the director and staff of IOR, and the coordinator between the mayor's office and the IOR, works as a guiding force of the Neighbors United initiative as well as the final decision maker that actualizes the implementation of the initiative (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). The planning team's ability to be a guiding authority comes from their formal role as the main sponsor of the initiative: The mayor's office and IOR bring various resources as effective regime partners.

The steering committee is comprised of 25 leaders of governmental authorities and non-governmental organizations. On the one hand, the committee members provide recommendations to the planning team and guide direction on the Neighbors United initiative based on their expertise and experience in the refugee resettlement or related fields; during its quarterly meetings, the committee discusses the Neighbors United plan and other refugee issues in Boise communities. On the other hand, the committee members provide leadership within each organization that they represent to promote their organizations' understanding of refugees and refugee issues in Boise communities, thereby, helping direct the organizations toward more proactive activities (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015).

The sub-committees, whose members are nominated by the steering committee, are built around the six areas of focus and work toward the implementation of the initiative's goals at the ground level. This allows regime partners to be specifically defined and mobilized by different issue areas and goals at the implementation level (Neighbors United, 2015). The sub-committees' meetings are held when the members need to meet, and their interactions are both formal and informal (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). An IOR staff member described how the sub-committee meetings have occurred without any obligation to have the meetings:

> I think the Adult Education Committee has been the one that's really stayed strong even without being pushed by a facilitator and they meet monthly at Boise State University so office space is easy.

The chairs of the six sub-committees, the directors of the refugee resettlement agencies in Boise, some members of the organizations represented on the steering committee, and the

planning team coordinator make up the implementation team, which meets as necessary to ensure that the action items in the Neighbors United plan are current, are being implemented, and remain alive through continuous revision and refinements (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015).

This formal structure provides stability and coherence to the regime by establishing a pattern of interactions. It clearly defines who meets whom, for what, and how often and promotes communication between the layers through the overlaps between committee or team members. As the Neighbors United initiative is not owned by one entity—neither the city government nor the IOR—and is open to diverse participants, it needs a structure to align and organize the works around the initiative. In this sense, the multi-layered regime structure and formal/informal interactions between regime partners are effective for the delivery and implementation of the Neighbors United initiative in Boise.

Chicago's centralized structure. As a historic gateway city, the city has abundant social services networks in the field of immigrant and immigration affairs. The members of these networks have been accessible to each other and cooperate when needs arise, thereby generating weakly tied but cooperative relationships among the members and making the city government consider the network members as potential regime partners (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015). In this context, the strategy that the city of Chicago chose for coalition building was to mobilize preexisting networks and build a loosely coupled but centralized regime structure that develops and implements the welcoming city initiative. The city also engaged different sets of actors in the development and implementation processes. This contrasts with

Boise, where the participants in the regime structure have not changed much since the community plan was developed.

As the first step, the mayor of Chicago created the Mayor's Office of New Americans in 2011, proclaiming the vision for the city to become the world's most immigrant-friendly city ("New Americans Plan," 2012). This office, with the strong leadership of the mayor, became the key regime partner for Chicago's welcoming city initiative. After the creation of the office, it interviewed more than 100 leaders of immigrant community-based organizations and regional and national experts with a team of consultants. The mayor convened an advisory committee comprised of 50 community leaders representing Chicago's business, academic, civic, and philanthropic communities ("New Americans Plan," 2012) (see Appendix D). Although some personnel from Illinois state government participated in the committee, Chicago city government staff members were not committee members; only one city council member participated. Rather, the city staff played a supportive role for the committee by providing data and analyses to assist in evaluating the ideas the committee suggested ("New Americans Plan," 2012). The committee was charged with three tasks: identifying challenges unique to immigrants, recommending high-impact initiatives to be implemented over the next three years, and developing detailed implementation plans for the Office of New Americans ("New Americans Plan," 2012). After a two-month period of the intensive developing process, the Chicago New Americans Plan was released in 2012, which consisted of 27 initiatives in the three categories of growth, education, and community building.

With the detailed initiatives, the plan also states that a variety of entities participate in the implementation process; the plan requires collaborative efforts among

the city government, community organizations, faith-based organizations, and other stakeholders as well as between the Office of New Americans and other city departments and agencies ("New Americans Plan," 2012). This implies that the key actors in the implementation process would be the office, the city departments and agencies, and diverse non-governmental organizations. The office directly participates in the implementation process of a majority of the initiatives or it arranges or assigns appropriate participants from city departments and agencies. In other words, the office utilizes its organizational position and power as one of the mayor's offices and directs the implementation processes in a relatively hierarchical manner (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015). Although the office expected the continued engagement of the advisory committee members during the implementation of the Chicago New Americans Plan ("New Americans Plan," 2012), only some of them have participated and a different set of actors has been assembled for the implementation of the plan because each of the 27 initiatives in the plan requires specific partners and capacity. Furthermore, new immigrant integration initiatives have been added since the release of the plan in 2012 (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015), and new organizations have been created and identified from the dense networks of community organizations during the implementation. As a result, several implementation coalitions have been built around each initiative. In the implementation coalitions, business sectors participate more actively than the other case cities as Chicago has set an explicit goal of economic growth in the New Americans Plan. For example, the city works with World Business Chicago, a liaison between public and private sectors, to increase exports from immigrant-owned businesses. The city also

connects to the local chambers of commerce to provide them with leadership training to support immigrants in starting and growing their businesses.

Philadelphia's flat and open structure. Created in 2013, MOIMA was empowered to be a key regime partner and charged with the role of coordinating services by groups who work with the immigrant communities (Zhorov, 2014). Similar to Chicago, Philadelphia as a historic gateway city has been rich with community resources for immigrants provided through public and private organizations. To utilize this preexisting network and make the public and private organizations stable regime partners, MOIMA functions as a convener and technical assistance provider to develop, support, and encourage collaboration and strategic partnership among the city government departments as well as diverse community-based organizations ("MOIMA's strategic role," n.d.; MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015). MOIMA works as a central hub for the welcoming city initiative as the Office of New Americans in Chicago does. However, the office does not need to develop a centralized relationship with other regime partners using its organizational position as its role is better described as a supporter and facilitator.

MOIMA holds stakeholder meetings every six weeks, in which 20 to 30 stakeholders from a variety of immigrant commissions, city departments, school districts, and district attorney's offices meet together. Through this stakeholder meeting, the stakeholders get together, discuss their work plan for the year as well as other current issues related to immigration and immigrant communities, and find ways that they can collaborate with each other to achieve certain goals. The definition of stakeholders is inclusive and flexible, and anyone with issues regarding immigrant affairs can participate

in the stakeholder meeting. Among these regime participants, the immigrant commissions participate in the stakeholder meeting as regime partners who have assets potentially contributing to the prosperity of Philadelphia as well as the recipients of city services. The other group of stakeholders, including city departments, school districts, and district attorney's offices, are the city service providers identified by MOIMA (MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015) who are responsible for fair and equal treatment toward immigrants and for leveraging the assets immigrants have for the prosperity of the city.

When the programs of the welcoming city initiative are implemented, more diverse actors beyond the stakeholders are involved as the implementation requires specialized expertise and capacity. These actors share common goals and generate collaborative efforts based on interdependent relationships. For example, MOIMA partners with the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services and the library system in Philadelphia to promote naturalization and highlight immigrant heritage through naturalization ceremonies. A variety of community organizations, including local Hispanic media, the business community, the city government and its departments, immigrant communities, and educational institutions as well as Welcoming America participate in the xCultural Passport to PHL, an annual cultural event celebrating immigrant heritage and cultural diversity to heighten public awareness of the contribution that immigrant communities make. Participants bring different types of resources to the event and function independently and interdependently by playing the different roles of media partner, sponsors and supporters, and program partners.

The governing structures and processes at the implementation stage show that Philadelphia has also developed different groups of implementation teams for each program under the welcoming city initiative, similar to Boise and Chicago. However, a difference exists between MOIMA and the Office of New Americans in Chicago: Whereas Chicago's office tries to exercise its power and utilize its organizational position to stabilize the regime structure and processes, MOIMA focuses on making the regime structure's and processes' stability not contingent on the existence of the office. MOIMA aims to have stakeholders continue to meet together and collaborate on their issues, even with the transition in leadership at the city level (MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015). In this regard, a MOIMA staff member commented that:

> [The stakeholders] don't need permission from anybody to exercise their leadership. We're here to facilitate, but even if we were not here, this group should continue to meet and so our intent is to set the expectation and really help them develop the relationship that will keep the stakeholders sort of continuing beyond our tenure here.

This is an effort to create a resilient regime structure that considers a case in which new mayoral leadership abolishes the office, which is the key regime partner. It resonates well with Stone's (1989b) argument that civic cooperation achieved through informal arrangement complements the weakness of formal authority at the local level and generates collaborative efforts beyond what could be formally commanded.

Mobilizing civic capacity. The stability of regimes occurs when a regime structures resources and establishes patterns of interaction (Mossberger & Stoker, 2001). In this regard, all four cities tend to rely on both leadership and city dialogue to mobilize diverse actors and their resources, thereby maintaining and evolving the emerging

regimes of the welcoming city initiative. With leadership and city dialogue, the cities try to incorporate diverse community actors and leverage the civic capacity needed to meet the major goals of the welcoming city initiative.

The leadership mostly comes from the city mayors and the leading organizations, such as COIA, IOR, the Office of New Americans, and MOIMA. On the one hand, the mayors themselves support the initiative in various ways. In Chicago and Philadelphia, the welcoming city initiative started in part with the mayors' strong will to achieve specific goals, and they brought their leadership into creating the Office of New Americans and MOIMA. The strong mayoral leadership provides authority to these offices and helps them play a critical role in the welcoming city initiative. In case of Boise, the mayor explicitly expressed the importance of diversity on Boise's economic and social vitality through local radio channels (The City of Boise, personal communication, June, 18, 2015) and the mayor's e-Memo, which is open to the public through the city government's website (Bieter, 2015). Furthermore, the mayor's office supports the Neighbors United initiative by providing financial and human resources. For example, the office provides financial support to hire the coordinator between IOR and the office (IOR, personal communication, June, 18, 2015; The City of Boise, personal communication, June, 18, 2015).

On the other hand, the leading organizations are deeply involved in developing, implementing, and evaluating the welcoming city initiative of their cities. As an administrative office of the refugee resettlement program in Idaho, IOR has statewide responsibility for assistance and services to refugees; the office receives federal funds for the operation of its programs, which enable IOR to provide financial supports for

developing the Neighbors United plan (IOR, personal communication, June, 18, 2015). Furthermore, the diverse types of resources and civic capacity encourage the regime partners in each layer to add stability to the regime. The regime is based on a strong leadership from the mayor, has a stable source of funds, and includes regime partners from community-based organizations that are actively engaged by providing their knowledge and expertise.

With the power that comes from the mayor's strong leadership for the New Americans Plan, the Office of New Americans is able to structure resource streams required for the implementation of the plan and set the pattern of interaction between the office and the city departments that is hierarchical but collaborative. The office also exercises this power in an informal way to build partnerships with other regime partners. Because the regime partners who have been involved in the same network for a long time tend to go to each other's meetings for different initiatives and purposes, the office has opportunities to meet with them often and regularly and to start conversations regarding the welcoming city initiative without difficulties (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015). In this setting, a staff member of the Office of New Americans commented that the office has been successful in mobilizing relevant actors in the network through casual and personal interaction:

> A lot of community-based organizations we got to know through this New Americans Plan and they're familiar with it. So if we reach out and we say, "Hey, we're going to start implementing one of the initiatives outlined in there." They're more than willing to participate because they helped build this plan too and they're invested in it. In the long run, it helps everybody. It's just a very mutually beneficial relationship that we've built.

This centralized role enables the creation of a stable regime structure around the initiative in Chicago by effectively mobilizing resources and providing coherence to the loosely coupled networks that participate in the development and implementation of the initiative.

The importance of leadership is also shown through the case of Austin, where a lack of leadership has brought an unfavorable situation for the long-term stability of the regime and the initiative. First, COIA, as a commission, only makes recommendations to the city council and does not possess the power to directly develop and implement the initiative. For example, COIA has limited power to increase the resources allocated to the welcoming city initiative, although it recognizes its lack of resources (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). The strategic position of the COIA's chair (who also chairs ISNA, one of the main supporting organizations of the initiative) makes the utilization of resources for human service development easier. By extension, there is no institutional mechanism that supplements the current arrangement, in which the leading organization cannot fully exercise its leadership. Contrary to the other three cities under investigation, the city of Austin does not have strong leadership coming from the uppermost level of the city government to provide a clear vision for the initiative. In a similar vein, the city does not have a centralized hub that bridges different city departments and agencies or community organizations that work for the welcoming city initiative. Although the economic development department is one of the key actors in the dual-core structure, it has been also less effective in connecting the current or potential participants in the governing coalition in part due to a lack of resources. For example, the major task for the welcoming city initiative fell under the responsibility of an intern

because of the lack of human resources; when her internship was over, the division had no plan for turning tasks over to another person (The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015). This lack of strong leadership retards civic capacity building as well as the effective mobilization of resources for the welcoming city initiative.

In addition to leadership, city dialogue plays an important role in mobilizing regime partners because they participate in regimes when their personal or organizational missions or goals match with the goals of the initiative in which they are involved. For example, for the initiative of creating pop-up city services for immigrant business owners, the Office of New Americans, Business Affairs and Consumer Protection Department of the City of Chicago, and three community organizations that share similar visions and missions (Accion Chicago, the Center for Economic Progress, and Greater Pilsen Economic Development Association) gathered to hold a small business expo for the Latino community in 2014 (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, personal communication, May 28, 2015). MOIMA also successfully utilized its welcoming city initiative goals to mobilize the stakeholders, which motivated the stakeholders to participate in the governing process in part with an intention to achieve their own goals. In addition, MOIMA developed various channels of communication with stakeholders. The office utilizes monthly newsletters and social media to encourage interaction between the office and stakeholders; it provides the public with information regarding the office's work, important issues related to immigrant communities, and events open to the public. It also created a platform using social media in which stakeholders can communicate with each other more actively and in a more informal way.

Boise and Austin also used a citywide dialogue to spread the concept of welcoming. Boise was able to develop a Refugee Community Plan in 2010 based on the conversation among diverse community actors and inputs from them. Similarly, Austin is at the stage of developing a city dialogue of a welcoming city that spreads the common understanding of a welcoming city and institutionalizes a new norm of welcoming in their communities (COIA, personal communication, May 15, 2015). COIA, with support from the economic development department and the other coalition participants, has led the process of creating the city dialogue by conducting a citywide survey; it also tried to help the community members develop an identity with their city as a welcoming city by publicly announcing the survey results.

Emergence of Mixed-type Regimes for the Welcoming City Initiative

One analytic question raised by urban regime scholars is how urban regimes can address more diverse social issues and how such governing arrangements can evolve and be maintained (Mossberger, 2009). This question turns on how the urban regime perspective can explain more of urban politics beyond growth politics. To find answers to this question, scholars have looked at other urban policy issues and explored the mobilization of a broader range of interests through the concept of civic capacity (Mossberger, 2009, p. 41; Stone, 2001, 1998). Defining the private sector as not being limited to businesses, the division of labor between the state and market can be expanded into the division of labor among the state, market, and civil society. In so doing, urban regimes that incorporate more diverse actors and interests and prioritize social issues beyond growth issues can emerge. As Sidney (2009) pointed out, urban regimes to address poverty can emerge when government and nonprofit organizations together can

mobilize adequate resources for a broader agenda. Similarly, this research analyzing governing arrangements of the welcoming city initiative suggests how urban regimes can explain different kinds urban politics.

The analysis of four governing arrangements around the welcoming city initiative shows that these four city governments were able to create urban regimes that aim to promote the integration of newcomers, especially because the issue of integration is well connected to the broader issue of urban economic growth. These regimes are a type of *mixed regime*, and they may incorporate the attributes of neo-communitarian regimes (Jessop, 2002a) that emphasize the contribution of civil society or the third sector to social cohesion and economic growth. The four city governments expect that the economic and social integration of newcomers will contribute to urban economic development; therefore, they mobilize the necessary resources from diverse actors in their communities by enhancing public awareness of the potential benefit generated by newcomers, thereby creating and developing governing coalitions for the welcoming city initiative. However, although such urban regimes may be created, it does not necessarily follow that immigrants themselves can participate in the governing coalitions for the welcoming city initiative because they may not possess institutional resources and strategic knowledge nor control these resources to be regime partners.

In this regard, this research asserts that welcoming relaxes the conditions for being regime participants and generates arrangements in which the actors viewed as having the potential capacity to develop resources can be incorporated. More precisely, the way in which the four welcoming cities understand newcomers is that they can be future as well as current human capital for their communities. As the city governments

recognize this potentiality of newcomers as human capital, it becomes important for the governments to attract newcomers and integrate them into their communities. To integrate them and help them develop their potential capacity more effectively, the city governments try to allow their opinions about the initiative to penetrate the process of developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative. In other words, immigrants gain access to the governing arrangements for developing and implementing policies that help actualize their potential capacity. This is effectively shown through the case of Philadelphia, where anyone with issues regarding immigrant affairs can participate in the stakeholder meetings and in the process of developing programs for the welcoming city initiative. Boise's key regime partners also share the same idea that newcomers should be part of the solution to their issues and need to participate in the debate and conversation around the welcoming city initiative to let the rest of their community members know about their difficulties as well as contributions (IOR, personal communication, June 18, 2015). These cases show that the conditions for a regime participant may not always hinge on the resources or capacity currently available to a community.

Although it is possible to create such urban regimes that incorporate immigrants, several strategies are required to maintain and evolve these regimes. First, this analysis builds on the research highlighting the role of leadership in coalition building (Jones et al., 1997) and finds that leadership is a critical element to make urban regimes maintained. As the comparison between Austin and the other three cities showed, political leadership should be able to provide visions of the initiative to key regime partners and assign clear missions or roles to the leading organization in urban regimes. In addition, the leadership needs to be strong enough to help the leading organization of

the welcoming city initiative connect and mobilize diverse and diffused resources in the process of implementing the welcoming city initiative. Empowered by the strong leadership, the leading organizations can build governing capacity to maintain regimes even in the situation where a new mayor is elected. For example, the governing coalition in Philadelphia has been maintained under the administration of the new mayor elected in 2016. Second, the analysis of four welcoming cities reminds us of the role of purpose and goals as well as the city dialogue in the mobilization of diverse actors (Ravazzi & Belligni, 2015; Stone, 2005). As the implementation of the welcoming city initiative requires specific skills and specialized knowledge, it is important to bring the actors with those resources into the regime. Actors with expertise in the field of immigrant affairs include non-profit organizations and philanthropic organizations; thus, they tend to be motivated to participate in the welcoming city initiative when a good fit between their organizational goals and the goals of the initiative is evident. The Boise case shows this clearly; the city was able to mobilize broad-based community actors and develop a multi-layered structure as it has relatively narrow goals of refugee resettlement. Finally, the missions and roles of the key organization should be defined considering the local context to effectively leverage and mobilize community resources. When a multilayered and concentrated relationship is more appropriate, the key organization needs to be given more power to directly implement the initiative (Boise and Chicago); if more of a self-organizing flat network is considered to be more effective, the key organization needs to play the role of facilitator (Philadelphia); and if multiple organizations need to be in charge of the initiative, a centralized hub should be created to connect and support each organization's work (Austin).

Conclusion

This chapter investigating the emerging regimes in the four welcoming cities demonstrates that welcoming can have urban regimes that aim to address issues beyond growth politics may emerge by incorporating *potential* as well as existing community resources and civic capacity. This regime formation was possible because welcoming connects the goal of immigrant integration with the goal of economic growth within the context of a civic dialogue, which has been useful for mobilizing broader and diverse community members, especially during an economic downturn. With such regime formation, welcoming suggests that goals other than economic growth may be devised and attached to the goal of immigrant integration to mobilize community members. Because the welcoming city initiative is still new—even to the welcoming cities—future research needs to investigate this possibility of integrating other goals as a strategy to leverage civic capacity. We also will need to monitor the ongoing development of these emerging regimes. Focusing here on the regime creation driven by welcoming, the next chapter investigates immigrant incorporation achieved by welcoming more in depth.

CHAPTER 5

BUREAUCRATIC AND POLITICAL INCORPORATION OF NEWCOMERS

This chapter explores the third theme of this dissertation, which poses questions about the ways in which welcoming cities incorporate immigrants and newcomers and how such incorporation is conceived as contributing to the integration of newcomers. The incorporation and integration of newcomers may look different in each city since city governments highlight different dimensions of the welcoming city initiative, their governance structures for the initiative vary, and leaders exercise their influence in different manners. This implies that the welcoming city initiative may be based on diverse approaches to incorporate newcomers, which have varying influences on the ways that newcomers are integrated.

This investigation of incorporation and integration is different from the analysis in Chapter 4 in that this chapter tries to understand the ways in which incorporation is connected to integration. As I discussed in Chapter 4, the four city governments try to incorporate immigrants and newcomers into the governing arrangements around the welcoming city initiative as well as their community affairs more broadly. However, this effort for incorporation needs to be appreciated in terms of the longer-term goal of integration of immigrants and newcomers. Such commitment on the part of newcomers to adapt to life in their receiving community as well as on the part of non-immigrant residents to adapt to new people and cultures is conceived as contributing the integration, which is the final step of immigrant settlement (*Proposed model for the welcoming communities program: Information paper*, 2012). Furthermore, this investigation of

incorporation and integration shed light on a different side of asset development sought through welcoming in that incorporation and integration can be understood in terms of retaining immigrants and newcomers rather than attracting them. For example, welcoming efforts aim at not only attracting diverse assets of immigrants and newcomers but also at making these assets anchored in the receiving community by helping immigrants and newcomers be fully integrated and settled in the community.

Scholars of public administration, political science, and sociology have approached the topic of incorporation by focusing on the differences between political and bureaucratic incorporation; and the relationship between the two has long been a topic of scholarly interest (Barnard, 1938; Dahl, 1961; Marshall, 1964; Meier & O'Toole, 2006; Redford, 1969; Simon, 1997). In particular, there has been a debate in the literature about whether political incorporation precedes or follows bureaucratic incorporation. While traditional political incorporation theories consider electoral mobilization as the primary method for the incorporation of new groups, the literature of bureaucratic incorporation highlights bureaucrats' independent and discretionary role in promoting socioeconomic and political incorporation and focuses on the ways in which bureaucratic incorporation precedes, not follows, political incorporation. This idea of bureaucratic incorporation is more meaningful in the discussion of immigrant integration since many newcomers do not or cannot naturalize and cannot vote or participate in electoral politics (Jones-Correa, 1998; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2009; Wong, 2006), thus having fewer legal rights to be fully engaged and represented in their community affairs. In such situations, bureaucracies with strong service-oriented organizational missions

respond to immigrants in a more inclusive manner and help immigrants to be incorporated into their communities (Jones-Correa, 2005, 2008; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007).

In this chapter, I seek to understand how the city governments of Austin, Boise, Chicago, and Philadelphia utilize the welcoming city initiative and the governing arrangements of the cities as a platform for incorporation based on the concepts of bureaucratic incorporation and political incorporation. I first draw on the literature of political incorporation and bureaucratic incorporation and discuss the relationship between the two, focusing on which mode of incorporation is theorized to precede or follow the other. Based on this discussion and as well as my field experience, I develop a coding frame that includes two code groups of political incorporation and bureaucratic incorporation. Using this coding frame, I examine whether the welcoming city initiative of each city aims at bureaucratic incorporation and/or political incorporation and what this means for the integration of immigrants and newcomers.

The Debate between Political and Bureaucratic Incorporation

The debate between political incorporation and bureaucratic incorporation has framed a wealth of studies and has been used as an analytical lens to understand policies and practices for immigrant integration. For example, the studies focusing on immigrant integration find that bureaucratic ethos, organizational goals, and bureaucrats' professionalism, rather than political control over bureaucracies, better explain policy development and implementation supportive of immigrants (Jones-Correa, 2005; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2009; Williams, 2015). In this context, the welcoming

city initiative, which tends to be promoted by the mayors or political leaders of the welcoming cities as political vision but leaves sufficient room for bureaucrats' autonomy due to the lack of specific implementation plan, may suggest a new perspective to understand the process of bureaucratic and political incorporation of newcomers.

Political Control of Bureaucracy and Political Incorporation

Theories of political incorporation are rooted in principal-agent theory and assume goal conflict between politicians (principal) and bureaucrats (agent) (Hedge & Scicchitano, 1994; Waterman & Meier, 1998). In this principal-agent relationship bureaucrats are thought to be able to deviate from or even resist politicians' will or efforts because "every application of a law involves further elaboration of that law" (Frederickson, 1997, p. 99). Politicians worry about potential unequal effects of deviation or resistance and focus on accountability and political control issues of the administrative state that might be achieved through the hierarchical chain of command (Appleby, 1952; Brehm & Gates, 1999; Lipsky, 1980). Regarding this, scholars of political incorporation assert that a bureaucracy needs to be held in check by political forces and be responsive to political pressures for democratic governance (Browning, Marshall, & Tabb, 1984; Dahl, 1961). As Finer (1941) noted long ago, politicians should be able to provide a precise definition of their intent based on careful consideration of technical feasibility and to exercise frequent review of policy implementation. Furthermore, scholars of political incorporation argue that electoral politics is the primary means for incorporation and bureaucracies are "impediments to democratic participation" (Browning et al., 1984; Jones-Correa, 2005, p. 14). Given this, political incorporation is conceived as taking

place in two processes: 1) electoral mobilization and incorporation into political institutions and 2) political control over bureaucracies. For example, studies of political incorporation in the context urban governance suggest that growing electoral power among minorities can enhance their representativeness in local politics and, therefore, improve the ways in which local bureaucracies interact with minorities (Dahl, 1961; Meier, Juenke, Wrinkle, & Polinard, 2005; Saltzstein, 1989).

In terms of immigrant integration, this idea of political incorporation is persuasive to some extent considering that local bureaucracies have less room for autonomy because of the highly charged nature of the issues of immigration and immigrants (Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007). In this context, it becomes important to help newcomers gain legal and formal access to citizenship as formal citizenship status is a prerequisite condition for key electoral activities in many countries including the U.S. (Marshall, 1964; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). Emphasizing the representation and political incorporation of immigrants through electoral politics, scholars have focused on equal citizenship and political opportunity structures accessible to immigrants (Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005; Michon & Vermeulen, 2013; Norris, 1997). This approach to change the legal status of immigrants is in part based on the idea that naturalized immigrants, as human capital, can be better integrated into the receiving community since naturalization is discussed in terms of factors generating economic benefits for the receiving community (Borjas, 1985, 1999; Enchautegui & Giannarelli, 2015). Also, it is also related to the idea of creating a receptive environment for immigrant integration (De Jong & Steinmetz, 2004; Lester & Nguyen, 2016; Marrow,

2005; Prins & Toso, 2012; Sharp & Joslyn, 2008) since the efforts to promote naturalization focus on making the process of acquiring citizenship more accessible and providing administrative and financial aid to immigrants who want to naturalize. By providing immigrants with more opportunities for naturalization, immigrants are expected to more actively participate in their economic, political, and social lives and gain substantive political representation over time, thereby making bureaucracies accountable to immigrants under political oversight. In so doing, immigrants become legitimate constituents and more fully integrated into their community.

Bureaucratic Professionalism and Bureaucratic Incorporation

Although political incorporation theories highlight political control over bureaucracy through electoral politics, Meier and O'Toole (2006) pointed out the limitations of such theories, drawing on studies of public administration, bureaucratic politics, and organization theory. According to them, the idea of political control becomes meaningful only by knowing how a bureaucracy would act independent of political control, how bureaucratic discretion affects the exercise of political control, and how a public organization incorporates political control into its organizational goals and generates expected or desired outcomes. In other words, we can better understand the ways in which political incorporation and/or bureaucratic incorporation are manifested when we consider ethos and values of both political and bureaucratic institutions (Meier & O'Toole, 2006).

In this vein, scholars have explored the ways in which bureaucratic agencies exert a stronger influence on outputs and outcomes of public policies. Studies of bureaucratic

incorporation find that bureaucrats' discretion and professionalism explain the stronger influence of bureaucratic agencies. First, the discretionary decision making of a bureaucracy influences policy outputs and outcomes (Meier & O'Toole, 2006). Although bureaucrats follow rules and procedures set along the hierarchical chain of power, they are "continually laying down rules for the future and are continually determining what the law is, what it means in terms of action" (Appleby, 1949, p. 7). In other words, bureaucrats are in need of "adaptation of laws, rules, and procedures to the circumstances of cases" since rules and procedures can never universally fit each and every case and they only provide weak constraints on bureaucrats' judgment (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003, p. 10). Therefore, bureaucratic discretion is inevitable rather than merely prevalent (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003). While political incorporation theories problematize bureaucratic discretion because of its potential unequal effects, bureaucratic incorporation theories highlight its positive effects, suggesting bureaucratic agencies as a locus of incorporation. Given this discretionary decision making of bureaucracies, Meier and O'Toole (2006) even argue that successful political control over bureaucracy is just a result of the autonomous behavior of bureaucrats that is based on goal consensus.

Second, bureaucratic incorporation takes place because of bureaucratic professionalism, which derives from the positional and technical expertise of bureaucrats with respect to elected officials (Friedrich, 1940; Meier & O'Toole, 2006; M. Weber, 1946) and the reciprocal, not hierarchical, relationship between bureaucrats and politicians (Simon, 1997). Since bureaucrats have specialized knowledge about policies, they can hardly be out of the policy-making process and are considered a "main source of

policy initiative" (Long, 1962, p. 67). Actively engaging in the policy-making process, bureaucrats may provide knowledge that not only is rational and professional but also corresponds to democratic values. This implies that the primary control over administrative behavior is the values held by bureaucrats (Brehm & Gates, 1999; Dahl, 1956; Meier & O'Toole, 2006). In this regard, bureaucratic professionalism is expressed as bureaucratic culture or bureaucratic ethos, which is a "persistent patterned way of thinking about the central tasks within an organization" (Wilson, 1989, p. 91) and a "combination of professional norms, interest-group pressures, and situational imperatives" (Jones-Correa, 2005, p. 10). With bureaucratic ethos as well as bureaucratic discretion, bureaucracies may respond to the public's interests and preferences without a preceding cue from politicians, and bureaucratic incorporation takes place ahead of political incorporation.

The studies that look at immigrant integration in terms of bureaucratic incorporation discuss whether and how different level of bureaucratic discretion and professionalism generates different influences on immigrant integration (Jones-Correa, 2005; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2009). These studies commonly find that the organizational missions of bureaucratic agencies and the degree to which bureaucratic agencies exercise discretion shape the ways that bureaucrats interact with and respond to newcomers (Jones-Correa, 2005; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2009). In that bureaucrats can respond to newcomers in an inclusive manner because of their service-oriented missions or by making a discretionary decision favorable to newcomers, the integration of newcomers achieved by bureaucratic incorporation is based on the idea of

developing receptive attitudes or favorable administrative practices towards newcomers who consist another set of clients.

In addition, the studies of bureaucratic incorporation of newcomers point out that bureaucratic discretion is still influenced and limited by political context and broader government policies (Jones-Correa, 2005; Marrow, 2009; Meier & O'Toole, 2006). The political context and government policies set rules of the game through which bureaucrats interpret their discretion and professional norm to be applied to their administrative behavior in a consistent way. For example, Marrow (2009) found that bureaucracies have more discretion to formulate and implement their own policies when there is no overarching government policy. This implies that receptive attitudes of bureaucratic agencies are encouraged or discouraged by broader political forces and government policies. Therefore, the ways in which immigrant integration takes place is defined by the interaction between bureaucratic discretion and professionalism and political context of government policies.

Welcoming for Political Incorporation or Bureaucratic Incorporation?

According to political incorporation theories, the incorporation of newcomers occurs when newcomers accumulate resources and are able to be mobilized in electoral politics (Dahl, 1961; Jones-Correa, 2005). However, the regime analysis of the governing arrangements around the welcoming city initiative showed that newcomers gain access to governing coalitions even when they did not accumulate actual resources to be a regime partner and only have the potential capacity. This is possible because the city governments believe that immigrants and newcomers can achieve their full potential and

contribute to their community by gaining access to the governing arrangements and making their problems and difficulties recognized by their governments and community. This implies the integration of newcomers occurs through the welcoming city initiative in two processes: On the one hand, welcoming seeks integration by encouraging bureaucrats who interact with immigrants and newcomers respond to them with receptive attitude; on the other hand, the mayors or political leaders might adopt the initiative seeking the integration based on the political incorporation of newcomers as a longer-term outcome, which requires naturalization of immigrants, their achievement of full potential, and their representation in electoral politics. In addition, the continuation and evolution of the governing coalitions may suggest that bureaucratic incorporation may occur as bureaucrats consider that they have the same goals with politicians and understand their organizational goals more explicitly in the context of welcoming with the help of political efforts to incorporate immigrants and newcomers.

The following section analyzes the ways in which these two modes of incorporation are exercised for the integration of newcomers through the welcoming city initiative.

A Coding Frame for Bureaucratic and Political Incorporation

This chapter conducts the directed content analysis used by the previous two chapters. Developing a coding frame, I include two code groups of political incorporation and bureaucratic incorporation. The code group of political incorporation is divided into two subgroups of 1) electoral politics and 2) political control over bureaucracy; and the code group of bureaucratic incorporation into 1) bureaucratic discretion and 2)

bureaucratic professionalism (see Table 17). The codes under each group are drawn from the literature discussed above as well as my field experience.

Table 17
A Coding Frame for Bureaucratic and Political Incorporation

Bureaucratic Incorporation		Political Incorporation	
Bureaucratic Discretion	Bureaucratic Professionalism	Electoral Politics	Political Control over Bureaucracy
• Autonomy • Adaptation of laws, rules, and procedures • Goal consensus • No overarching policy	• Broader political context • Bureaucratic culture/ethos • Client • Expertise • Organizational goals/missions • Positional information • Reciprocal relationship • Resource allocation • Service provision	• Citizenship/ Naturalization • Electoral activity (e.g. voting) • Electoral mobilization • Engagement of immigrants • Representation	• Accountability • Direction • Goal conflict • Hierarchical chain of power • Political cue • Politicians' will/vision • Principal-agent • Responsive bureaucracy

Welcoming and the Incorporation of Newcomers

A wealth of studies has found that the incorporation of newcomers is affected by political leadership and politicians' vision as well as bureaucratic ethos and bureaucrats' discretionary decision making (Brettell, 2008; Marrow, 2009; Odem, 2008; Price & Singer, 2008; Williams, 2015). In a similar vein, this section investigates whether and how the welcoming city initiative promotes political and/or bureaucratic incorporation to integrate newcomers.

Political Incorporation through the Welcoming City Initiative

According to the theories of political incorporation, a political cue from political leadership is important as it directs and shapes the ways in which bureaucracies work in accordance with politicians' vision and will by providing bureaucrats with information about political leaders' issue positions and their future behavior in office (Conover, 1981; Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007). While politicians send diverse forms of cues through legislation, policy initiatives, or electoral campaigns, bureaucrats also determine which will serve as cues (Chaney & Saltzstein, 1998; Conover, 1981). Regarding this, I first investigate the political cues for the welcoming city initiative, which have been provided by the political leaders and recognized by the bureaucrats of the welcoming cities. Then I seek to understand what kind of political efforts ensue following the political cues and how the political cues and political efforts affect bureaucratic agencies to incorporate newcomers into their communities.

Political cues. In the previous chapter, I discussed the importance of mayoral leadership in mobilizing civic capacity to develop and implement the welcoming city initiative. The mayors of Boise, Chicago, and Philadelphia exercised their leadership to promote the initiative in diverse ways by creating a mayor's office related to immigrant affairs, actively engaging in the process of developing the welcoming city initiative, and sending messages about welcoming newcomers to the entire community. Furthermore, COIA of Austin was able to send a political cue through the city council as a commission working for the city council. The following analysis shows that the four cities made the case for the existence of political cues, although the strength of the cues varies by cities.

In the case of Austin, an initial cue was made by COIA and a formal cue came from the city council. Since COIA has no organizational authority to send out such a political cue, COIA tried to have the city council recognize the importance of immigrant integration and act on that recognition. A staff member of COIA explained this process clearly:

> [The welcoming city initiative] was born from the Commission on Immigrant Affairs. We made a recommendation for Council to engage stakeholders and discuss what welcoming looks like in our community.

Following the recommendation, the city council passed a resolution (Resolution No. 20140320-049) and declared that Austin is a welcoming city. The economic development department of the city perceived this resolution as "direction from the city council" that put emphasis on the welcoming city initiative (The City of Austin Economic Development Department, personal communication, May 15, 2015). However, this kind of political cue was not strong enough for COIA to exercise sufficient political control over the work of the bureaucratic agencies as the resolution was developed in a less effective way that did not include any budget to implement the initiative. The staff of economic development department points this out:

> We've gotten some direction from Council, but I think the direction was just making sure that we are a welcoming city, and then having this commission [COIA] define what are the needs to be able to establish the city as a welcoming city. And because we do have limited resources for this type of activity, we're trying to match by sponsoring or supporting the welcoming city initiative however we feasibly can.

Contrary to this weak political cue, the mayors of the other three cities were successful in sending a relatively strong message to promote the welcoming city initiative. While Boise communities took a bottom-up approach to developing the initiative by bringing about their concerns about increasing refugees, it was the mayor who provided a formal cue by convening the initial stakeholder meeting. A city government official involved with the initiative elaborated on this:

> Decision was made at this level from the top, at the mayor's office, to say, "We believe in diversity, we believe in being a welcoming place, we believe in, again, the vibrancy and value that immigrants bring to our community. Let's find a way to better knit together what we have so that we can adequately and successfully integrate refugees into our community." That got started, again, probably 5 years ago.
>
> Sometimes the power that lies within city government is not with writing a check or providing material goods. It's the power of a mayor, of the city council, of officials to convene a group and say, "As a community, we value this. What can we all do to further it?" Sometimes that's the best thing you can do to not only highlight a group but to make them last and make them sustainable.

Similarly, the mayor of Chicago convened an advisory committee to formulate the city's welcoming city initiative and proclaimed his commitment to the initiative ("New Americans Plan," 2012). Regarding this, a former advisory committee member commented:

> I know when the mayor was still fairly new, he made a statement that he wanted Chicago to be the most immigrant-friendly city in the world. I think it [the welcoming city initiative] all started from that.

Also, the staff of Chicago Public Schools acknowledged that the mayor has made meaningful efforts to make sure they are in a welcoming city (Chicago Public Schools,

personal communication, March 21, 2016). The city of Philadelphia has a similar narrative and a staff member of MOIMA explained the political context that was possible for the creation of the office and the welcoming city initiative:

> There was a real interest for the city of Philadelphia in population growth. So mayor Nutter when he came into office back in 2008, he said one of his goals was to return the city to a population growth sort of mode or trend. And the city council in the city of Philadelphia is very immigrant friendly and supports the community. The mayor sees that the contribution of the immigrants in the city to the population growth, to the economic, and social, and cultural vitality, so he created the office.

Political efforts for incorporation. The mayors and the leading organization of the welcoming city initiative sent these political cues because they recognize the contribution brought by newcomers and want to retain and attract newcomers and their assets. This implies that the political leaders consider newcomers as their constituents who are under the influence of local politics and policies and who share a key part in urban economic growth and development, rather than a "passing phenomenon" (Alexander, 2003, p. 415). Regarding this, the mayors and the leading organizations of the four cities have developed the welcoming city initiative to better serve newcomers so that they settle in the cities and contribute to the long-term urban economic growth and development. In addition, the political leaders find ways to represent newcomers' voices by promoting naturalization of immigrants through the welcoming city initiative as naturalization not only leads to the creation of a more stable constituency made of immigrants but also contributes to urban economic growth and development by giving immigrants legal rights to access more diverse government services and participate in community affairs. Furthermore, the political leaders expect that the welcoming city

initiative will provide alternative ways to help newcomers, even undocumented ones, participate in city politics and gain better access to city services regardless of their citizenship status.

While the political leaders and the leading organizations of the welcoming city initiative across these four cities share the importance of promoting naturalization, Chicago stands out as the city frames the importance in multiple ways. In general, naturalization is considered in relation to making a cohesive community where immigrants are formally accepted as the city's constituents. As an extension, naturalization is framed in terms of helping immigrants have more opportunities to be involved in their community affairs. A staff member of the Office of New Americans explained this as follows:

> The mayor holds the naturalization ceremony with USCIS. He's there and he talks about the importance of immigrant contributions. So it's good for the new Americans who are becoming citizens, but it's also good when we attract press there because it highlights to the city as a whole, that this is something that we're very proud of and we want to celebrate.
>
> I think it's a welcoming message. It's like, "This city is yours. You should take pride in it and invest in it." Civic engagement, I think, sends that message, by empowering people to become invested in their community.

Promoting naturalization is also considered as a way to improve immigrants' economic lives as well as communities' economy. Highlighting this aspect of naturalization, the mayor has been outspoken about the economic benefits that naturalized immigrants provide to the communities as well as they get from naturalization. In the citizenship ceremony held in 2012, the mayor commented:

> As we build a 21st century economy, we must work together to attract and retain immigrants by helping them to succeed and grow in a safe and welcoming city. I am committed to making Chicago the most immigrant-friendly city in the world by ensuring that every law-abiding Chicagoan has access to the resources they need to become productive members of society and contribute to our thriving global city. (Mayor's Press Office, 2012)

Also, launching Cities for Citizenship (C4C) Initiative with the mayors of New York City and Los Angeles in 2014, the mayor of Chicago said "Immigrants who become naturalized citizens make significant contributions to our communities, our city, and our country and it's in our collective interest to promote naturalization in Chicago" (Mayor's Press Office, 2014). Describing the C4C meeting in 2015, a staff member of the Office of New Americans also pointed out the economic influences of naturalization:

> There's a whole economic impact study that was done of potential economic contributions that could be made if we were to help naturalize x number of people in our respective cities.

In this way of highlighting the importance of naturalization, the city frames naturalization as creating mutual obligations and responsibilities for the wealth of the city as a whole; given citizenship status, immigrants are expected to play a key part in urban economic growth as citizens and community members.

Boise shares a feature with Chicago in that naturalization is understood as contributing to a cohesive society in which refugees are legitimate members of their communities. Although naturalization is not included in the Neighbors United plan, it is promoted by another forum called the "Idaho Network for New Americans" and the citizenship ceremony has been part of Boise's celebration of World Refugee Day, which is hosted by IOR (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015). In this process,

naturalization is conceived as a tool to make a more united community, rather than one divided by unease toward refugees. An IOR staff member elaborated on this:

> Every new citizen I've ever met is incredibly proud of that and feels like this is a huge step in becoming American, becoming a part of my community, that "I'm no longer a foreigner. I'm an American citizen now." It's very meaningful for people, so I think it's an incredibly important part of integration, civic integration.

Similarly, the city council president attending to the citizenship ceremony in 2015 commented: "it's very healing moment for all of us" (Loveless, 2015). This shows that refugees and longer-term residents share understanding that refugees become able to participate in formal decision making of their community by attaining citizenship.

In the case of Philadelphia, naturalization is framed in two ways: providing immigrants opportunities to participate in electoral politics and to secure their social and economic lives as residents of the city ("MOIMA's strategic role," n.d.). This implies that the city's efforts to promote naturalization are based on the idea that citizenship is necessary for participating in major electoral activities and gaining access to government services. A member of America Immigration Council (AIC), who is affiliated with the American Immigration Lawyers Association (AILA), explained this as follow:

> First, being able to vote that's really important particularly when there are candidates out there who are really coming hard against certain groups and certain freedoms that we have. So for immigrants having an active voice in who is in office is really important right now. Beyond that, there are certain issues people can face when they're not citizens such as if they get charged with certain crimes or leave the country for a certain amount of time there's just a lot of little things that could still come up even if someone has been lawful permanent resident here for many years. For us, we like them to get that security in place. If they have the intent of staying here it's a really good idea just to naturalize so they can really participate and vote and they're not worrying about certain issues that come up.

In this context, MOIMA has promoted a citywide campaign for naturalization and citizenship in connection to the C4C initiative, in which the city has participated, with community leaders, city agencies, faith-based groups, and immigrant right groups as well as with the support of the city mayor (MOIMA, personal communication, May 20, 2015). Along with this campaign, the city of Philadelphia has joined another local initiative, Citizenship Day, and the current mayor, elected in 2016, has shown for this initiative. A member of AIC who has been involved in Citizenship Day as a member of AILA expressed this:

> Having Mayor Kenney there is really helpful to the extent he is willing to listen and come up with ideas. Having that outspoken support empowers advocates to be able to push the boundaries a little more and be able to have protests of certain things and speak out a little more.

Promoting naturalization is less sought by the city of Austin as the city is in the initial stage of developing the welcoming city initiative; COIA made the first step in 2014 by hosting United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) representatives to discuss collaborative efforts between USCIS and the city to help immigrants better understand the citizenship process (COIA, 2014). While a few discussions have been held, one elected official who participated in the citywide survey as an interviewee said that citizenship is an important issue in accessing city services:

> Most of the social services are welcoming, but there isn't anything written or a policy stating such. Questions are raised about citizenship and you get the impression that if you aren't a citizen you don't get services. (Coff et al., 2015, p. 29)

However, the lack of discussion around naturalization does not mean that the political leaders do not care about representing newcomers. Rather, they are concerned about finding new ways in which newcomers without citizenship, even undocumented ones, can make their voice heard and gain access to city government services and community affairs. One elected official expressed concern about the limited representation of newcomers saying, "I'm hearing mostly from educated and entrepreneurial immigrants and bicultural folk, but I'm not hearing from more recent immigrants" (Coff et al., 2015, p. 56). In this regard, one elected official recommended a different approach to engaging non-naturalized immigrants through the survey:

> We need to take a different route towards engaging non-naturalized residents and helping them understand there are ways to be engaged beyond voting. It's going to take deliberate work to fund the infrastructure needed to get people involved and engaged in livelier debate around civic issues beyond immigrant-specific issues. (Coff et al., 2015, p. 57)

Although the city does not have a specific plan to develop such infrastructure, it remains to be seen whether this recommendation will be part of the city's future welcoming city initiative, which is in the initial stage of development.

Political control and immigrant incorporation. The efforts to promote naturalization of newcomers and to engage them with community affairs aim to make newcomers' voice heard and represented, thereby giving them opportunities to contribute to their communities. In this regard, the political leaders of the four cities try to accomplish their will or vision to be more responsive to immigrants and to incorporate immigrants by directing the ways in which bureaucratic agencies operate. In that political control over bureaucracy occurs mainly through a hierarchical chain of power, successful

political control hinges on the strong leadership of elected officials at the top of the chain and the overall governance structure. Given this, it is expected that the four cities depict different paths of political control over bureaucratic agencies and for immigrant incorporation because of the variance in mayoral leadership and governance structure of the welcoming city initiative.

The centralized structure of Chicago works for the mayor to accomplish his vision for immigrant incorporation. The mayor seeks to influence the ways in which bureaucratic agencies work to incorporate newcomers by creating the Office of New Americans. A staff member of the Office of New Americans in Chicago explained how the centralized structure generates meaningful impacts on the ways in which government departments implement the welcoming city initiative:

> I say that it's important that we're here because if we had our old department elsewhere, we were siloed off. It would be a lot harder for that department to go to another department and say, "Do this." It just doesn't work that way. It's like whereas this is something that the mayor makes a priority, therefore we're going to make it happen. That's how we work with the departments. It's just very centralized system.
>
> I think [the outcome] is just a change in the way we have our departments thinking now and the way that programs are implemented. We don't have departments moving forward with the plan without asking us now because we want to make sure the immigrant community is kept in line. I think that's a really important change from a city perspective, government perspective. It's like, "How are we addressing the needs of this population?" Knowing that there are specific barriers or considerations that we need to keep in mind and the fact that we have an office, it's not just an important resource for the city as a whole, not just for departments, but for service providers and for residents. Even though we're fairly new we really accomplished so much and I think it inspires people to want to do more knowing that there's a lot of room for growth within this office.

The staff of Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR), one of the major partner organizations of the Office, shared this understanding of the Office:

> I think that the response of the Office of New Americans is a direct response to the immigrant communities' assertion. It's a reflection of the political reality that immigrants make up the significant portion of the electorate in Chicago as well as being key economic contributors to the lifeblood of the city.

In a similar sense, the mayor of Philadelphia empowers MOIMA to play a key role in the welcoming city initiative. However, the ways in which MOIMA exercises this empowered ability is different from the Office of New Americans of Chicago since MOIMA plays the role of facilitator and convener rather than a director. In so doing, it works to be responsive to the needs of immigrants by helping them find the currently available city services and community resources and by making the hardship of immigrants more visible to the city departments. A staff member of MOIMA explained this as follows:

> Think of us as a convener and think of us as a technical assistance provider. If an immigrant community or an immigrant group is having challenges or has some identified needs, they can come to our office and we'll bring together the different departments, different stakeholders that can work with them and help them. For example the Bhutanese community—this is an emerging community in the city of Philadelphia—this is a community that has a pretty strong leadership, but they need help in accessing resources. We brought art organizations, sports organizations, city departments, health and human services. We brought them all together, some leadership and stakeholders. We had the Bhutanese leadership talk about their history, how they migrated, what their conditions were, what their needs were. Out of that, they were able to develop relationships and bring resources to their community. More recently they came back because the Bhutanese community is experiencing a rather elevated rate of suicides. There is a deep isolation in their community and they're trying to figure out what to do about that and so we will be bringing again stakeholders together. We have identified a number of nonprofits and city departments that we think can be really

> critical in helping them work through this problem, so we'll be doing that with them.
>
> For example language access, we bring together stakeholders and the police department on a monthly basis to really help the police department improve their language access and their relationship with immigrant communities.
>
> Our office works with the different offices to help them think about how to better serve and how to better communicate with the immigrant communities.

These examples show that MOIMA indicates specific problems or needs that bureaucratic agencies should deal with and arranges the setting where bureaucratic agencies directly communicate with immigrant communities in an immigrant-friendly way and provide their existing resources and services to immigrants. In this way, the office adopts a less hierarchical path to making bureaucratic agencies accountable to the needs of immigrant communities.

Contrary to Chicago and Philadelphia, the other two cities show that political control is less meaningful for the operation of the welcoming city initiative. In the case of Boise, the city generated a multi-layered structure with the mayor at the top. The mayor has participated in the planning team and steering committee and sent out strong messages highlighting immigrants' contribution to the economic and social vitality of their community (IOR, personal communication, June 19, 2015; The City of Boise, personal communication, June 18, 2015). This indicates that the mayor in a position where he can exercise his power to accomplish his political will. However, at the same time, the director of IOR takes the same position. Because IOR works as the administrative office of the refugee settlement program in Idaho and has own organizational mission and goals, which tend to be based on a humanitarian approach, the

mayor needs to collaborate with IOR and may incorporate humanitarianism into his vision as a result of the collaboration. Furthermore, in the lower levels of the governance structure, diverse community actors in and out of the city government collaborate on the development and implementation of the Neighbors United plan. These actors actively bring their ideas to the table and try to make the needs of refugees they have observed and coped with better treated by the plan. This implies that implementation, which seems to be in line with the mayor's political will or vision, may be a result of goal consensus among the actors rather than a response to the mayor's direction. This leaves room for bureaucratic incorporation, which will be discussed in the following section.

In the case of Austin, the city does not have a hierarchical chain that starts from the city council or COIA although these two are mainly responsible for directing the work of bureaucratic agencies to be accountable to newcomers. In addition, the dual-core structure of COIA and the economic development department generates goal conflict between these two institutions, which is not conducive to political control even in a situation where a hierarchical chain of power exists. This situation has resulted in the lack of an overall plan for the city's welcoming city initiative and left sufficient room for bureaucratic discretion, discussed in the following section, thereby making the political cue given by COIA and the city council less successful for leading government agencies toward COIA's goals.

Bureaucratic Incorporation through the Welcoming City Initiative

Among other reasons, bureaucratic agencies make discretionary decisions when they have no overarching policy, ambiguous rules, responsibility exceeding their

resources because they need to set their own priorities (Lewis & Ramakrishnan, 2007; Marrow, 2009; Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2003). In such situations, bureaucratic agencies try to respond to the needs of their constituents or clients within the boundaries of their organizational goals, norms, and resources. Put differently, bureaucratic agencies exercise their discretion to the extent that it is allowed by overall government policy, broader political context, bureaucratic ethos, and expertise. This bureaucratic discretion generates different influences on immigrant incorporation because discretion varies by each case and depends on the context surrounding each bureaucratic agency.

The above analysis of Austin suggests that bureaucratic incorporation may be possible because of the goal conflict and lack of leadership. The other three cities also provide room for bureaucratic incorporation since the welcoming city initiative is implemented by diverse bureaucratic agencies that bring different ideas and goals to the table and the incorporation of newcomers aims at documented as well as undocumented immigrants, neither of who can participate in formal electoral politics.

In this regard, the following section investigates the ways in which bureaucratic agencies promote the incorporation of newcomers, focusing on the concepts of discretion and professionalism. This investigation aims at finding distinct features of bureaucratic incorporation in each city since bureaucratic incorporation is a case-specific phenomenon. Given this, the following section discusses the circumstances that the bureaucratic agencies in four cities face and the ways in which the agencies exercise their discretion and act on their bureaucratic ethos to be more or less responsive and accountable to newcomers.

Goal discrepancy and less incorporation. Since Austin is in the initial stage of developing its welcoming city initiative, the city lacks an overarching policy to direct the work of the city government agencies. Recognizing this, one elected official commented in the survey, "If we were welcoming we would have a game plan to make sure we do everything we can. No known game plan is a missing piece. Something should be done." (Coff et al., 2015, p. 23). This lack of sufficient policy guidance entails limited resources to implement the initiative that have been experienced by the economic development department, one of the leading organizations of the welcoming city initiative in Austin. A staff member of the city's economic development department explained the problem of limited resources:

> I noticed that the budget that we have, compared to a lot of cities, is a little bit off. They have an entire department that's structured within the city that is for just welcoming immigrants. Not that it's bad, but we have two or three people working on the project, as opposed to like Michigan. They have an entire office devoted to it and six people working on the project, which is a lot. It's just not for us.

In this circumstance, the department tries to respond to the direction that it got from the city council within the bounds of organizational resources:

> And because we do have limited resources for this type of activity, we're trying to match by sponsoring or supporting the welcoming city initiative however we feasibly can.

Although it is hard to judge the limit of the department's feasibility to support the welcoming city initiative, the feasibility is likely to be low considering the limited monetary and human resource available to the initiative. This can discourage the political

vision set by COIA, another leading agency, and result in less meaningful outcomes in terms of immigrant incorporation. For example, providing immigrant entrepreneurs with more accessible services can be approached by the two agencies in different ways. On the one hand, COIA wants more proactive efforts to promote immigrant entrepreneurship:

> In terms of the city, I can give you a statistic, 25% of new entrepreneurs are immigrants in the city of Austin. That speaks for itself. In that sense, the very fact that immigrating is a risk, it is a risk. And immigrating successfully demonstrates resilience. Why wouldn't you want to add that resilience to your community?

This idea was also shared by one elected official who participated in the survey highlighted the necessity of new government services: "There are a lot of immigrants run businesses but we have ways to go as far as…educating these small businesses on codes, ordinances, and compliances." (Coff et al., 2015, p. 52). On the other hand, the economic development department tries to respond to the broader population of the city in terms of workforce development, which is more attuned to the department's overall goal.

> I don't think it takes a lot to have to invest in creating a program for welcoming. I don't think that we've had much of a budget. It's a matter of relying on those partners to be exhaustive and what it is that does actually welcome someone who's new to the city. I don't face a lot of those economic barriers, but I moved here, and I had to learn a lot of those things on my own. The goal here is to reduce those barriers. We're talking about some basic outreach. I don't think it requires a huge amount of investment, but it does require some investment if it is that these individuals [immigrants] are a priority and you see an opportunity for those individuals within your city or within your jurisdiction. We're at the point in our history where we do have to address all of the individuals who are living here because right now we're at, what, 4%, probably less than 4% in unemployment, and 2% of that 4% are undeclared individuals. When you've got as many jobs available and you've got the amount of growth available in a market such as Austin, you're looking for those individuals to be a part of your economy. It is a strong focus for us. Even though we haven't been able to target a lot of money towards the effort, I think that we've been pretty efficient in what we've been able to provide as a city.

This discrepancy of goals between two agencies shows that the bureaucratic discretion of the economic development department may weaken the COIA's vision of the welcoming city initiative to respond to newcomers' interests.

Selective bureaucratic incorporation. The city of Boise developed a multi-layered structure to develop and implement its welcoming city initiative. At the top of the structure, the mayor of the city and the director of IOR participate and they play the key role in the development and implementation of the initiative. This structure provides an institutional setting that none of two dominates the process and accomplishes one's own will or vision. In this setting, the decision made at the higher levels of the structure is based on goal consensus rather than following one side's direction. Since IOR works to help refugees' successful resettlement in Idaho communities, the goal consensus at the higher levels is meaningful for the incorporation of newcomers. The way in which an influential figure at IOR defines welcoming also implicitly supports how the goal consensus will have a positive impact on the incorporation:

> My personal definition of "welcoming" is really related to my belief that every human being has value. As human, Homo sapiens, our species should be really much more integrated than we really are. "Welcoming," I think, is based on the identification of a person as someone that is attached or connected to you. I believe that that's the essence is that we welcome because you're a person, because you're a value, because of your basic humanity. "Welcoming" is really a process of getting beyond that sense of "we and they," but incorporating, including everyone as a person who has value and talents that we need to promote. To me, the most effective integration is really a matter of creating opportunities for people to achieve their full potential and not limiting any, anyone in our community based on a perception that there's something different about them.

Moving down the lower levels of the structure, the goal set by the higher-level participants tends to be kept in place, but the sub-committees, which are directly involved in the implementation of the welcoming city initiative on the ground level, can decide the ways in which their work is done. For example, the adult education committee continued their monthly meeting when the other committees stopped doing so due to the vacancy of a facilitator and participated in the annual Adult Education Conference to identify and share best practices for language program (IOR, personal communication, June 18, 2015). This autonomous behavior makes the initiative remain current and alive, thereby generating positive influence on the incorporation of refugees.

Furthermore, the six committees have room to use their discretion to put priority on and change/add the action items that they need to implement; they can focus on specific areas first then the others, and make suggestions to revise the action items although they are required to follow the guidance made by the steering committee and implement all the action items. According to the progress reports released by IOR in 2014, the committees did not touch every action item in the refugee resettlement plan of 2012 and described the areas that need improvement. For example, the report of employment committee shows that the committee found a new task to increase refugees' employment opportunities by indicating "Job placement after OJT is complete takes communication and coordination from the OJT sites and the organization/agency working on job placement. This is an area that could be improved." (Wolfson & Rux, 2014, p. 3). In addition, the same report depicts the implementation does not follow the directed process: "Although we have completed the first phase of our employment and training

resource guide, this project has stalled. We need to figure out how to reignite this activity." (Wolfson & Rux, 2014, p. 4).

All in all, the implementation process suggests that the discretionary decision made by the committees can work in both to encourage and retard the incorporation of newcomers.

Circumscribed bureaucratic incorporation. Although the bureaucratic agencies of Chicago are or seem to be in line with the mayor's and the Office of New American's vision and efforts, the implementation of the welcoming city initiative demonstrates how bureaucratic agencies exercise or hope to exercise their discretion to better respond to the needs of immigrants.

This is well illustrated by the ways in which Dream Clubs operate. Dream Clubs are part of Chicago's New Americans Plan and the clubs are in different high schools, where undocumented students and their allies come together to collaborate on and advocate around the issues faced by undocumented students. Although a staff member of the Office of New Americans explained that the office worked with Chicago Public Schools (CPS) and "actually helped the schools set up" Dream Clubs (The Mayor's Office of New Americans, May 28, 2015), the staff of CPS who works at the Office of Family and Community Engagement describes the implementation process in a different way:

> Our office has collaborated with the Office of New Americans at a number of conferences and workshops. They've helped us coordinate as far as the logistics and venues across the city to create wide events. For CPS, I want to say there weren't any specific initiatives in terms of us being directly involved in the New Americans Plan.

> The Dream Clubs are actually organized in different schools. Every school is different. They create their own powers of practices and how they want to engage with that student population. They're the ones that set up the Dream Club and then organize students.

This example shows that the street-level bureaucracies and bureaucrats have their own perspective on the ways in which the programs under the New Americans Plan are operated and, therefore, the extent to which immigrants and newcomers are incorporated.

In a similar vein, the staff of CPS, who works at the office of language and cultural education and directly communicated with the Office of New Americans, talked about how bureaucratic discretion can be used to be more responsive to immigrants, especially undocumented ones.

> We had not known how many undocumented students we have. We can estimate things but because we don't ask and we're not allowed to, where we once were, the immigration status of our students, we're not able to know how many undocumented students that are out there in our district. The relationship [with the Office of New Americans] is great. I wish we had more information to share with one another. It's so difficult.
>
> Perhaps one of the things that I have noticed here is that there are like two different groups of undocumented immigrant students in Chicago. First, there's the Latino population that's very strong and outspoken about their situation. Those are the students that we see being very active in their schools and the community addressing issues of discrimination and social injustice. And then there's the non-Latino undocumented immigrant population, you know, students from all across Africa, Europe, and Asia who are very, very quiet about their situation and unfortunately, it prevents us from advocating for them sometimes because they don't come out of the shadows like the Latino undocumented students. So without them publicly acknowledging, recognizing the situation, there's very little that we can do, unfortunately.

This suggests that bureaucrats are in need of more discretion to be accountable to their constituents. Furthermore, the bureaucrats' behavior that seems to be in line with the

vision of political leaders may be a result of the influence of broader political and legal context rather than political control.

Bureaucratic professionalism and incorporation. One of the reasons why MOIMA can work as a convener is that the city has abundant resources in both the public and private sectors for immigrant integration. Regarding this, MOIMA helps immigrants build relationships with the city departments and reduce their difficulties. This implies that the city departments have developed practices to be more responsive to immigrants prior to the calls of MOIMA. A leader at MOIMA talked about this:

> The city of Philadelphia, the Commerce Department already has I would say a fairly successful immigrant sort of strategy. They had a program in which they used AmeriCorps VISTA for a number of years to go out and become the liaison between the Sidney and immigrant entrepreneurs in our commercial quarters. They sort of bridged the relationships and try to be culturally sensitive and bring resources to the immigrant community.
>
> They worked with licensing and inspection, health, to try and help them because the public health department would be shutting them down. They worked with the health department in terms of, for example, creating a simplified version of food start-up requirements. It's very difficult to start a business in the city of Philadelphia and the forms are very complicated, so the health department with licensing and inspections and the commerce department simplified the process to start a food business in a very graphic, rich booklet.
>
> The commerce department provides grants to technical assistance providers and they have intentionally focused their grants to technical assistance providers that focus on immigrant communities. For example, there are a number of these technical assistance providers that also have micro loan programs that are targeted to immigrant communities. The commerce department has recently partnered with Kiva [Kiva City program] to do another microlending as well. That's sort of the strategy.

These efforts of the commerce department are based on its organizational goals and mission to support economic activities of minority-, women-, and disabled-owned

businesses (Commerce Department, n.d.), which are prior to the political cue encouraging such efforts. Although the adoption of the welcoming city initiative and the creation of MOIMA can promote the implementation of those previously developed programs or suggest new programs that can be added to existing programs, the incorporation of immigrants may take place through the interaction with the bureaucrats who actually provide the services to them.

Political and Bureaucratic Incorporation and Integration of Newcomers

The analysis above shows that the four welcoming cities commonly incorporate both processes of political and bureaucratic incorporation. In addition, the analysis also finds the variances in the ways in which each city incorporates newcomers through political and bureaucratic incorporation. Given this, the following section elaborates on what the political and bureaucratic incorporation means for the integration of newcomers.

On Political and Bureaucratic Incorporation

The investigation of political and bureaucratic incorporation occurring through the welcoming city initiative in these four cities finds that the initiative, in part, promotes the political incorporation of newcomers. In the process of promoting political incorporation, political cues play an important role in that political cues draw attention to the policy initiative that political leaders are interested in. The city governments examined were able to start the welcoming city initiative because they sent political cues to the actors who are closely or potentially involved in the initiative. Furthermore, the analysis finds that it is also important who sends the cue; the more positional power the sender has, the greater influence entails. The strong leadership of Boise, Chicago, and

Philadelphia was more conducive to spreading a new norm of welcoming to their communities than the case of Austin.

Along with the importance of political cues, this analysis supports previous studies that highlight the influence of an overarching government policy as a rule of the game (Marrow, 2009; Meier & O'Toole, 2006). The analysis finds that political cues are not enough for successful political incorporation of newcomers; what is more important is an overarching policy that includes plans for resource allocation for the initiative. Unless political cues or messages are actualized into an implementable policy plan, it is hard to expect the political vision on which the cues and messages are built to direct the implementation of a policy initiative. This argument can be supported by the case of Austin where the lack of resources generated goal discrepancy between the leading organizations and made it hard to ensure political control over the bureaucracy.

Based on the strong political cue and relatively specific policy plan, the city of Chicago made the case that the incorporation of immigrants can be led by political incorporation. The city government held that immigrants and newcomers make up a constituency and put the efforts to make immigrants and newcomers stable constituents who have legal rights to participate in electoral politics, access government services, and engage in community affairs. In so doing, political leadership has been exercised to influence the implementation process of bureaucratic agencies, expecting more responsive and accountable implementation of the welcoming city initiative.

The case of Philadelphia also showed a strong political cue and entailed efforts to promote naturalization of immigrants. In addition, the city suggested that political

incorporation and bureaucratic incorporation could work together. Since the welcoming city initiative is relatively new, its implementation requires the existing capacity of the city departments. Put differently, the mayor and MOIMA need to build a reciprocal relationship, rather than principal-agent relationship, with the city departments and agencies to utilize different positional power of both political and administrative sides (Simon, 1997); they consider that the bureaucratic discretion and professionalism are necessary for the implementation of the welcoming city initiative. In this situation, MOIMA works as convener in its flat and open governance structure and directly and indirectly influences the bureaucratic ethos of the government agencies to incorporate the norm of welcoming, while it opens space for bureaucratic discretion and professionalism. In this process, the welcoming city initiative promotes the political incorporation as well as bureaucratic incorporation of newcomers.

In a similar vein, the case of Boise showed that the welcoming city initiative could be aimed to political as well as bureaucratic incorporation based on the goal consensus among the participants of the initiative. The analysis also shows that bureaucratic agencies implementing the welcoming city initiative become more or less responsive to immigrants and newcomers. My findings on the selective bureaucratic incorporation in Boise suggests that bureaucratic incorporation may occur along a different path, even in the same organization that works for the same goal because sub-groups in a bureaucratic organization may interpret the organizational goal in different ways and exert their own priorities in the implementation process. This raises questions about previous studies that found service-oriented bureaucracies' responsiveness towards

immigrants (Jones-Correa, 2005; Marrow, 2009) and calls for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between bureaucratic ethos and bureaucracies' responsiveness towards immigrants.

The Integration of Newcomers through the Welcoming City Initiative

The finding that the welcoming city initiative promotes both political and bureaucratic incorporation is in line with research on immigrant integration that found that integration is affected by professional norms of bureaucratic agencies as well as political values (Marrow, 2009; Williams, 2015). In addition, my findings suggest that the welcoming city initiative provides a favorable environment for the integration of newcomers as the initiative aims at the integration based on the idea in which newcomers are conceived as human capital as well as the idea that highlights the importance of receptivity toward newcomers.

The four city governments promoted naturalization of immigrants because they perceived immigrants and newcomers as human capital as well as constituents, who can contribute to the economic growth of their community. By helping this group of immigrants attain citizenship, the city governments expect that naturalized immigrants will unfold their potential, better achieve upward mobility, and contribute to urban economic growth. Through this process, naturalized immigrants are better integrated into their community. These efforts to help immigrants naturalize is important for immigrants in that naturalization provides legal rights for expanded political, economic, and social lives. Furthermore, the efforts to promote naturalization is in part related to making a receptive environment for immigrants because such efforts aim to improve the

administration system of naturalization toward an immigrant-friendly way by providing immigrants with more opportunities to learn about the process and reducing financial burdens attached to naturalization. However, such efforts have limited influence on immigrant integration in that naturalization only applies to documented immigrants who have spent at least 5 years as permanent residents in the U.S.; there are other groups of immigrants and newcomers who are undocumented but reside in their community and contribute to their community's economic growth and development.

In this sense, the immigrant integration that is achieved through the creation of a receptive environment becomes more important in that it expands the scope of integration. While the efforts to make a receptive environment can take diverse forms, bureaucratic incorporation can be one possible way to enhance receptivity toward immigrants and newcomers, thereby promoting integration. Considering that immigrants communicate and interact with bureaucrats, especially street-level bureaucrats, to gain access diverse government services, bureaucracies with a welcoming ethos can develop receptive attitudes and practices in and around the bureaucracies and promote immigrant integration by developing newcomers' sense of belonging that they experience in the process of integration. Given that bureaucratic and political incorporation encourage the integration of newcomers in different and complementary ways, a successful policy initiative for integration needs to involve the two modes of incorporation. In this regard, the welcoming city initiative, which is conceived as promoting bureaucratic and political incorporation, may bring new opportunities for the integration of newcomers by creating a receptive environment.

Conclusion

This chapter investigates the ways in which the welcoming city initiative promotes political and bureaucratic incorporation. The findings, on the one hand, support the previous discussion of immigrant integration occurring through political and bureaucratic incorporation. In particular, the analysis suggests that politicians and bureaucrats can build a reciprocal relationship and this kind of relationship makes political and bureaucratic incorporation work together for the integration of newcomers. On the other hand, the analysis adds new perspectives to understanding the incorporation of immigrants and newcomers in the connection with the integration of newcomers that highlights the importance of immigrants as human capital and receptive environments towards immigrants and newcomers.

However, the analysis is limited in that the actual integration of immigrants and newcomers is not yet evidenced by the data. At present, we do not know the extent to which the efforts to promote naturalization contribute to the actual increase in naturalization, how bureaucrats in specific agencies incorporate welcoming into their ethos, and whether bureaucratic incorporation of newcomers generates the expected influences. Therefore, this task should be addressed through future research.

In the next chapter, I conclude this dissertation by summarizing the research findings and contributions of this dissertation, reflecting on the findings and contributions in terms of policy implications of the welcoming city initiative for cities with and without initiatives, and suggesting directions for future investigation to address the limitations of this research.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The welcoming movement started as a response to anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. This movement has evolved into a proactive strategy in the context of globalization to create an environment in which immigrants can be actively engaged in economic, social, and political issues to advance the growth and development of urban America (Welcoming America, 2012). Complemented by the work of Welcoming America, many U.S. city governments have adopted the welcoming city initiative as well as the welcoming idea and put diverse efforts to promote the integration of newcomers and urban economic growth.

Recognizing the welcoming city initiative as a new strategy for urban economic development, I raised three sets of questions: 1) how do city governments understand the concept of welcoming and intend to develop assets for urban competitiveness and community capacity with policy programs of the welcoming city initiative?; 2) how do city governments create governing arrangements to develop and implement the initiative?; and 3) how do city governments incorporate newcomers through the initiative and how is this incorporation conceived as contributing to the integration of newcomers?

Summarizing the research findings that answer those questions, I discuss the theoretical and empirical contributions of the findings. In addition, I engage the analysis of the welcoming city initiative with the broader discussion of the rights of immigrants and newcomers to explore the broader implications of this research for urban economic

development. This chapter closes by indicating the limitations of this research and suggesting new directions for future research.

Findings and Contributions

The welcoming city initiative as an urban economic *development* strategy focuses on the integration of newcomers and economic growth. The city governments of the four cities employ the welcoming city initiative to develop and leverage diverse types of urban assets for economic growth and development, create a mixed-type of governing coalitions based on the broad-based mobilization of community members including immigrants and newcomers, and seek political and bureaucratic incorporation of immigrants and newcomers to promote integration, the final step of immigrant settlement. In so doing, the welcoming city initiative suggests varied ways in which the city governments seek economic development in a sustainable way, maintain these mixed-type of governing coalitions that expand immigrants' participation, and promote the integration of immigrants and newcomers. These findings shed light on the field of welcoming as well as the asset development literature, urban regime perspective, and bureaucratic and political incorporation theories.

Welcoming beyond Receptivity

This dissertation is the first research that examines the welcoming city initiative on the ground level explores how this initiative contributes to our understanding of welcoming. Although the concept of receptivity has been useful for understanding immigrant integration, it is limited in helping us to make sense of welcoming and, in particular, the discursive, political, and organizational dynamics of the welcoming city

initiative. This research suggests that welcoming needs to be considered as a broader concept that than receptivity. In a way, welcoming suggests that immigrant integration and economic growth need to be considered in a comprehensive rather than fragmented way. For example, welcoming is not about attracting low-skilled immigrant to feed cheap labor or attracting high-skilled immigrants to feed creativity or innovation. It is more about recognizing and understanding the values and potential capacity of immigrants and providing them with economic, social, and political opportunities to unfold their potential and to contribute to their community's economic development. This conceptual sophistication is designed to appeal not only immigrants but also longer-term residents, promote mutual adaptation of both, and induce fuller integration of immigrants and newcomers.

Welcoming and Urban Asset Development

Focusing on the economic and social benefits of welcoming, the four cities adopt a new strategy, the welcoming city initiative, to develop and leverage diverse types of assets that promote urban competitiveness and community capacity building. While the welcoming city initiative of the four cities commonly seeks to enhance urban competitiveness and community capacity, each city puts a priority on a certain set of assets, as each city is located in a different political, economic, and demographic context. Within this variation, the welcoming efforts to enhance urban competitiveness tend to aim at encouraging immigrant entrepreneurialism, leveraging newcomers' human capital and financial assets, and developing place-based assets to attract and retain newcomers; and the efforts to strengthen community capacity seek to institutionalize a new norm of

welcoming, structure immigrant-friendly governance practices, and engage newcomers and longer-term residents in their community affairs. In this sense, the welcoming city initiative combines the goals of economic growth and immigrant integration since urban competitiveness tends to promote urban economic growth while community capacity building is conducive to creating a favorable environment for immigrant integration. By incorporating different types of goals into one policy initiative, the welcoming cities seek to capitalize on new urban assets brought by newcomers and to foster urban economic development in an economically stable and socially sustainable way.

Conceptualizing economic development achieved by the welcoming city initiative as the combination of economic growth and immigrant integration, this research sheds new light on asset-based economic development in two ways. First, the conceptualization based on welcoming provides a new perspective on immigrants and newcomers as an urban asset: They are not only treated as labor and capital but also conceived as having control over the operation of labor and capital by gaining access to economic, political, and social institutions of their community. Understood in this way, immigrants and newcomers influence the ways in which their labor and capital are leveraged for the economic development of their community as well as their own well-being. This perspective is different from studies of urban asset development rooted in urban entrepreneurialism and the creative city, which understand immigrants and newcomers merely as human capital that are controlled by the economic, political, and social institutions.

Second, the asset-based economic development sought through the welcoming city initiative not only presents diverse paths to economic growth and development but also suggests a new strategy for economic development that counters or ameliorates the detrimental effects of neoliberal economic growth strategies. In the environment of contemporary neoliberal globalization, cities seek competitiveness-driven economic growth strategies. Although these strategies promise trickle-down effects to benefit all members of a society, what really follows is growing economic polarization and increasing social exclusion (Jessop, 2002a). Given this, the welcoming city initiative, which has potential to alleviate the negative effects of competitiveness-driven economic growth, may suggest strategies through which asset development generates counter-hegemonic influences against neoliberal economic growth. On the one hand, the welcoming city initiative may orient asset development toward neo-corporatism; neo-corporatism is focused on competitiveness, selective workforce development, and flexible economic structures, but it also seeks to balance competition and cooperation as well as the pursuit of private economic interests and social accords (Jessop, 2002a). On the other hand, the welcoming city initiative may aim at promoting asset development for neo-communitarianism, which seeks to empower community members, regenerate trust within the community, and encourage small and medium-sized business development, thereby helping individuals become more self-sufficient and contribute to community economic development (Jessop, 2002a). In that the welcoming city initiative promotes developing and leveraging diverse types of urban assets focused on both of urban competitiveness and community capacity building, the initiative may incorporate the

elements of neo-corporatism and/or neo-communitarianism, thereby redressing the effects of neoliberalism and achieving urban economic *development*.

Emerging Regimes and the Participation of Newcomers

Part of what makes the pursuit of those twin goals plausible are the governing coalitions that are emerging in these four cities. Although pro-growth governing coalitions rather easily emerge, governing coalitions to provide economic, political, and social opportunities to immigrants and newcomers, who are considered minorities, are harder to create (Mossberger, 2009). However, the city governments of Austin, Boise, Chicago, and Philadelphia are developing a mixed type of governing coalition that combines pro-growth and opportunity expansion regimes by incorporating the goals of economic growth and immigrant integration into the welcoming city initiative. Furthermore, each city creates its governing coalition for the initiative in a distinctive way as the cities adopt different approaches to the formation of the governing coalitions. This results in the dual-core structure of Austin, the multi-layered structure of Boise, the centralized structure of Chicago, and the flat and open structure of Philadelphia.

To mobilize community members who participate in the governing coalition, the city governments encourage city dialogue that highlights the economic and social contribution of welcoming to the community as a whole so that they can leverage broad-based civic capacity for the development and implementation of the initiative. In so doing, the city governments also try to incorporate immigrants and newcomers into the governing coalitions as they are thought to have the potential capacity to contribute to the governance of the welcoming city initiative as well as other community affairs.

The participation of immigrants and newcomers in these governing coalitions is significant in that it not only shows the possible emergence of the mixed-type of urban regime but also suggests the ways in which marginalized groups in the lower-strata of social structure can overcome their significant and persisting handicaps and be incorporated into mainstream political, social, and economic life (although not all immigrants and newcomers are marginalized and in the lower-strata). According to the urban regime perspective, such an outcome requires the investment of substantial resources in community development and community organizations and consequent transformation of sociopolitical context in which alienation and marginality are rooted; the efforts of "institutional repair, community development and community organizing, and reshaping civil society" allow the lower strata groups have resources and skills for devising forms of coordination and generate open and penetrable local politics (Stone, 2005, p. 335). In this sense, the welcoming city initiative could be a strategy that changes the structure of resource allocation to be beneficial to immigrants and newcomers, provides them with more and better opportunities for participating in political, social, and economic life, and finds a more democratic configuration of state, market, and civil society, which ultimately benefits a community as a whole. Furthermore, this kind of resource allocation can have positive impacts on other groups of marginalized people to some extent in that the welcoming city initiative seeks to improve the social and physical infrastructure of the communities, including social housings, healthcare services, public transportation systems, and so on.

Incorporation and Integration of Newcomers

The incorporation of newcomers into the governing arrangements is also important in that it can lead to the integration of newcomers, which is the final step of immigrant settlement. Expanding the theme of incorporation, this dissertation investigates how the welcoming city initiative promotes political and bureaucratic incorporation. Because the welcoming city initiative is relatively new, the political leaders and bureaucratic agencies of the welcoming cities tend to build a reciprocal relationship, rather than principal-agent relationship, in which political leaders rely on the positional, professional, and technical expertise, thereby allowing political and bureaucratic incorporation to work together. In this way, political and bureaucratic incorporation aim to institutional improvements that help immigrants and newcomers are considered as constituents of their community.

Furthermore, the fact that political and bureaucratic incorporation work together has meaningful implications for the integration of newcomers since two modes of incorporation are connected to both ideas that individuals with certain characteristics are more easily integrated into their receiving community and that receptive environments are important for encouraging immigrant integration. This means that the integration of newcomers sought by the welcoming city initiative focuses on not only documented but also undocumented immigrants and newcomers and the integration can be achieved through a more inclusive manner.

The incorporation and integration of immigrants and newcomers understood in this way generates possibility for reshaping urban space and urban social structure in a

counter-hegemonic way by nurturing a welcoming atmosphere. Contrary to the neoliberal ethos of contemporary cities and national-level anti-immigrant political rhetoric that make the work of cities alienated and dominated by a certain set of economic interests that are not interested in making a city a "site for the cohabitation of differences" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 18), the welcoming ethos brings opportunities for immigrants and newcomers to be incorporated into their community as political and administrative constituents. In so doing, immigrants and newcomers may come to have more opportunities to participate in community decision-making, to unfold their full potential, and to contribute to their community development, thereby making the diversity and heterogeneity entailed by the integration of immigrants and newcomers a creative new opportunity for social mobility and social justice rather than an explosive danger (Scott et al., 2001).

Implications for the Welcoming City Initiative: Rights of Newcomers

The welcoming city initiative as an urban economic development strategy is especially important under the current form of globalization in which urban competitiveness becomes more important for economic growth and the increasing mobility of labor, investment, and ideas generates new types of social challenges. Furthermore, the welcoming efforts to incorporate and integrate newcomers at the local level are meaningful in this current situation where the political discourse at the federal level is developing in an unfavorable way toward newcomers. In this context, this analysis of the welcoming city initiative suggests that empowering immigrants and newcomers and encouraging their commitment to economic, political, and social affairs

of their community can be a solution that city government may adopt to deal with the challenges of economic development of this era.

However, the welcoming city initiative is less explicit about what asset development means for immigrants and newcomers themselves, why it is important for them to be engaged into governing coalitions, and why bureaucratic and political incorporation are important for them. This implies that the welcoming city initiative needs to better articulate the meanings of welcoming in terms of the rights of newcomers. In other words, the welcoming city initiative may frame the goals of welcoming with the perspective of a "renewed *right to urban life*" suggested by Lefebvre (1996 [1968]). Framed in this expanded way, the welcoming city initiative helps immigrants and newcomers recognize their rights as urban inhabitants and better contribute to the work of their city.

Facing the problems of social division, expropriation, and marginalization in contemporary capitalist cities, the right to the city perspective demands the revival of rights for all inhabitants to fulfill their own desires (Lefebvre, 1996 [1968]). The rights involve the right to inhabit a city, create new forms of urban life "unfettered by the demands of exchange value," and remain unalienated from urban life (Attoh, 2011, p. 674). Although the term of right has some vagueness with regard to specifics about whose right and what right (Lucio & Wolfersteig, 2012; Marcuse, 2009), right is considered a collective and socio-economic right to the democratic management of urban resources (Harvey, 2008) as well as a classic individual liberty right to access urban resources (Mitchell, 2003). Although these are diverse conceptualizations of right, they

share the view that the concept of right aims at making a better and more just city that bears the possibility of a high quality of life for all (Mathivet, 2010). In addition, the possibility is conceived as being secured by maximizing the use value of urban space for the inhabitants rather than the exchange value of capital, thereby restoring the importance of a city as an *oeuvre*, which is based on the inhabitants' right to participate and take a leading role in the making of urban space (Attoh, 2011; Lefebvre, 1996 [1968]; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2008).

Based on the perspective of the right to the city, scholars have advocated for a collective and socio-economic right for vulnerable and disadvantaged groups (Liss, 2012; Mathivet, 2010). For example, Mathivet (2010) presented a set of collective rights, rather than individual rights, for vulnerable and disadvantaged groups that legitimizes their action and organization, helps them achieve the realization of self-determination, and ensures an adequate standard of living: 1) the right to habitat that facilitates a network of social relations; 2) the right to social cohesion and the collective construction of the city; 3) the right to live with dignity in the city; 4) the right to co-existence; 5) the right to influence and access the municipal government; and 6) the right to equal rights (p. 23).

As the welcoming city initiative considers immigrants and newcomers part of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups to some extent and aims at providing immigrants with a right to use and access urban resources, the initiative may incorporate these collective rights into its goals more explicitly. In so doing, the initiative may contribute to the reduction of grievances of immigrants and newcomers living in a neoliberal urban

society, thereby helping immigrants and newcomers achieve their full potential and better contribute their community.

With this framing, the welcoming city initiative may empower actors in civil society and promote urban social movements to help immigrants and newcomers better understand their rights and to mobilize them for the democratic and just governance of the initiative. Since immigrants and newcomers are supposed to benefit from the initiative, it is important to ensure their rights to participate in the decision making of the initiative. On the one hand, urban social movements can be triggered to counter the negative impacts of the increasing investment in economic growth projects that commercialize urban space and intensify unnecessary surveillance and policing toward immigrants and newcomers. The movements are also encouraged to resist the entrepreneurial type of efforts to secure competitive advantages, which neglects the marginalized in the process of growth politics (Mayer, 2012, pp. 68-69). On the other hand, the movements focus on stabilizing the precarious rights of immigrant workers and addressing the efforts to dismantle social justice (Mayer, 2012, p. 69). These movements continually shape and reshape urban space by multi-layered processes that consist of cultural process, social process, and political-institutional process: a cultural process of explaining the counter-hegemonic values sustaining the rights; a social process of civil mobilization that justifies the rights; and a political-institutional process to formalize the rights and develop policies to implement them (Borja, 2003; Mathivet & Sugranyes, 2010).

Limitations of Research and New Directions

This dissertation has explored the general discursive, political, and organizational dynamics around welcoming in Austin, Boise, Chicago, and Philadelphia. Although this dissertation research has generated meaningful contributions and suggested policy implications for the welcoming city initiative, it is limited in several important ways. The analysis of the welcoming city initiative also suggests themes in need of further investigation. The limitations and new themes can be addressed in the future research and, in this regard, they indicate how this line of research on the welcoming city initiative can generate further contributions.

First, this dissertation investigated the welcoming city initiative of four U.S. welcoming cities. Although this research carefully selected the four cities to maximize contextuality, the case cities tend to be focused on metropolitan cities. This implies that more diverse contextual characteristics need to be considered in future research by including different kinds of cities and contexts, such as local party leadership and suburban settings. This requires a follow-up study that expands the number of case cities to develop a deeper understanding of welcoming and the welcoming city initiative. Future research should also explore comparisons between welcoming initiatives in the U.S. and in other countries.

Second, because this dissertation investigated the welcoming city initiative, which is very new even to the welcoming cities, this dissertation focused on how the city governments were able to create governing arrangements for the welcoming city initiative. This implies that future research needs to address how the city governments

can maintain the governing arrangements for longer periods of time and how the governing arrangements endure changes in mayoral leadership and administration.

Third, this dissertation examined the welcoming city initiative mainly based on interviews with the individuals in the leading organizations of the initiative and official documents provided by the leading organizations. The interviews and documents presented sufficient information about the overall programs under the welcoming city initiative to generate trustworthy findings. However, this dissertation did not analyze each welcoming program with data directly generated by the implementing agencies or the staff of the agencies. This implies that more intensive understanding of asset-based economic development sought through the welcoming city initiative is possible. This calls for a future study that examines specific programs of the welcoming city initiative and investigates the meanings of the initiative in terms of asset development as well as economic development within the context of the overall initiative. For example, the future research may examine how Dream Clubs in Chicago have been operated and investigate the potential welcoming for civic engagement as well as human capital development.

Future research can also help to develop a richer interpretation of the collaborative dynamics for the implementation of the welcoming city initiative as well as the process of bureaucratic incorporation by incorporating diverse perspectives of individuals in the implementing agencies. Since the welcoming city initiative seeks a comprehensive approach that drives changes in economic, social, and political lives of immigrants and newcomers, the plan for the initiative requires collaboration among

multiple bureaucratic agencies and administrative organizations. However, investigating the collaboration among multiple actors is beyond the scope of this research. In this regard, the next step would be to focus on a single case city and conduct a more in-depth analysis of the collaboration.

Finally and more importantly, this dissertation research does not discuss the welcoming city initiative in terms of newcomers' understanding of the initiative. Although this dissertation includes the data collected from advocacy groups of immigrants and refugees and several interviewees of the leading organizations of the initiative are second- or third-generation immigrants, this dissertation lacks data from immigrants and newcomers who are living with the welcoming city initiative. This is, in part, because immigrants and newcomers are hard to recruit for interviews due to language barriers, their lack of desire to speak out their opinions, and my lack of resources to be connected to these people in the field. However, since I have gained access to the field during this research process, future research can engage diverse perspectives of immigrants and newcomers using other approaches, such focus groups and surveys. By doing so, I hope to better understand the ways that the welcoming city initiative influences the lives of immigrants and newcomers, especially in terms of incorporation and integration.

New Themes for Future Research

This dissertation examined how immigrants and newcomers come to participate in the governing coalitions of the welcoming city initiative and directly and indirectly affect the development and implementation of the initiative. Capturing the early political,

discursive, and organizational development of the welcoming city initiative, I showed that the governing coalitions of the welcoming city initiative have potential to evolve into a mixed-type of urban regime that more resembles an opportunity-expansion regime as the initiative aims to provide immigrants and newcomers with more economic, social, and political opportunities. This implies that the initiative needs to focus on the efforts to mobilize immigrants and newcomers as well as their advocacy groups and induce their active participation. In this regard, future research on the welcoming city initiative can incorporate the themes of urban social movements and investigate how the initiative might encourage more active engagement of immigrants and newcomers while still retaining support of business and advancing its pro-growth goals.

First, future research can focus on welcoming city campaigns promoted by some of welcoming cities and the role of such campaigns in mobilizing immigrants and newcomers. As urban arenas provide a favorable environment for dense and diverse social movements, different types of activists, groups, and organizations with their knowledge, skills, and other resources gather in cities (Nicholls, 2008; Vermeulen, 2006). While these actors are socially embedded in their group identities and their own social networks to alleviate their grievances, they also create complex alliances and build webs of "weak-tie" networks (Granovetter, 1983). In this context, these actors are interdependent in that they connect to other actors when they see the benefit of cooperation. Regarding this, the welcoming city initiative might utilize more broad-based collective social actors rooted in their organization or disorganization with specific goals (Fainstein & Hirst, 1995, p. 182), scale up the importance of immigrant integration by

engaging the problems experienced by immigrants with other broader social issues, and involve the efforts to carry out a large-scale welcoming campaign. Such efforts might help immigrants and newcomers pay more attention to their issues as a social problem rather than individual hardship and actively voice their opinions about the welcoming city initiative and other community affairs.

Second, future research may focus on the welcoming city initiative's small-scale efforts for mobilization. The small-scale efforts, or micromobilization, refer to the process in which both individual and sociocultural interactions are encouraged based on face-to-face encounters and group dynamics (Gamson, 1992). Since face-to-face interactions generate social settings for meaning-generating, individuals participating in the interactions better understand their collective identities and their grievances and are invited to participate in group actions and opportunities to alleviate their grievances and problems through the face-to-face interaction and group dynamics (Mueller, 1992). In this way, individuals build relationships with each other and become mobilized to participate in political actions to improve their situation. Given this, future work may investigate how the welcoming city initiative can develop and expand such efforts of immigrants' focus-group meetings in Austin and stakeholder meetings in Philadelphia to mobilize and engage more diverse groups of immigrants and newcomers.

And third, future research may conduct in-depth analysis of the ways in which the welcoming city initiative utilizes the notions of place and locality as a frame to promote the mobilization of newcomers. As urban social movements develop place-based networks and micromobilization occurs in a specific locality, social locations play an

important role in creating common collective identities and providing cultural materials that work as meaning-generating frames for the interpretation of grievances, resources, and opportunities (Mueller, 1992). These collective identities and cultural materials are conceived as interpretive frameworks or "collective action frames" (Snow & Benford, 1992) through which social movement activities are inspired and legitimated. For example, the welcoming cities adopt different types of place-frames based on the ideas of welcoming and receptivity to justify and motivate the mobilization of newcomers (Martin, 2003): motivational frames such as "justice" and "right" encourage group actions; diagnostic frames help individuals build a shared understanding of the causes of their problems; and prognostic frames define a course of collective action as solutions to the problems. Using these frames, future research may investigate the ways in which the struggles experienced by immigrants and newcomers are condensed into a specific discourse and how the discourse formulates "oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs" (Fraser, 1990, p. 68), produces powerful critiques undermining the existing social orders, and generates group actions toward more welcoming communities.

Concluding Remark

Contemporary cities face different types of economic, social, and political challenges in the context of globalization and seek new strategies to cope with the challenges. Among others, cities focus on the welcoming city initiative, which aims at economic growth and the integration of newcomers. Through the initiative, cities try to develop a more sustainable wealth-generating system in which immigrants and

newcomers are incorporated and integrated and unfold their full potential for their own well-being as well as for their community's economic development. The initiative suggests a new urban economic development strategy for this era as the welcoming city initiative suggests a new path for creating economically prosperous and socially cohesive urban communities. Given this possibility, the welcoming city initiative is expected to benefit more diverse groups in urban communities although this hope may only be actualized over a long period of time.

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APPENDIX A

WELCOMING AMERICA MEMBER CITIES

City	Total Pop.	FB Ratio	City	Total Pop.	FB Ratio
Akron, OH	198,329	4.74	Hartford, CT	124,795	22.52
Anchorage, AK	299,107	9.96	High Point, NC	108,031	12.66
Ann Arbor, MI	116,194	17.87	Houston, TX	2,217,706	28.53
Atlanta, GA	448,901	7.28	Indianapolis, IN	841,449	8.47
Austin, MN	24,687	11.14	Iowa City, IA	71,832	13.73
Austin, TX	887,061	18.38	Lansing, MI	114,485	7.93
Baltimore, MD	622,454	7.70	Lincoln, NE	269,726	7.92
Battle Creek, MI	51,830	4.83	Los Angeles, CA	3,900,794	38.20
Beaverton, OR	93,919	20.94	Louisville, KY	615,366	NA
Boise, ID	214,196	7.51	Memphis, TN	657,167	6.31
Boston, MA	650,281	27.31	Meridian, MI	41,139	14.00
Buffalo, NY	259,517	8.81	Nashville, TN	654,610	NA
Burlington, VT	42,570	11.33	New York, NY	8,426,743	37.24
Central Falls, RI	19,378	38.12	Norcross, GA	16,103	39.14
Charlotte, NC	792,137	15.71	Philadelphia, PA	1,555,072	12.70
Chicago, IL	2,717,534	21.05	Pittsburgh, PA	305,928	8.18
Cincinnati, OH	297,397	5.23	Princeton, NJ	29,603	NA
Clarkston, GA	11,990	44.05	Raleigh, NC	432,520	13.16
Clinton Township, MI	463	0.86	Roanoke, VA	98,736	7.16
Columbus, OH	824,663	11.40	Salt Lake City, UT	190,679	17.40
Concord, NH	42,537	6.86	San Francisco, CA	840,763	35.14
Crete, NE	7,080	19.73	San Jose, CA	1,000,860	38.88
Dayton, OH	141,368	4.37	Seattle, WA	653,017	18.10
Decatur, GA	21,957	NA	St. Louis, MO	317,850	6.74
Denver, CO	649,654	16.07	Sterling Heights, MI	131,139	25.82
Detroit, MI	690,074	5.38	Tacoma, WA	203,481	13.52
Dodge City, KS	28,045	31.31	Tucson, AZ	528,374	15.15
East Lansing, MI	48,669	15.09	Washington, DC	647,484	14.15
Grand Forks, ND	54,944	4.51	West Bloomfield, MI	65,646	20.90
Greensboro, NC	279,427	10.50	Westminster, CO	110,598	10.28
Hamtramck, MI	22,150	43.29	Winona, MN	27,437	3.40
Harrisonburg, VA	51,388	16.65	York, PA	43,992	NA

Note. These cities are the members of Welcoming America as of January 26, 2017. Data is from 2015 American Community Survey, except for Louisville, Nashville, Princeton, and York; these four cities' data is from 2015 Census of Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Incorporated Places.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

1. City government officials

1) Opening questions

- How long have you lived in your city?
- How long have you worked for your agency?

2) Concept related questions

- What were the major motives to join Welcoming America?
- What is your city's definition of a welcoming city? Or what is the vision of your city as a welcoming city?
- What does your city want to achieve by becoming a welcoming city?

3) Policy related questions

- In general, how has your city government tried to make a welcoming city?
- What are the areas of focus in the current welcoming city initiative or programs in your city?
- How does your city select those areas?
- Would you tell me about the general progress of the programs?
- If there were any events for promoting a welcoming culture, would you tell me how the events have been going?
- Would you tell me what have been the most urgent needs of immigrants of your city?
- How your city has dealt with the needs or barriers presented by the immigrants?

4) Regime related questions (formal & informal collaboration)

- Would you tell me who has been involved in developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative?
- Would you tell me how your organization has become involved in the welcoming city initiative?
- How would you define key stakeholders of immigrant affairs in your city?
- What is the main role of your agency in developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative?
- How do the involved agencies and organizations work together to implement the welcoming initiatives and programs?
- How do the residents including immigrants of your city express their opinions regarding the welcoming initiatives?
- How would you describe the relationship or partnership between Welcoming America and your city government?
- How would you describe the relationship or partnership between other welcoming cities and your city?

5) Outcome related questions

- What was the contribution of immigrants and their legacy to your city?
- How would your evaluate the outcomes of the welcoming initiatives?

- What was the expected and unexpected outcome of the welcoming initiatives?
- What do you think is the most critical changes driven by the welcoming initiatives?

2. Non-profit organizations and organizations in business sector

1) Opening questions

- How long have you lived or worked in your city?
- Could you tell me how and when you first hear about the welcoming city initiative of your city and the leading agency/organization?

2) Policy and concept related questions

- Would you briefly introduce the services that your organization provides to immigrants and immigrant communities?
- Would you tell me what could be your organization's role in making your city a welcoming city?
- Could you tell me what do you think was the major motive for your city to become a welcoming city?
- Would you tell me what is your own definition of welcoming and a welcoming city?

3) Regime related questions

- How would you describe the relationship or partnership between your organization and the city government in developing or implementing welcoming initiatives?
- Would you tell me about the program(s) that your organization has worked with the city government or other organization in this field?
- What is the main role of your organization in developing and implementing the welcoming city initiative?
- Did you hear about Welcoming America? How would you describe the relationship between your organization and Welcoming America?

4) Outcome related questions

- How would you describe the changes in your experiences in your city after the implementation of the welcoming city initiative?
- How have the welcoming city initiative and programs affected business environment in your city?
- How do you expect the leadership of the mayor of your city affect the welcoming city initiative?

3. Staff of Welcoming America

1) Opening questions

- How many cities have joined Welcoming America so far?

- Would you explain the process in which a city get the membership of Welcoming America?

2) Concept related questions
- What is your organization's definition of a welcoming city?
- What are the themes of welcoming that frame the concept?
- How has been the definition developed and changed as time goes by?

3) Policy related questions
- What are the Welcoming America's recommendations or suggestions for welcoming cities?
- How does Welcoming America make each member city keep its commitment as a welcoming city?
- What kinds of assets do you expect will be utilized or developed through the welcoming initiative?

4) Regime related questions
- How would you describe the relationship or partnership between welcoming cities and your organization?
- What kinds of supports does Welcoming America provide to each member city?
- Would you explain what kinds of agendas or issues have been discussed in the conference calls and in-person meetings with welcoming cities?

5) Outcome related question
- What were the expected/unexpected outcomes of welcoming initiative?

4. Individuals from Immigrant Communities
- Could you tell me how and when did you first hear about the welcoming city initiative of your city?
- Would you tell me what has been the most critical challenge of immigrants and refugees in your city?
- Would you tell me what you and your member community expect from the welcoming city initiative?
- How do you expect the welcoming city initiative affect the social and economic life of immigrants and refugees in your city?
- May I ask you what is your own definition of welcoming and a welcoming city?

5. Closing questions
- Now that you know what the research is about, is there anything I should have asked but didn't?
- Is there anything you would like to add on this conversation?

APPENDIX C

REGIME PARTNERS FOR BOISE REFUGEE COMMUNITY PLAN

Governmental Authorities	
Local & Regional level	State level
• Ada County • ACHD Commuter Ride • Boise City/Ada County Housing Authority • Boise Housing and Community Development • Boise Police Department • Boise School District • City of Boise • Valley Regional Transit • Valley Ride	• Idaho Department of Labor • Idaho Department of Health and Welfare • Idaho Transportation Department
Non-governmental Actors	
• Agency for New Americans • Big Brothers Big Sisters • Boise State University • Boise to Bukavu • Catholic Charities of Idaho • College of Western Idaho • Community Action Partnership of Idaho • Create Common Good • Crossing Points • El Ada Community Action Partnership • English Language Center • Family Medicine Residency of Idaho • HMS Host • Idaho Housing and Finance Association • Idaho Legal Aid Services • International Rescue Committee • IOR	• Jesse Tree • Living Independence Network Corp • META • Mountain States Group • Pacific Western Training • St. Alphonsus Medical Group • St Luke's Boise Medical Center • Stoltz Marketing Group • Terry Reilly Health Services • The Salvation Army • The Learning Lab • Tidwell Social Work Services • United Way • Working Solutions • World Relief • Women's and Children's Alliance

Note. This list is from the Neighbors United website (http://neighborsunitedboise.org/our-partners/).

APPENDIX D

REGIME PARTNERS FOR DEVELOPING

THE CHICAGO NEW AMERICANS PLAN

Governmental Authorities
• Council on American-Islamic Relations – Chicago Office
• Illinois Department of Human Services
• Illinois Department of Human Services – Illinois Welcoming Center
• Illinois Governor's Office of New Americans
• Office of Cook County Commissioner Jesus Garcia
• U.S. Department of Commerce - Minority Business Development Agency

Non-governmental Actors	
• Africa International House	• Institute for Workforce Education, a Division of St. Augustine College
• Albany Park Chamber of Commerce	• Instituto del Progreso Latino
• Albany Park Community Center	• Korean-American Association of Chicago
• Archdiocese of Chicago	• Latinos Progresando
• Asian American Institute	• Little Village Chamber of Commerce
• Azteca Foods	• Logan Square Neighborhood Association
• Centro Sin Fronteras	• MillerCoors
• Chicago Cultural Alliance	• Mujeres Latinas en Acción
• Chicago Legal Clinic	• Multilingual Connections
• Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce	• Muslim Women Resource Center
• Chinese American Service League	• Northwestern Memorial Hospital
• El Valor	• Polish American Association
• Enlace Chicago	• Rob Paral and Associates
• Erie Neighborhood House	• South Asian American Policy and Research Institute
• Evans Food Group	• The Association of Latino Men for Action
• Flying Food Group	• The Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago
• Gads Hill Center	• The University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration
• Heartland Alliance's National Immigrant Justice Center	• United African Organization
• Iglesia Rebaño Church	• United Neighborhood Organization
• Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights	• Upwardly Global - Chicago Office
• Illinois Hispanic Chamber of Commerce	
• Illinois Institute of Technology	

Note. This list is from The Chicago New Americans Plan (2012).