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Unsettling integration

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THE BARTLETT

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Abstract

As part of the three-year project "EPIC", funded by the Asylum, Migration and Integration fund, this research explores the diversity of responses to

put in place by migrants to navigate and learn the city. To achieve its objective, the project has been designed to establish an international environment for building knowledge and exchanging good practices across multiple part-
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tion literature in order to dissect and move beyond the notion of integration.

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Introduction

Decolonising integration

We have a problem when the migration discipline becomes implicated in this disciplining of migration (Stierl, 2020).

European and Euro-centred scholarship on migration has increased much after the so called refugee crisis in 2015. Special emphasis has been put on the policy relevance of such research, while less attention seems to be paid on its risks, including that of reproducing instead of challenging institutional categories such as the distinction between voluntary/involuntary migration, asylum seekers, refugees, and so on. These categories, despite having been created to protect individuals, then can do the opposite.

There is also increased expectation that research on migration leads to

and integration. This is not however realistic, nor auspicable. The purpose of knowledge coproduction is to formulate good questions, or to change the nature of the questions, reframing perspectives. Research should ultimately be able to expose the violence of migration management and integration policy and discourses, putting forward 'counter-empirics'. (Stierl, 2020)

In this light, the present research – conducted over eight months in nine

and discursive notion of integration, while moving beyond 'methodological

subjective truths.

to dissect and move beyond the notion of integration. Incorporating policy discourse and academic analyses of integration frameworks and practice, the chapter provides a discursive context for and background to the need for concept revision and to how processes and practices of adaption are perceived of and understood. The literature review highlights the rigidity of

practices missing from colonial conceptualisations of integration and migration and the inequalities and exclusions that stem from this.

According to Schinkel (2018) research on migration and integration today, in Europe especially, occurs within a discourse that is "riddled with racism hard to avoid" (p.2). Integration has failed, both "as a political way to describe the process in which migrants settle, and as a concept in social science to

It has failed for multiple reasons. Firstly, because it entails a negative instance – the inability of a person to conform to society or place (a problem) – hence the need to develop integration services. Secondly, because it is generally considered a one way process. We never look at integration as the ability of one society to integrate into foreign groups and individuals. Thirdly, because it is a divisive notion, despite its apparent meaning. It starts from the idea

language and have been developed outside migration research: spatial practice, and ethics of care, repair and maintenance. If integration policy and practice are narrowly bounded to service provision and rights enhancement,

The focus of integration discourse and the application of national policy on 'hosting', 'hospitality' and even 'welcoming' migrants is seen to prioritise the host society and maintain outsider/receiving status of migrants, which is contradictory to integration purpose.

02. Literature review

Integration beyond the current paradigm. Discourse, policy and practice

Integration:

There is broad agreement in the academic literature that 'integration' and

integration. Integration has been described as a concept that is 'vague and contested' (Oliver and Gidley, 2015); chaotic (Robinson, 1998) and ambivalent (Astolfo et a, 2018), and it has been problematised widely. It is used both as an 'aspirational concept' and a policy objective adopted by international organisations, governments and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) alike, but which lack 'clarity about what integration "looks like"' and how it is evaluated.' (ibi)

The discussion and discourse around integration has developed over time and in response to inadequacies of the asylum reception and integration process-es that have been observed and experienced, in particular since the so-called

system of reception' (Betts and Collier, 2017) have led to particular reconcep-

frames of analysis. Below is an overview of this discursive development.

A two-way process?

Meanings of integration have, in most cases/areas, moved away from assimilation, where migrants are expected to adopt the language, culture and practices of the host country and abandon heritage and away from the

long-term development. Within the literature and policy on integration, a common positioning developed around integration being a two-way process, acknowledging the agency of migrants within that process which otherwise treated migrants as subjects of policy. In this paradigm refugees must adapt, and host societies must facilitate and support this process.

EU and UNHCR provide a discursive and structural framework for integration

is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants

dynamic two-way process that places demands on both the refugee and the receiving community." The document continues: "Integration requires that receiving States and civil society create a welcoming environment which supports refugees to achieve long-term economic stability and adjust to the new society, including fostering a sense of belonging, and encouraging participation in their new communities." (UNHCR, 2013: 8).

Such organisations recognise that integration is multi-dimensional – that it "relates both to the conditions for and actual participation in all aspects of the economic, social, cultural, civil and political life of the country of resettlement as well as to refugees' own perceptions of, acceptance by and membership in the host society" (ICRIRR, 2002: 12). Integration policy can be thought of as aiming to reduce the segregation, inequality, discrimination, and poverty experienced by ethno-racial immigrant groups, as well as make city institutions like schools, hospitals, and social service agencies more demographically representative and accommodative of newcomers' needs and interests (de Grauuw and Vermeulen, 2016: 989). However, this simple

cases, however, the onus of 'integration' is placed on migrants to integrate, at will, leading to migrant blame for integration failures (Camilo, 2010). Implicit assumptions about 'host' or 'resident' societies characterise them with

even 'welcoming' migrants is seen to prioritise the host society and maintain outsider/receiving status of migrants, which is contradictory to integration purpose. Berg & Fiddan-Qasmiyeh (2018: 1) argue for 'the need to trace alternative modes of thought and action that transcend and resist the fatalistic invocations of hospitality.'

Other scholars also highlight the need to move away from its 'colonial' top down meaning (for example Mignolo, 2011) and to acknowledge the subjective nature of the integration process and sensitise to the views and opinions of refugees (Phillimore, 2012). As Mignolo suggests,

"Inclusion is a one-way street and not a reciprocal right. In a world governed by the colonial matrix of power, he who includes and she who is welcomed to

Time and space:

Whilst the focus of recent (post-2015) policy response around integration has been reception and release, establishing a legal status framework and the institutional environment for migrants, literature on integration has criticised this process as incomplete and creating situations of exclusion and limbo for those experiencing it (for example Zetter (2007; 1991: 1) Marchetti &

status and categorisation of refugees and migrants in terms of status and vulnerability has been critically analysed within literature on integration as a mechanism that creates dichotomies of inclusion/exclusion, alienation/ integration from integration programmes, access to services, housing and labour markets (Astolfo & Boano, 2018). The linear and temporary process of reception and categorisation leaves these exclusions unresolved. An argument for a more developmental approach to policy has been adopted by international organisations such as the UNDP and UN-Habitat to address situations in which national and local governments lack the capacities to address the humanitarian challenges of displaced persons, migrant and refugee support. However, the temporary nature of humanitarian intervention and development policy and funding sits uncomfortably with the increasing recognition that integration is a long-term process that involves a process of

Berg and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2018) also address changes in perceptions and understandings of migration over time and space. They highlight the changing nature of migration, the diverse nature of encounters, the 'how and

arrival of migrants across time and space'. This contextual perspective on migration allows integration to be problematised within and across time and space located in a conceptual understanding of its meaning. Situating current practices within historical and geographical context and a critical perspective resists the 'largely myopic, ahistorical, and isolationist responses that governments and media have developed to migrant arrivals in the global

understanding of micro level relations and how they contribute to a sense of belonging and ability to participate within local communities and institutional structures. Although the complexity and multi-directionality of 'integration' is clearly recognised within the available literature, it also demonstrates that refugee agency in integration remains under examined. This is partly because available administrative data is not deemed sensitive to migrant situations, and diversity within the migrant population is not recognised or addressed (Platts-Fowler & Robinson 2015: 477). Research has also been criticised for failing to acknowledge the subjective nature of the integration process and for being insensitive to the views and opinions of refugees (Phillimore, 2012). From this perspective, Spicer (2008) notes that few 'explore "place" and, in particular,

policy-making (de Graauw and Vermeulen, 2016: 989). This leaves open questions about cities that do not possess these features, but might have been recipient of dispersal policies or have become migrant destinations by virtue of EU restrictions on the movement of refugees and migrants, and how

The broader framework of 'place' allows integration to be seen as a localised

depending on causes of migration, the socio-political situation, and the history of migration and therefore cannot be standardised. A focus on cites as places, however, has produced issues of scale. The literature that uses urban space as a framework and perspective for examining integration has concentrated on large cities that have become examples of good practice. There is a need for looking also beyond cities as an entity or space, and to recognise the diversity and heterogeneity of communities, voices, actors and forms of

it (Blocher, 2017: 14). The sub-city level, for example is seen to have 'deeply heterogeneous rules and regulations with implications for inclusion and integration'. This leads to policy recommendations that integration be targeted

governments and by UN-Habitat (ibid: 15).

Connecting place to its relational dimension, Fiddian- Qasmiyeh (2015;

temporalities and materialities, beliefs and desires, and sociocultural and political systems. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh has argued (2016: 4) that:

'in light of the limitations and dangers of fatalistic readings of hospitality,' the lens of "being together" and "being with" (Jean-Luc Nancy 2000) may prove mo forms) y- Qa00oforh 14)ueieA:.2(eco)]Ttogees, yd Nageodatphali480055000e

generate and make permanent (Monno and Serreli, 2020). Monno and Serreli (2020: 7) suggest looking at vulnerability as contextual and describe its

marginality, to the construction of alternative relations within urban space' and separates vulnerability, as a concept, from the idea of a permanent and unchangeable condition.

They conclude that 'focusing on vulnerabilities and enacting generative urban policies may help to foster the emergence of new ways of conceiving integration, which aim at consolidating new correspondences between the geography of everyday life and ways of sharing the city as a place of supportive coexistence' (ibid: 17).

Beyond traditional migration: super-diversity

Integration as a concept is clearly problematic and the discursive framework that encompasses policy-making and practice has produced policy gaps, exclusions and segregations. Evident within the discussion of the literature above, there are several challenges to the concept of integration and understandings of migration itself, some of which are reviewed here before further addressing coloniality as an underlying logic:

'Super-diversity', in this sense, constitutes the continuation of immigrant integration by other means. And one must hasten to add: the means may

so. (Shinkel, 2018)

Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore (2018: 186) highlight the change in processes

diversity of receiving societies and a need to reconceptualise integration in terms of super-diversity.

societies and a need to reconceptualise integration in terms of super-diversity. As a concept integration has developed around 'traditional' migration', or when migrants settled permanently in new countries where there was a 'dominant' host population (ibid). They contend that this concept has not

all migrants settle permanently, or maintain close connections to more than

new forms of mobility' is discussed by Giuliana B. Prato (2020: 35). This altered condition 'demands a new approach to the study of contemporary migration that acknowledges the importance of a cross-disciplinary dialogue' that also take into account 'the role played by the interaction among social, economic, legal, political and cultural factors in the quality of migratory policies and in the status of foreigners in the host society.' Prato's article shows how

circumstances in determining their position in the local society' (ibid). The focus on agency and diversity of relational experience within local contexts here attempts to undo dominant conceptualisations of 'migrant' within the context of challenging notions of integration.

suggest three ways integration could be reimagined. 1, there are new ways of conceptualising integration such as holistic integration (Strang, Baillot, and Mignard, 2017) or reciprocal integration (Phillimore, Humphris, and

as interaction between legal status, skills and competencies (Wessendorf,

and feeling at home (Yuval Davis 2006; Wessendorf 2018). Beyond functional relations (relations that are in place because there is a need, it is about a mutual sense of being human). It implies reciprocity, mutuality – and this mutuality helps to go beyond the idea of social integration which is one way. This mutuality represents a shift away from the focus of 'social integration', which, particularly in policy thinking, places the onus on migrants to become part of a society through building bridging capital. In the context of super-diversity (above) the authors raise the question of 'what 'unit' migrants were supposed to integrate into, an ethnic group, local community, social group or more generally British society (Castles et al., 2002:114) and identify a 'missing link in public debates between integration and superdiversity' which places the onus of integration on ethnic minorities and/or migrant communities (Wessendorf and Phillimore: 2).

Like social integration, embedding and sociabilities of emplacement are described by Wessendorf and Phillimore (2018: 2) as

'how migrants forge social relations which enhance their connectedness with the place in which they settle and the wider society around them.'

Mignolo 2000), meaning the fact that colonialism is still present and manifests itself in power asymmetry and inequality between south/north and east/west. As a consequence, the notion and policy of integration which are born within migration studies are to be considered colonial – given they imply the existence of a dominant host society into which marginalised individuals are supposed to integrate into. From a coloniality lens, integration is the "solution"

and individuals. Institutions and individuals have knowledge, power and

According to Schinkel, monitoring integration has colonial roots. During colonialism society and individuals were scrutinised based on whether their behaviour was deviant or normative. Individuals in the colonies were evaluated

Practice

What is 'practice' in context of integration?

an exercise to develop skill; the actual application or use of an idea, belief, or method, as opposed to theories relating to it; or simply that practice is a process - an applied way of doing. In the context of integration, practice commonly refers to the processes and ways of doing developed and applied by practitioners working with migrants that support and facilitate a process of moving migrants through particular areas that have become indicators of integration in international migration policy. Practice that is deemed successful

Building on this, Bhan (2019: 2) states that 'a narrow reading of "practice" shapes in turn the kind of theories that we generate and value', which 'creates a '"common sense" that particular modes of practice can be neatly mapped

(how working class children end up in working class jobs, for example) by

arrangements are acted on and adapted by people as part of their daily lives, and in the context of their social lives (their communities, groups, networks, and families).

Practiced Space

Within academia, the rise in what has been termed 'practice-led/based

de Certeau on spatial practice, has produced an understanding of practice as a process which occurs, not only through design but also through the activities of using, occupying and experiencing, and through the various modes of writing and imaging used to describe, analyse and interrogate space. Although published literature is limited, examining integration of

highlighting and understanding migrant practices.

Yet, the lack of conceptual clarity about what integration 'looks like' and 'the failure to fully understand the importance of local context to the integration experience' contribute to the continuing weakness in understanding of the integration processes (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015: 3) and a segmentation of inquiry. Local context such as housing, the local labour market, service provision, same or other ethnic group presence, prejudice and

experience, but are often examined as separate. Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2015) argue that it is 'important to recognise the interplay between integration and urban transformation. Places will be remade through the social practices of refugee settlement and integration. Understanding this process of transformation should be integral to our appreciation of integration as a two-way process involving change for refugees and host societies' (Platts-Fowler and Robinson 2015).

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Disparities in the form and nature of integration mean that practice, as a method or process aiming to integrate migrants, varies considerably from place to place, as does migrant experience of integration. This intrinsic relationship of integration with place and space connect practice directly to the urban. Buhr and Glick Schiller and Schmidt (2016) warn against scale

(1993; 2011) also argues that 'with the enmeshing of people's tasks and activities in space, inhabitants become an integral part of their surroundings' (Buhr, 2018). He sustains that movement within an environment (2011: 143) is an act of dwelling because this is how practical knowledge and skills is

created. Daily engagements with space are place-binding (but not place-bound), and 'it becomes possible to think about individuals being integrated to space or, in other words, about their spatial integration' (Buhr 2018).

Critical spatial practice was developed by feminist theorist and architectural historian Jane Rendell and has expanded across disciplines. The concept has

research.

'At its core, critical spatial practice encourages active participation in shaping

Care, repair and maintenance

Within the limited body of literature that focuses on practice theory, 'care and repair and maintenance' is presented as a framework for critical thinking

of care most cited within critical theory is that of Tronto (1993): 'species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible' (cited in Williams 2020). Many authors, however, point also to the need to address dominant paradigms of care and structures that produce inequalities and silences. Shannon Mattern (2018) points to the need to reckon with care's troubling histories and administrative structures - to consider recuperative strategies

other authors (Aryn Martin, Natasha Myers, and Ana Viseu) who propose that a critical practice of care would 'pay attention to the privileged position of the caring subject, wary of who has the power to care, and who or what tends to get designated the proper or improper objects of care' (Aryn, Myers and Viseu, 2018: 12).

In relation to immigration Francesca Meloni, reviewing Miriam Ticktin on Casualties of Care, states that 'along with security measures against immigration, 'regimes of care' have come to play a key role in governing immigration through the exceptional principle of compassion (Meloni 2013: 114). By examining particular care regimes of the humanitarian (particularly the illness clause) and gender violence in France through which migrants may be granted exceptional legal residency status, Ticktin examines the unintended consequences of compassion in the world of immigration politics and how immigrants are made passive victims permitted to remain in the country for moral imperatives rather than political right. Immigration and asylum come to be viewed by the state through a medical lens creating advantage for the exceptional few who can claim illness or select experiences of sexual violence, at the expense of care for the majority of undocumented migrants who are

paradigms of care as connected to its humanitarian function and shaped by neo-liberal city and inhumane urbanism that makes care work for social preproduction invisible. She describes care in this context as having been

function of care.

in their study of forced public housing relocations that care practices, can be contradictory and 'emerge as tools of a neoliberal government' that, in this case study, result in dispossession. This underlines the centrality of maintain, continue, and repair to 'good' care practices. Similarly, the subjectivity of encounter is underlined by Conradson (2003) in this study of a drop-in centre which demonstrated although such agencies can be spaces of care, some individuals experienced the spaces as exclusionary environments.

The 'ethics of care' (articulated by the feminist scholar Carol Gilligan, 1982) and radical care (Dowler et al. 2019) describe an alternative moral approach to traditional ethics that centres on relationships, responsibility and interdependence (Robinson, 2010; Schmid, 2019). Maria Puig de la Bellacasa (2011: 100) argues that caring involves an "ethico-political commitment" to

of our material world: 'We care for things not because they produce value, but because they already have value.' De la Bellacasa shows that care is a vital part of sustaining worlds, but that it is 'continually appropriated by

of corporate greenwashing which substitutes 'care' for accountability' (ibid).

beyond these entanglements and unlocking them. As a framework for

disciplines that 'that takes the multidimensionality of the intimate seriously.' In the context of the need to 'pay attention to/with care and the politics of how care is being provisioned by governments and business' Williams (2020: 6) describes the ethics of care and care-full practice as a 'way to resist and challenge the dominance of neoliberalisms' and to 'collectively think

shape diverse cultures where caring is valued, competently practiced and fairly distributed.' Here 'care', as an ethics, helps understandings of the roles of maintenance and repair in creating more caring and just cities, emphasise inter-dependence and collective responsibility and expose silences, injustices and neglect to provoke action.

where both parties have an interest in each other's well-being and that care creates social ties between people upon which durable institutions can be built. Here 'care' is connected explicitly to "good caring relations," as opposed to relations that are "dominating, exploitative, mistrustful, or hostile."

are blurred. Mattern states that "To study maintenance is itself an act of

threads, mending holes, amplifying quiet voices." Maintenance is set against 'innovation' as a paradigm and a as a corrective framework that also traverses scales. She connects maintenance, repair and care explicitly to infrastructures. Literature on integration concept and practices identify infrastructural gaps and missing links between policy areas, and practices within which innovative and self-reliance practices emerge, but which are often made less visible within neoliberal urban contexts. Mattern states that 'where infrastructures are

pirate radio stations, backyard boreholes, shadow networks, and so forth.' Literature on integration policy and practice similarly expose areas where migrants fall into cracks in the infrastructures of integration created by legal parameters, resort to informality. Case studies of housing pathways suggests informality is often the only means of securing housing and that local and refugee agency has contributed to its development and, in some cases, formalisation.

Local innovation in practice: NGO/LA /community individual practice

Examining the literature on integration and practice raises the question of

the disconnect between theory and practice within integration processes, or how can integration be better understood so as to facilitate the outcomes policy is predicated upon. Suggestions from the literature, such as 'actively working to infuse radical care into our everyday interpersonal interactions and into our departmental, institutional and disciplinary policies and practices' (Dowler et al 2019), or developing 'transformative solidarities' and employing critical practice frameworks and methods may be one way. Innovative practices at local level are well documented (Bradley, Milner, Peruniak, 2019,

Conclusions

and paradigms of practice, and apply a critical 'theory of practice' and a corrective ethics (of care, repair and maintenance) that challenge and resist

as daily, lived experiences and actions and a care ethics as a relational

It was found that in most

responses were marginal. This supported the initial research hypothesis that integration was a phenomenon not distinct to normative categories of the migrant, but instead was a more general phenomenon of human interaction and experience.

03. Unsettling integration

Findings from surveys and interviews

Introduction

As outlined in the methodology, a key aim of the survey design was to attempt to avoid imposing normative dichotomies of migration on participants, and to move away from pre-set categorisations which we believed would distort answers to the question of integration. We therefore avoided asking whether the person was a migrant or a local; a 'guest' or 'host'; 'outsider' or 'insider'. Instead, a question asked if the participant had either migrated to the territory they were currently living in, or had been born there. This sought to circum-navigate participants to not designate themselves and hence reproduce categories of law, nationality, ethnicity, or popular narratives and discourse, whilst still allowing us to understand patterns of mobility and identify respondents who had moved from one place to another at some point in time without them assuming a 'migrant' identity in the process. Rather, the question and answers resulted in a more universal conception of the phenomenon of migration which could include 'locals' as well as 'migrants' and 'migrant locals'.

The meaning of integration

2%

98%

40%

60%
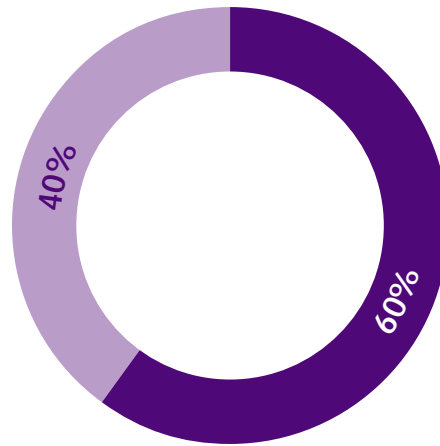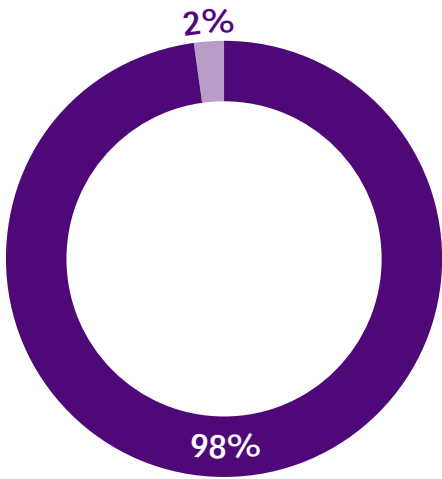
contradicting language used to describe integration. For example, to name a few, there was; assimilation, inclusion, permeation, connection, cooperation, interpenetration, rehabilitation, merging, contributing, incorporating, asso- ciating, involving, joining, unifying, uniting, gathering, inserting, interacting, assembling and accepting, amongst many others. Within this list, two terms - common within discourse on migrant integration - attracted the most consen-

integration where a minority group adapts its characteristics and identity to a larger group. Inclusion on the other hand, was usually referred to as a form of

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"Integration is real only when the majority as well adapts and broadens its

albeit to a lesser extent than the other direction. Otherwise, when it is only the minority that makes the habits and customs of the majority their own, without an exchange, I would speak only of assimilation."

Across the responses, these two terms of inclusion and assimilation related to

'unity', 'becoming one' or a 'whole', which appeared in almost a quarter of all responses (24%). Although these answers used the language of unity, which might suggest the equal merging of multiple parts, they still tended to be divided in a similar pattern to the terms of assimilation and inclusion. On the one hand, like assimilation, some responses viewed integration as consisting of a smaller part joining a larger, pre-existing part, which therefore presup-

> *"For me, integration is about having the same opportunities and rights as local people."*

Whereas for the next quote below, action and change is personalised:

> *"Integration means that I have to change, I have to change things."*

This was more easily found in the interviews which conveyed more of the tone of the respondents, where the use of more active verbs such as joining,

the subject of integration.

This might assume the transformative role of the migrant within a host society. However, it might also imply the onus and responsibility of integration is still perceived as the responsibility of those 'who have to integrate' rather than to the society at large

Two-ways

This distinction between active or passive language tended to emerge most frequently within the discourse of integration as being a 'two-way process', which was a theme explicitly mentioned 68 times within the responses (14% of total). These responses usually referred to integration as being an exchange that is not one-directional, but two-directional between the host and the

well as compromises:

> *"Integration is, or should be, a process in which, through getting to know each other and exchanging knowledge, customs, traditions, a new society is created together."*

This directionality of integration emerged in nearly all the other themes, usually

-

some ways, mutual in others, and sometimes in contradiction.

Adaptation as learning

Adaptation was a theme of integration that was found in 18% of responses,

abilities. Within this theme, the binary of integration being a two-way process also emerges quite clearly, with some respondents placing the onus of adaptation on the arrival group:

> *"[Integration] is adapting to the customs of a given country, understanding and using their language."*

Adaptation was a theme of integration that was found in 18% of

integration as a process of learning new skills, languages and abilities.

Others on the host group:

> "For me, it means to integrate people who are coming from somewhere else in the community into social networks so that they can attend in social interactions as everyone who was born here. If that requires support in

And others in balance:

> "[Integration is] a two-way process of mutual adaptation of the local community and people from another place. It requires a great deal of

Welcome and respect

Other themes were primarily one-directional, and placed the burden of integration on those who arrive, such as the theme of 'respect', which comprised 44 of the total responses (9%). This theme related to integration as being the respect and understanding of a host societies rules and legislation, or the understanding of the more intangible cultural codes of a society:

> '[Integration is] the assimilation, and respect for the applicable legislation
>
> -
>
> vailing social norms, and the understanding of cultural codes."

Or on the contrary, the theme of 'welcome', which comprised 64 of the responses (14%), was also usually one-directional, but placed the emphasis of integration on the host communities ability to receive and welcome new arrivals into their community:

> "[Integration is] to welcome a person into a community and consider such a person as part of that community."; "being welcoming in the host society,
>
> -

Here, the idea of welcoming presupposes an othering process and the reproduction of the distinction host/guest.

Responses falling under the themes of respect and welcome in the survey would occasionally merge into a larger, more nuanced, and usually more

contained language such as diversity, identity, heritage, experience and origins. The overarching emphasis of these responses was placed on the fact that integration did not have to presuppose the dominance or loss of one group's identity over another's, even when adaptation took place:

> "In my opinion, the concept of 'integration' is not totally positive, because it is based on the existence of two cultures: a dominant one, and a subordinate one which needs to be 'integrated', namely assimilated. Sometimes, this pro-

But rather, these responses often felt that integration should mean an adaptation which was mutual, and which could retain both former identities alongside the creation of a new, shared identity:

> "For me, integration means becoming part of a society without forgetting yourself and your personal background. You build yourself into a foreign society and also bear its responsibilities."; "Being able to be part of a soci-

Integration as a process

mentioned the least with 19 responses (4%), however when it did occur, was usually strongly expressed:

> "I understand integration as a lifelong task for all people who want to live in a community. For me, integration always means to give and take, a good measure of tolerance and solidarity intentions. The moment I turn away from my fellow human beings, my integration ends. So integration should be worked on for a lifetime."

ence, and refer to integration as being the gradual dissolution of one's past identity to make way for the new:

> "Integration is a long-time process where someone that comes from a
>
> the habits and culture of the new place and also gradually abandons the habits that he had in his country of origin."

Integration as belonging

Lastly, the most commonly referenced theme was 'belonging', which was found in 149 of responses (32%), and primarily referred to integration as being the creation of a shared community and society:

> an individual bearer of positive culture, traditions and values"; "…the process through which a person has the opportunity to feel part of a collective in its various aspects."

these same themes also emerged, with some considering integration as a two-way reciprocal process that requires patience, willingness, time and open mindedness, and others perceiving integration as one-directional either by the migrants or by the hosting communities.

> "[Integration is] integrating yourself and your culture with them, but not forgetting your culture"; "Integration means acceptance to the fact that you are just the way you want to be. It should be far from assimilating the 'Other'"; "I believe we should instead favor a new meaning in which it is understood as a dynamic and reciprocal process"; "Constantly trying to get the people you come to, to accept you"; "Adjustment is everything, and if the immigrant wants to belong to the community, the obstacles are overpowered."

However within the interviews, almost all the responses intersect on the meaning of integration as the ability to adapt and navigate changing circum-

found in the survey results, both represent the risks and rewards necessary to be taken when embarking on the new, and in becoming part of a community separate from yourself. Whether it is the life of a migrant, refugee, asylum

ences correspond to their ability to adapt, or not, in the face of change. The proceeding sections of this analysis embarks with this assumption, attempts to avoid migranticised language, and instead, assumes that integration is a spatial practice that can be only either hindered or enhanced by policy.

Within the interviews, almost all the responses intersect on the meaning of integration as the ability to adapt and navigate changing circumstances.

The multiple dimensions of inhabitation

As explained in the previous chapters, and building on the assumption that integration is a multidimensional concept, too complex to be captured by a

factors of integration were either important, or not, in supporting inhabitation.

ing and Security. The percentage of respondents who strongly agreed with the

sub-dimensions in order to provide a more nuanced exploration.

FIGURE 3.9

Q: Which factors are most important for supporting integration? (average of 'strongly agree' response) (N=570)

Participation	44%
Plans	54%
	64%
Network	65%
Belonging	69%
Security	78%

FIGURE 3.10

Q: Which factors are most
important for supporting
integration? (N=570)

Security: Having secure accommodation

Security: Feeling secure in health and wellbeing

Belonging: Feeling like part of a community

Belonging: Trusting in people iving in your community

Network: Having good contacts in the city such as with friends and family

Plans: Feeling free to leave or return the city when you wish

> me to look for a real job, not as a housekeeper. So, I could switch to a normal permit".

Other interview respondents felt that work was a way not only to form relationships with locals, but to create a positive perception from locals as a working member of the society. In this way, work becomes an image builder, and alludes to a notion of belonging that one wants to create:

> "The work of the local community, but then also for them to see my work. Because then it helps to get to know us more"; "[...] that's why integration is important to me because I will get to know them and they will get to know me and then when I would work and have a job they would create some image of me".

This again reveals the implicit idea that migrants have to prove themselves worthy of the host society through achieving security status and abiding by the host's rules and expectations.

Belonging

The second highest ranked dimension in terms of importance from the survey responses was Belonging, with an average of 69% of respondents scoring it as very important. The importance of belonging here can be related to the

we are able to view it's relation with other dimensions of integration with more focus: Interestingly, 'trust in the community' ranked slightly higher than 'feeling like part of a community', and both ranked below the Networks sub-dimen-

sub-dimension of 'being competent in the local language'.

This result of belonging – although still highly ranked as important to integra-

edge, could be understood more clearly within the interview narratives. One respondent, for example, although expressing strong feelings towards lacking
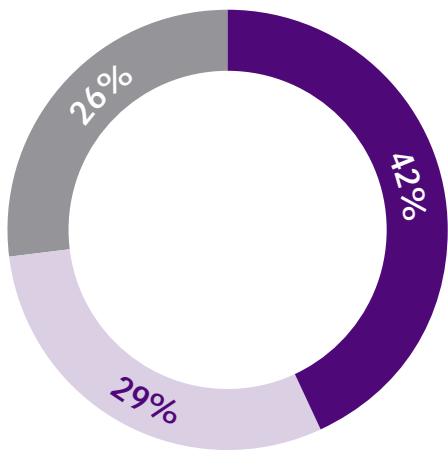
FIGURE 3.11

Q: Which is most important
for you?

- Being (socially) well-connected
- Being able to choose
what is better for yourself

26%

42%

29%

Plans

Interestingly, only 54% of respondents ranked the dimension of Plans as 'very
important', which contained the sub-dimensions of 'feeling free to leave or
return to the city when you wish' and 'seeing a future for yourself and having
plans to stay for a long time'. Although these sub-dimensions relate to notions
of agency and independence - often deemed important in integration literature -
within the survey responses they are perhaps seen as non-essential in the short
term, and instead feature more as long term aspirations after security, a sense
of belonging, and the facilitating of networks and knowledge are achieved. In
the interviews however the importance of this dimension was revealed with
far more nuance, and could be understood much more clearly within wider
narratives. For example, for many interviewees, their ability to choose which
destination they wished to migrate or move to was a very important one, and
was connected to their imaginaries of a place, their agency, and also sense of

at the beginning, and described having to psychologically readjust their expec-
tations and accept their situation before they could settle.

Participation

The dimension of Participation ranked the lowest in terms of importance in
supporting inhabitation, with only 44% of participants scoring the factor as
'very important'. This consisted of the sub-dimensions of 'representation in
political and media discourse' (47% listed as 'very important'), 'being able to
participate in local politics' (44%), and 'being able to participate in national
politics' (40%). Like the dimension of Plans, this suggests that participation is
likely a more long-term aspiration, and usually superseded in the short-term
by more direct and immediate needs.

What is most important?

inhabitation but in which participants were able to select only one of three

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mous' as having the highest frequency of importance with 42% of respond-
ents selecting it. This is followed by 'being (socially) well connected' with 29%
of responses, and lastly 'being able to choose what is better for yourself' with

in terms of shelter, food and livelihood creation.

As we have seen from the interviews however, each of these dimensions are
intrinsically intertwined: Employment and security leads to identity, facilitates
social connections and community and, therefore, a sense of belonging; secu-
rity does not only mean obtaining a property, but also the creation of a home
and a sense of place and ownership within a territory; and employment does
not only relate to income, but also to visibility within a community, a corre-
sponding pride and purpose, and the agency to approach integration from
a position of equality. Between all these dimensions is the knowledge and
networks that form the links between the acts, and which ultimately facilitate
the process of belonging within a larger community, and the process of inhabi-
tation, meaning adapting, navigating and learning the city.

'Crucial acquaintances'. The actors that support inhabitation

within their inhabitation experience. From the results, a pattern in scale can be seen to emerge quite clearly, with the top three actors of educational institutions (68% designated 'very important'), host and migrant community (65%) and authorities at local level (61%), all being actors on the immediate local and community scale. Besides 'National government' (ranked 4th with 57% of respondents viewing it as 'very important'), this pattern in scale continues downwards, with authorities at a regional level (47%), media (45%), and the largest scale institution of the EU (40%) all ranking as the least important actors. This emphasis on local relations also corresponds to the dimension of Plans from
over local decisions' ranked above the importance of 'participation in national elections', and appeared to be a clear trend throughout the results.

4th in terms of importance as se   , here, in contradiction, we can see the most important actor being ranked as educational institutions.

when considering actors, relationships and networks more explicitly.

Figure 3.13 asks the question of the importance of actors again. It focuses, however, more broadly on a local scale, and only allows participants to select

of the local community to a sense of integration, with 32% of respondents selecting it. This was roughly twice that of the next three responses of NGO's

be due to participants interpreting the 'local community' as representing a

the 'Local authority', or perhaps as a more diverse set of networks than the 'Family', 'Migrant community' or 'Neighbours'.

However, when the responses of those who stated they had migrated to the city are compared to those who had said they were born there, a strong contrast emerges. Whereas only 22% of those who migrated to the city reported that they would turn to the 'Local community' for integration support, twice the number of those who were born there said they would (44%). And where 24% of migrants reported turning to the 'Migrant community' for integration support, only 8% of those born in the city said they would. On the one hand this could be seen as quite an expected result, supported by Wessendorf's (2018) notion of the 'crucial acquaintances' of migrant integration often being forged between other migrants as 'bridges' of social capital. However on the other hand, this

which group is doing the integrating suddenly becomes blurred. This is since an additional question that emerges from this result is whether those who

of a migrant, or instead from their own position as a 'local'. If it was the former,

disjuncture in perspective on integration between these two groups. But if the reason were the latter, then it means those born in the city have been answering the questions about integration from a personal perspective: that is, as a process not limited to those who cross borders, and as a universal experience faced by anyone in their daily lives.

Multiple lives

from the survey and interview responses, a number of trends and patterns are evident across groups about which dimensions are prioritised for navigating and learning the city.

Priorities certainly can change depending on circumstance and individual trajectories; the needs of a young person newly arrived

a longer established parent with dependants, or a more elderly person born within the territory and experiencing uncertainty over more newly arrived groups.

Despite this, priorities certainly can change depending on circumstance and

Comparing between the groups the results varied only slightly. There was a

who migrated to the city having twice the rate of familiarity than those who didn't (12% against 6%). There was also a slight variation within the familiarity with intercultural activities, with those who migrated being less familiar than those born in the city (14% against 19%). For both groups however, 'Education, skills and language training' is the form of service provision

where language support as an essential support service was one of the most frequent mentions across all respondents. This is attributed to the importance of local language knowledge for accessing all other forms of services, resources and networks. Legal and administrative support was the second service that participants were most familiar with, which was also a common theme found within the interviews, since having valid paperwork and documents was an essential prerequisite for the formal acquisition of other factors such as housing and work.

that security was the top priority; in the ability to communicate and navigate

the fact that housing emerges as the service respondents were least familiar
-
modation' was ranked as the most important factor in supporting inhabitation by respondents. While this result could mean participants have not been seeking out housing support as much as other services, when contrasted against

services are either absent or inaccessible across most territories.

For both groups however, 'Education, skills and language

Conclusions
Expanding the 'vocabulary of practice'

Institutional responses to migration and systems of provision, as provided by the partners of the consortium, have been useful in providing insight into the present-day formal practices to support inhabitation. However, as highlighted in chapter one, practice is not only focused on institutions and policy but also on the diverse refugee and migrant practices that address the challenges of migration in the absence – or in spite of the presence – of formal humanitarian providers and state intervention. As this research shows, there are additional practices that develops intuitively through every-day life, and which are not always directly related to integration as a concept in and of itself.

Beyond service provision, the interviews revealed the presence of a set of practices that constitute the unspoken and scarcely notable background of everyday life. In reviewing the literature, a focus on such spatial practices of everyday life as a target for urban equality policies can be seen to attempt to redirect policy away from a focus on migrants and refugees themselves, who may, for example, not self-identify with these labels. Instead, a focus on spatial practices has

place and spaces, building stronger communities more generally for all inhabit-

-
gagements people actively participate in shaping the urban – even though this is hardly noticed. Such practices need to be drawn to the fore, made visible and turned into an epistemic object in order to enter discourse.

From the analysis of the interview narratives, four relational spaces emerged: public and social spaces; humanitarian and institutional spaces; commercial spaces; and religious spaces, where a variety of spatial practices of care, maintenance and repair take place. These spaces were derived from the interviews rather than the surveys since they emerged more clearly within wider narratives. However, this framework of spaces was applied to responses to a survey question which asked participants to outline individual, and personal practices of inhabitation that they may have discovered through their everyday lives, not

FIGURE 3.16

Q: Have you initiated or adopted any particular practices or habits (not through an organisation) that you think has supported either your or others integration? (N=143).

Public and social encounters	59%
Institutional encounters	30%
Commercial encounters	8%
Religious encounters	3%

work becomes simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, ethically committed to the oppressed and also discriminatory. But these spaces are also where the interdependence of care practices becomes evident. Beyond categories of deserving, and emergency situations, here care is practised as a form of 'transformative solidarity'.

Within the interviews, participants listed a wide range of 'institutional spaces' for integration programmes and activities, such as language training centres, scholarship programs for artists coming from endangered countries (ICORN), immigrant support centres, European Solidarity Centers, and schools. Whilst these makeup the more visible, normative practices of integration as explored in the previous section, when viewed as spaces of relation, more nuanced characteristics emerged.

service delivered by the institution, but also and especially on the relationship

-

ness of the service can be tied to the interactions that occurred within those

even the atmosphere of waiting rooms. One participant, when describing a

more open mood, leading to a more successful outcome.

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Respondents would often not only comment on the

the institution, but also and especially on the relationship they established with those who operated them.

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of social encounters however was that of the school, with many interview

also for parents, families and the wider community. This was also seen in the

actor in facilitating integration, with 68% of respondents agreeing. Schools in this way do not only provide a space for learning, but also a space of encounter; a place where diverse groups within a community could meet with a clear purpose in doing so, which could therefore facilitate micro-interactions either

of such spaces was also mentioned in relation to the impact of the pandemic, as also entailing the loss of social opportunities:

"[...] with the children and the school, they were left alone at home and did

-

language they learning through physical contact. It wasn't easier because of the corona."

Care in public and social spaces

Care is fundamentally a relational practice where all parties have an interest

Commercial spaces, like humanitarian, institutional and public ones, represent another space of negotiation and daily life which often cannot be avoided. However, as such, they also represent spaces where interactions between diverse groups necessarily take place, and therefore present potential and opportunity in advancing relationships, responsibility and interdependence, as the core elements of care practices.

One interview respondent suggested that multi-ethnic shops and supermarkets were a space where unlikely relationships could form for them. For them,

easily become self-reinforcing and be hard to overcome, however having the 'need' to connect through commerce was one way this could be tackled. Despite this, they said it could sometimes work the opposite way, where shops which became over-specialised for migrant groups, such as those that may focus on a certain cultural product, may seem inaccessible to other groups, and as such reduce the diversity of encounters:

> "There must be an exchange between immigrants coming from other countries, between immigrants and locals...I don't go to Chinese shops, not because they sell poor quality products, no, I don't think so. It is because of ignorance, I don't know their products. So, I'd rather go to Esselunga (supermarket), where I know what to get."

Care and repair in faith spaces

Religion, as a medium and space of relation, was mentioned by a wider number of interview respondents, who often referred to religious events, spaces and practices as an infrastructure of care and as opportunities to know others from within and outside their community. This was particularly so for those

We live in cities. We learn how to access them – their services, jobs and housing provisions,

privilege, capitals, status and networks. This is rather more relevant. The discourse and policy on integration should be completely reframed as a discourse and policy around urban equality.

04. Conclusion

The report "Unsettling integration" is not about how successful integration of migrants into host societies looks like, or how to achieve better levels of integration. It is rather about why we get everything wrong with integration and why there is no such thing like successful integration.

First, as discussions of coloniality in chapter one suggest, integration is a concept widely employed to implement social control, a governmental technology in Foucauldian terms, developed by white European host societies. It is not something that ordinary people – whether migrant or not – necessarily feel, live, perceive or conceive. It doesn't really speak to the reality on the

and bottom-up strategies that make up people's urban survival and thrive, as

community members are not asked to integrate – why would migrants need to do that?

We live in cities. We learn how to access them – their services, jobs and hous-

networks. This is rather more relevant. The discourse and policy on integration should be completely reframed as a discourse and policy around urban equality.

Second, integration is an abstract state-centred concept grounded in the

state/territory/sovereignty. Integration is in its essence an othering process. This can make it colonial and racist. There is a sense that people are being incorporated into host society codes, into host society spaces, rather than there being a more radical epistemic challenge unfolding. Integration is still unfortunately seen as the ability of the other to adapt to the host context and

the society. Host societies even develop services to facilitate such process – meaning to facilitate and reproduce othering and control. Yet the question on integration should also be around how the host context and the society moulds around foreigners.

Integration – if we accept its need – is shaped by individual agency, however the responsibility for it doesn't fall on individuals alone –integration is shaped very much by outside forces such as policy and media. The latter calls for reconceptualise and reposition integration in migration research and policy. As long as we keep framing migration though integration, as long as we keep

migrant communities in cities nor the peaceful coexistence between diverse groups.

_____

As long as we keep framing migration though integration, as long as we keep pursuing integration policies – we will not

migrant communities in cities nor the peaceful coexistence between diverse groups.

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However, reframing integration as a form and practice of urban encounter (Fiddian- Qasmiyeh, 2015, 2016a), as a relational practice (Latimer and Munro, 2009) extremely subjective and non normative (Boccagni & Bal-

Mulholland 2015), in one word, reframing integration as inhabitation help us to better understand the manifold transformative formal and informal encounters between displaced people/migrants, places, institutions and services that are developed to endure and maintain life (Boano & Astolfo 2019).

Through this research we attempted to go back to the notion of integration,

-
tion on positionality and the relationship between researcher and researched subject. First, we tried to move away from pre-set migranticised categories

Secondly, the research was very much shaped by the idea that integration is a form of transformative relation, between people, places and institutions. It is driven by individual choices and collective constraints. It is the way we all build an urban basis for ourselves. So the attempt was to decolonise the notion of integration by unlinking it from structures of power and privilege, policy and disciplinary language and categories.

Yet a decolonial project related to migration policy is still to start. The review of the literature on integration and practice underscored the 'otherness' and binary distinctions embedded within policy discourse and design. Much of the academic literature formed around challenging dominant discourses of integration and advocated shifting focus onto migrant agency, relational practices,

encounters and place. Integration policy and practice, however, remain entangled within this policy discourse and practical attempts to negotiate them within local contexts of the nine territories examined in this project add obstacles to 'integration' processes. The majority of migration policy dehumanise, racialise and infantilise migrants. It is pointless to quote here the burgeoning literature (and advocacy) on the wrongs of the management of migration in Europe – policy that is leading to massacres in the Aegean and Mediterranean seas, and murderous spectacles of violence at the Eastern borders, inhumane detentions in the camps whether in the Greek island or in Ventimiglia or Calais.

The decolonial project has remained so far within academia and doesn't speak to policy. What we wish this report will be helpful for, is rather than pro-

to migrants, refugees, and anyone who struggles on a daily basis against hostile environments, lack of funding, rising racism and discrimination, and who work in a ridden space around coloniality. This is ultimately to understand how the latter gets reproduced, but can be equally challenged by subverting discourses and categories.

The decolonial project has remained so far within academia and doesn't speak to policy. What we wish this report will be helpful to, is rather than providing solutions for a problem, is to foster a

work closely to migrants and refugees.

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