

**Rethinking integration:  
The Role of Public Space in Creating  
Positive Relations with Migrants -  
The Case of Warsaw**





# Rethinking integration: The Role of Public Space in Creating Positive Relations with Migrants – The Case of Warsaw

---

## Colophon

Utrecht University

Faculty of Geosciences

Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning

Author: Kinga Nowakowska

Student ID: 6974767

k.k.nowakowska@students.uu.nl

### Under supervision of:

Dr. ir. Marlies Meijer MSc

Utrecht University

Faculty of Geosciences

Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning

On the front page: *Image from [www.shutterstock.com](http://www.shutterstock.com) edited by the author*



**Universiteit Utrecht**



*“The aim of integration is to create a multicultural, diverse society, and integration does not mean becoming a Pole or giving up your Polish identity. To integrate means to draw as much as possible from what is around you, because diversity results only in good and beautiful things.”*

Interview respondent, 28<sup>th</sup> May 2020



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If I had to describe this 5-month process of writing a thesis I would use several words: *challenging* - certainly, as it was the first time I conducted expert interviews alone and wrote such a big academic paper in my life; *stressful* - sometimes very, especially when I was getting lost; *fascinating* - as I learnt so many new things and met so many interesting people on the way, but above all, it was truly *rewarding*.

I must admit that the first challenge I encountered at the very beginning of this thesis was when I had to decide the topic I would like to research. But as soon as I realised that there are two particular things for which I like and value urban planning the most, I certainly knew which path I would like to follow. Being close to residents and knowing that I have the opportunity to make their everyday lives more comfortable or pleasant is for me its most important social aspect. In spatial terms, I have been always interested in public spaces and the way they impact community relations. I have undertaken a similar pathway while writing my Bachelor thesis which was about revitalising public spaces in a deprived neighbourhood and studying the impact it might have on people's lives. Now I decided to follow this interest and this is what guided me towards studying one of the disadvantaged social groups in the city.

The accomplishment of this thesis would hardly be possible without the support of several people whom I would like to sincerely thank. At the beginning, I would like to thank my supervisor Marlies, for her time, knowledge, and readiness to help me whenever I encountered a problem.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the professionals from Warsaw who were willing to participate in my research and expressed such a positive attitude towards my work. I would like to thank them for being so helpful and engaged. Their contribution to this study is of great value.

This long and 'bumpy' process of writing thesis was undoubtedly much easier when it was shared with friends who were encountering the same struggles. I would like to thank Vera, Kate, and Justine for sharing experience, knowledge, fears, doubts, and support. It was great to have you there. Special thanks goes also to my parents for always believing in me and sharing good advice when I needed it. Finally, I would like to thank Aurélien for always being there to support me, cheer me up, and make me believe in myself again.

Kinga Nowakowska

Gdańsk, 31th July 2020





## SUMMARY

While migration is certainly not a new phenomenon, in recent years it has become more articulated in political and public debate in Europe due to the rising number of migrants coming from non-EU countries. The migration-driven diversity has been growing considerably creating tensions between local communities and newcomers, resulting in expressions of prejudice, distrust, and exclusionist reactions that enhanced fragmentation by religion, ethnicity, or race (Gijsberts et al. 2004). To address these issues, policymakers strive to implement various 'pathways to integration' that aim to include migrants in the 'social mainstream'. However, the undertaken pathways faced deep criticism of many scholars as they failed to account for equity and acknowledge that migrants are an important social group that deserves to be treated as regular residents and maintain their own identity. This critique constitutes the point of departure for this thesis.

The purpose of this research is to reconsider these pathways and look for more inclusive solutions that could generate more awareness and acceptance of multiculturalism. This is done by looking at the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space. Drawing on the theories of social justice by Fainstein and Lefebvre, this study presents a critique of current integration pathways and brings attention to the notion of equity and human rights what allows to derive factors that ensure inclusiveness of urban spaces. Subsequently, the social contact theory is employed to explore the potential conditions that would facilitate meaningful encounters in public space that could shape people's perceptions and attitudes towards migrants. The empirical research aimed to expand on theoretical findings by answering the overarching research question: *What are the factors that could strengthen local opportunity for inclusive inter-ethnic integration in public space?*

The empirical research was placed in Warsaw and was based on interviews with local experts involved in integration issues in Warsaw. This case has been chosen owing to the specific 'contradictory' context where the more 'welcoming' local context of Warsaw is embedded in the different, anti-immigration national setting. This gave the opportunity to examine the process of integration from a different, local perspective, where the central narrative gave local actors an impetus to counter such unfavourable approaches and create more inclusive pathways. This research is of exploratory nature owing to the limited amount of research on integration in Warsaw and in Poland in general.

This study results in some theoretical insights that uncovered the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space in a hostile context. It is concluded that in such a context where prejudices deeply rooted, the use of public space is still to some extent exclusionary, simple every day encounters in public space will not bring about a fundamental change. This research uncovered several factors that could strengthen local opportunity for integration in public space: good governance of public space that makes it welcoming for all residents including migrants, the organisation of multicultural meetings or events which facilitate interaction between social groups and enhance the visibility of migrants in public space, the creation of 'places of local activity', and the collaboration of local experts who govern urban space and facilitate such meaningful encounters.



# CONTENT

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Summary</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Figures and tables</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>15</b>
1.1 Research objectives and research questions	17
1.2 Relevance	18
1.3 Structure	19
<b>2 The context of integration in the European Union</b>	<b>20</b>
2.1 Migration situation in Europe	20
2.1.1 <i>The concept of a migrant</i>	21
2.1.2 <i>The problem of discrimination and exclusion</i>	22
2.2 The concept of integration	24
2.2.1 <i>Pathways and approaches to integration</i>	26
2.3 Concluding remarks - the point of departure	28
<b>3 Theoretical framework</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1 Beyond the category of difference	30
3.2 Social justice in the city	31
3.2.1 <i>The critique of the pathways of integration</i>	35
3.2.2 <i>Towards inclusive life in urban space for migrants</i>	36
3.3 The role of public space for integration	39
3.3.1 <i>The meaning of public space</i>	39
3.3.2 <i>The value of public space for migrants</i>	41
3.3.3 <i>Multicultural contacts in public space</i>	42
3.4 Concluding thoughts	44
<b>4 Methodology</b>	<b>46</b>
4.1 Research strategy	46
4.1.1 <i>Case study design</i>	47

4.1.2	<i>Case selection</i>	47
4.2	Data collection	48
4.2.1	<i>Interviews and participants</i>	49
4.2.2	<i>Data processing and analysis</i>	51
4.2.3	<i>Ethical and privacy issues</i>	52
4.3	Considerations of the research quality	52
4.3.1	<i>Validity and reliability</i>	53
4.3.2	<i>Research in a pandemic</i>	54
<b>5</b>	<b>The Polish context</b>	<b>55</b>
5.1	The national discourse on integration	56
5.2	Integration on the local level – the context of Warsaw	57
<b>6</b>	<b>Research results</b>	<b>59</b>
6.1	Factors to ensure inclusiveness of the integration process	59
6.2	Pathways to integration on the local level	66
6.3	Integration in public space	68
6.3.1	<i>The role of multicultural interaction and encounter</i>	69
6.3.2	<i>Mutual integration</i>	71
6.3.3	<i>Spaces of integration</i>	75
6.4	Concluding thoughts – the contradictory setting	80
<b>7</b>	<b>Discussion and conclusion</b>	<b>83</b>
7.1	Answering research questions	84
7.2	Theoretical and methodological reflection	90
7.3	Recommendations for future research	92
7.4	Recommendations for practice	93
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>94</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 1 – Topic lists</b>	<b>101</b>
	<b>APPENDIX 2 – Code tree</b>	<b>103</b>

## FIGURES AND TABLES

### List of figures

Figure 5.1 The comparison of the number of migrants in Poland in 2015 and 2020	55
Figure 6.1 Pathways to integration employed by local experts in Warsaw	67
Figure 6.2 Multicultural Street Party 2019	74
Figure 6.3 Events and workshop organised in the Multicultural Center	78

### List of tables

Table 4.1 The interview participants	50
--------------------------------------	----



# 1 INTRODUCTION

The rising number of migrants from non-EU countries moving towards and within the European Union has increased public interest in the question of their distribution, settlement, and integration, as they constitute a set of challenges that have to be faced in the era of so-called migration crisis (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). The immigration issues are mostly managed at the national level, however, it is the local government that is, in fact, responsible for the incorporation of migrants and ensuring local socio-economic well-being (OECD, 2018). As a result, a growing number of municipalities is confronted with arriving migrants whom they have to accommodate, and what is often accompanied by many different unexpected reactions from the local population (Doomernik & Glorius, 2017). The migration-driven diversity has been growing considerably creating tensions between local communities and newcomers, resulting in expressions of prejudice, distrust, and exclusionist reactions. Such circumstances underlie the issue of increased inequalities, social divide, and enhanced fragmentation by religion, ethnicity, race, class, or gender (Gijssberts et al. 2004). There has been an increasing public debate on the solutions to counteract discrimination, and finding ways to empower newcomers and include them in the 'social mainstream'. To address these issues, governments have increasingly drawn attention to the concept of integration. Existing research indicates that policymakers have tended to describe integration using binary terms such as majority/minority, us and them, stressing that migrants should assimilate and adjust to the 'dominant' society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). Others largely advocate the idea of 'positive gentrification' which implies the successful integration through the induced social mix facilitated by the presence of higher-income residents, what is expected to enhance social control, cohesion and empowerment (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). However, these 'pathways of integration' have been criticized by a great number of scholars (Meier, 2018; Galster, 2007; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Ostendorf et al., 2001; Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018), as their "simplified imagination of integration" is said to be inadequate for understanding everyday struggles, practices, and needs of people with migration background (Meier, 2018). The fact that these efforts are essentially market-driven strategies, mainly based on assimilationist theories which neglect the cultural diversity and unique identities (ibid) makes the idea highly contested. Given that such approaches fail to accomplish the goal of inclusive and empowered integration, there is a need to reconsider current pathways of integration to address the root causes of the problem of discrimination and exclusion and make them more far-reaching than they are at present. In this regard, it is particularly important to shift the focus of the integration discourse away from assimilation to the one that emphasises migrants' psychological need for security, stability, and belonging, and most importantly, does not perceive migrants through a 'category of difference'.

This thesis seeks for more inclusive solutions and the guideline towards novel pathways of integration. As some scholars believe, successful urban planning have the potential to enhance social and racial equity when these are the priorities in approaches and establishing policies (Reece, 2018). Drawing on the theories of social justice - Lefebvre's 'The Right to the City' framework, Fainstein's theory of 'The Just City', and the social contact theory, it is believed that the recognition of diversity, the creation of contacts and inducing collective action in public common space can be a way to diminish prejudice and foster integration with the community. Given that public space is a place of explicit expression of cultural diversity (Peters et al., 2011), and a place where people can meet, create social ties, and manifest their identities, it is believed that public spaces offer people the opportunity to learn about each other and share values and norms, what subsequently result in increased tolerance (Giardiello, 2014; Peters, 2011), and awareness and acceptance of multiculturalism (Peters & de Haan, 2011). Consistently with this line of reasoning, under certain circumstances encounters in public space may facilitate the process of inter-ethnic integration. However, not all interactions result in positive intercultural experience. It is, therefore, crucial to understand under what circumstances the potential of encounters in public space to reduce hostility towards migrants is increased.

There is a growing recognition that integration needs to happen on the local level, where people settle and start a new life. Local actors are said to play a key role in facilitating the integration of newcomers and empowering them to make a contribution to the community (OECD, 2018). To tackle the challenges associated with the management of migrant integration, some municipalities undertake new initiatives and create shared spaces for newcomers and local residents to meet, interact, and 'prevent communities from living parallel lives' (ibid). In the effort to promote more effective approaches to integration, local governments cooperate with other local actors - NGOs, associations, and private partners, as such well-established relations can be of great benefit for the overall process (ibid). This shows that different local actors are important in the process of inter-ethnic integration, however, the way they shape the opportunity for inter-ethnic integration has to be explored.

This study is placed in the context of Warsaw, Poland, which is considered to be a unique and significant case in this debate. Being a new destination of migration without ensuing immigration policy, and embedded in a 'contradictory' setting of anti-immigration national discourse and a more inclusive local level, Warsaw constitutes a testing ground for the implementation of novel approaches towards integration. Moreover, the case of Warsaw is particularly interesting, as it is not embedded in a context of clearly distinct ethnic groups. Instead, in Warsaw the biggest nation groups of migrants share many characteristics with the host society. Such an unusual context gives a great opportunity to examine the process of integration from a different, local perspective where the central narrative gave local actors an impetus to counter anti-immigration approaches and create more inclusive pathways.



## 1.1 Research objectives and research questions

The foregoing introduction shows that there has been an increasing concern in accommodating and building an inclusive place of living for the incoming migrants. However, the way it has been approached by state representatives not always resulted in integration, and rather often only exacerbated existing problems. The research targets migrants who face the challenge of accommodation and integration with the community. Given the critique of the integration pathways, I challenge the current approaches to integration arguing that they are not adequate to yield positive results, and need to be reconsidered towards more inclusive solutions and extended set of human rights. Therefore, this thesis aims to expand the existing work on integration by looking at the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space. By exploring the perspective of local professionals who are concerned with the issues of inter-ethnic integration, it seeks to specify the crucial factors that facilitate the encounters in public space that lead to integration, and guiding rules for more inclusive incorporation of migrants. Ultimately, it is to reconsider the pathways of integration throughout the creation of inclusive public spaces and examine if meaningful encounters can generate more tolerance and acceptance. This will be done in order to answer the overarching research question:

*What are the factors that could strengthen local opportunity for inclusive inter-ethnic integration in public space?*

This will be supported by answering the following sub-questions:

1. *What is the current focus of the discourse on migration and integration in Warsaw/Poland?*

First of all, it has to be explored how migration and integration is perceived both on the central and local level in Poland to be able to understand this specific context for the incorporation of migrants and pathways of integration they undertake. By the means of this question it is explored how the specific context and locality influence the process of integration.

2. *How do different professionals directly and indirectly shape the opportunity for integration of migrants and local residents?*

Professionals and local authorities are those who have the power to influence integration processes on the local level. However, the way they shape the opportunity for inter-ethnic integration has to be explored. This question aims to answer what is their role in this process, what pathways they employ to facilitate inclusive integration, and how they picture integration in public space.

### 3. What is the role of public space in facilitating inter-ethnic contacts and integration?

Public space is believed to take important role in the process of inter-ethnic integration as it facilitates social contacts and interaction. Nevertheless, it is not sure what are the key factors of public space that influence integration, thus they have to be specified. This question also seeks to indicate under what circumstances the potential of encounters in public space to reduce hostility towards migrants is increased.

## 1.2 Relevance

In the academic world, a lot of attention has been paid to the processes of integration and their level of success. As it has been mentioned, the number of scholars critiqued these practices. Consequently, some researchers have highlighted the need to develop more inclusive approaches. Grzymała-Kozłowska et al. (2018) call for rethinking current migrants' adaptation, settlement, and moving perceptions about integration beyond a "groupist perspective where migrants are perceived as members of minority groups who need to accommodate to the dominant group". Meier (2018) has pointed out that more empirical research is needed to ascertain whether or not urban authorities are willing to boost local opportunity structures for integration. There has been some research done on contributing topics regarding importance of public space for social and inter-ethnic encounters (Peters et al., 2011; Piesiak, 2016; Legeby, 2010; Peters, 2011; Marcus, 2007; Marrifield, 2007), however, there is a limited research on the integration of Poles with foreigners in the spaces of Warsaw (Grubbauer & Kusiak, 2012), and the research on intercultural encounters in public space from the local-micro perspective in Poland is under-researched (Winiarska, 2015). Moreover, a perspective of professionals and their role in the process of integration in Poland has not been explored. The research is considered to fill an identified gap in the existing scientific knowledge and make a valuable contribution to the study of inter-ethnic integration by bringing new insights.

This thesis is of particular importance both for research and practice with regard to adaptation and integration of migrants. It is believed to enrich the international debate with new solutions and practices, and might be an inspiration for novel ideas. It is intended that this research will expand a knowledge base about such a relevant issue nowadays, as it has been identified that the amount of research in this field is limited. Moreover, such knowledge is essential for building an inclusive society. It is anticipated that examples of inclusive integration pathways will be provided so that it will point out to the currently existing problems, and will call for a rethinking of current practices. The point of view of local professionals might influence the practices in other cities in Poland and Europe. The study is expected to highlight the importance of societal diversity and heterogeneity in public space to generate more acceptance amongst

communities. It is believed that the impact on society and real-life processes will be considerable, as the research addresses a burning issue in today's society.

### **1.3 Structure**

This thesis is structured as follows: first, in chapter 2 the context of migration and integration in Europe is presented, the concepts of a migrant and integration are discussed, and the integration pathways that are employed in many European countries are described. This chapter presents a broader perspective on migration issues in order to show the initial point of departure for this thesis and enhance its relevance. The subsequent chapter encompasses the theoretical framework which serves as a base for this study. In this chapter, the relevant concepts and theories are explored in order to build theoretical grounds for further empirical research. In chapter 4, the research strategy including methods and techniques, data collection, and methodological considerations are explained. This chapter also provides a justification for case study selection. Subsequently, chapter 5 provides a description of the case study context on the national and local level. Research results are presented in chapter 6, which encompasses an in-depth analysis of integration pathways on the local level from the point of view of professionals. Ultimately, in the last chapter, the final discussion is conducted and conclusions are drawn. This is where all theoretical and empirical findings are set together and compared in order to provide the answer to the sub-questions and the overarching research question. The thesis is finalised with methodological and theoretical reflection and recommendations for the further research on migration and integration in Poland.

## 2 THE CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

This chapter constitutes a broader contextual background for this research project in order to enhance its relevance, so that theoretical propositions derived from this study could be to some extent applicable also outside of the Polish context. This chapter also constitutes the point of departure for this research. It is to comprehensively understand the processes of migration and integration, and the concept of a migrant as these are the main subjects of this thesis. In this chapter I present the general discourse on migration and integration and what implications it has on the policies. I start by giving an overview of the migration situation in Europe in order to present the general idea on how the migration phenomenon and associated integration of migrants evolved as prominent and extensively studied concepts in Europe. Subsequently, the concept of a migrant is outlined to get a better understanding of the perception of migrants in European countries, what further leads to the problem of discrimination and exclusion which can be observed in communities worldwide, and forms a major obstacle towards inclusive integration of local communities with migrants. The concept of integration is later explored and the prevalent 'pathways of integration' among European governments are discussed to shed light on the context in which migrants are positioned. Ultimately, I present a critique on current approaches to integration in Europe.

### 2.1 Migration situation in Europe

International migration has become an increasingly prominent phenomenon worldwide in recent decades. In today's globalised world migration constitutes a necessary component of both social and economic development (Davies, 2006), as it boosts the working-age population owing to migrants who arrive with skills and knowledge that contribute to human capital development of receiving countries. Many European countries are the major destinations of migration from all over the world and they have received a significant share of migrants. The substantial post-war migration wave started early in the 1950s to 1970s and took place mostly in the North-Western European countries, subsequently in the 1980s and 1990s Southern Europe became an important destination of migration, and more recently at the beginning of XXI century, Central and Eastern European countries started receiving more newcomers (Penninx, 2005). According to the United Nations, in 2019 Europe hosted the largest number of international migrants worldwide, which amounted to 82 million (United Nations, 2019). Migration to Europe includes a very diverse group of people with varied reasons for migration. These encompass migrants in regular and irregular situations, trafficked persons, asylum seekers, refugees and displaced persons, and returnees (Davies, 2006). Migration, and thus multiculturalism have been increasingly becoming significant parts of European life.

In recent years, the constantly rising number of migrants moving towards the European Union has brought to the fore issues of migrant distribution, settlement, and integration, as they represent a complex challenge in the context of growing diversity and so-called migration crisis (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2018). The emphasis and pressure are put here on the local level, as it is most affected by immigration – it is where the absorption of migrants takes place, and where its outcomes are primarily felt (Penninx, 2005). A growing number of municipalities are confronted with the challenge of equitable accommodation, provision of health care, education, social support, and inclusive integration of migrants with local communities (Doomernik & Glorius, 2016). The issue of integration has long been one of the main topics that gained attention in the public debate revolved around the issue of ongoing migration. It also challenged social cohesion in many European cities as the arrival of migrants is often accompanied by various reactions of local residents. City administrations have long recognized that the integration of migrants and social cohesion is perhaps one of the most prominent challenges in Europe today (Doomernik & Glorius, 2016).

### *2.11 The concept of a migrant*

To fully encompass the complex nature of the concept of a migrant the perspective through which this concept is perceived and defined has to be explored. For many decades since the migration movement towards Europe has started a common feature of immigration and integration policies of many European countries has been its reactive and control-oriented character, and its ambiguous position towards acceptance of immigration and the rights of migrants (Penninx, 2005). Newcomers are often perceived through a category of difference, as the ‘other’ who does not belong to the ‘dominant ethnic group’, which is defined as “a country’s majority group, in terms of political power and economic status, which often coincides with the indigenous ethnic group” (Gijssberts et al. 2004). Recognition of migrants as ‘others’ or ‘strangers’ may be predicated upon various attributes such as legal status, physical appearance and race, perceived cultural and religious differences, or several elements combined. Such perceptions might negatively affect inter-ethnic relations and lead to a weakening of social cohesion amongst communities through discriminatory practices (Penninx, 2005).

On the contrary, Çağlar & Schiller (2015) propose a different way of using the term migrant – not as a category of difference, but to “counter the assumptions of many public policymakers and national politicians that both migrant newcomers and ‘communities’ of citizens from immigrant backgrounds stand outside of the social system, constitute a threat to social cohesion and require integration”. Essentially, the term migrant is to be applied to people who move both within and beyond national boundaries, and who can have varying legal statuses: unauthorised, refugee, legal resident or citizen (Çağlar & Schiller, 2015),

and it does not refer to the widely acknowledged 'otherness' or 'difference'. Here in this thesis, the term migrant will encompass those who come to Europe from outside of the European Union, whom I refer to as non-EU migrants. Following the path of Çağlar & Schiller (2015) the term of a migrant will be employed consistently with their line of reasoning. I will argue that the perception of migrants is highly institutionalised and inadequate to understand their real position and role in the society what inevitably causes problems with inclusive integration.

### ***2.1.2 The problem of discrimination and exclusion***

European cities represent diverse and complex contexts for the incorporation of immigrants. As a result of ongoing global processes many societies have become more multicultural than ever before what challenged its social fabric and induced the social divide. According to Bollens (2004), growing differences and uneven development have led to enhanced fragmentation by race, class, income, culture, and history. The massive migration waves have been always accompanied by inter-ethnic conflicts and exclusionist reactions such as xenophobia, racism, and social envy (Gijsberts et al. 2004). The literature has been marked by longstanding debates about multiculturalism, ethnic attitudes, inter-ethnic relations, and the causes of marginalisation and exclusion (Lichter, 2012). It is believed that negative reactions to ethnicity and diversity result from the expression of prejudice and the notion of symbolic threat. Prejudice has been broadly defined by Allport (1954) as "an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization". Here he points out to the cause of prejudice which is said to stem from the lack of awareness and basing one's beliefs on stereotypes. Similarly Ashmore (1970) defines prejudice as "a negative attitude", however he adds an important element to this definition stressing that prejudices are expressed "toward a socially defined group and toward any person perceived to be a member of that group" (McLaren, 2003). This is related to the notion of symbolic threats, whereby people perceive that an out-group has different morals, values, beliefs, and attitudes than their own group (ibid). The expression of prejudice of a host society can widen the social distance and, in turn, affect the integration process for the immigrant group and their position in society (Lee, 2009). It may have its roots in a multitude of different causes such as historical conflicts and negative stereotypes resulting from the past or relate to physical appearance, especially skin colour. According to Lee (2009) prejudices always raise tensions amongst community members and might lead to a variety of exclusionist reactions.

Exclusionism may manifest itself in numerous ways. Essentially, it encompasses unfavourable attitudes towards ethnic minorities, starting from avoidance of any inter-ethnic contacts, the opposition towards equal treatment of minorities, and denial of civil rights for migrants, to more harsh reactions such as the willingness to expel members of ethnic groups from society through voting for extreme anti-immigrant

parties who question their presence in the country (Gijssberts et al. 2004). Besides, some studies claimed that ethnic exclusionism is practiced by people who strongly support nationalism or patriotism, and thus manifest their beliefs and feelings of national pride and national superiority through discriminatory reactions (ibid).

In the literature, the opinions in the debate on prejudice towards migrants vary. While a multitude of scholars strive to counter prejudices arguing that they are detrimental to migrants' lives and based on faulty generalisation, other researchers favour the assumption that homogeneity produces social cohesion and therefore nation-states should be culturally homogenous (Çağlar & Schiller, 2018). Putnam (2007) has been widely quoted as well as critiqued for his exclusionist approach claiming that migrants are inherently threatening to the social fabric and tend to reduce solidarity and social capital. He argues that "in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods residents of all races tend to 'hunker down'; the trust is lowered, altruism and community cooperation rarer, friends fewer".

Studies on barriers to integration of migrants in the European Union indicated that one of the main obstacles to inclusive integration was the expression of racism and ignorance not only in interpersonal relations but also at the institutional level (Robila, 2018). European governments, media and many political parties often perceive ethno-cultural diversity as fundamentally problematic (Dahinden et al. 2013).

*"The appeal to integration, as launched against the 'immigrants' is a variation of politics based upon the image of a society which is a victim of external elements or elements that have come from without, a society whose cultural integrity is threatened. This image is soon complemented with nationalistic projects of exclusion, of racism, xenophobia and a rejection of all forms of otherness. To a certain extent, it presents itself as the political response to the sociological discourse of integration" (Wieviorka, 2014).*

On the policy level this might be expressed through limitation of rights, having no access to local and/or national political systems and decision making, or long periods of uncertainty about application for a residence permit (Penninx, 2005). Such circumstances and adoption of exclusionist policies in which immigrants are as represented as 'outsiders', certainly have negative implications for the process of integration.

The aforementioned forms of discrimination may have also detrimental repercussions on migrants' lives. Social determinants of health are believed to be associated with living and working conditions, social environment, and the level of social cohesion and integration (Davies, 2006). Migrants affected by social inequalities, exclusion, and very often also poverty are likely to experience severe 'acculturative stress' and

insecurity, which put their physical, mental and social well-being at risk (ibid). Moreover, as they typically settle in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, which already face challenges through urban disinvestment, poor housing, and high levels of unemployment, they are even more exposed to physical ill-health associated with adapting to a new cultural context (Phillips & Robinson, 2015). Such places constitute an unfavourable context for migrants' adaptation, as they might exacerbate the negative consequences causing adverse effects, including depression, anxiety, emotional distress, and self-esteem and identity impairment (ibid).

Given the foregoing review on the discrimination of minorities, the idea of what constitutes successful integration is challenged in the light of the persisting problem of inequalities and exclusion. As will be presented in the subsequent paragraphs, these issues have been barely addressed in the integration policies of many European countries, and therefore integration processes were highly criticised because of its ignorance of the root causes of the problems and the struggles which migrants face every day.

## **2.2 The concept of integration**

To date, the concept of integration in Europe has been used to discuss immigrants' settlement and adaptation, and has been mainly understood as the participation of migrants in the life of a receiving society often stimulated by special policies (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). Although there is no agreed scholarly definition of this term, it is frequently used by policy-makers to imply accommodation and assimilation (ibid). The EU definition states "Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents" (EESC, 2004), however in practice it has been mostly understood as "the process by which immigrants become accepted into society" (Penninx, 2005), rather than a process of mutual adaptation.

The sociological theories of immigration are mostly built upon classical assimilation theory which defined assimilation as "the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of life" (Alba & Nee, 1997). In this context, the concept of integration was based on assumptions that immigrants constitute an alien element with distinctive ethnic-origin traits which were seen as shortcomings that needed adjustment to successfully assimilate to the socially coherent systems of the host country (Lee, 2009). Therefore, while integration policies have strived to encourage the adaptation of immigrants to the new society, they aimed to achieve that through maintaining the existing socio-cultural order of the assumed dominant society with its prevailing singular culture and identity (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). Understanding of the concept of integration as absorption of immigrants into a receiving society without being able to maintain their own identity led to the contention that it has been confused with the concept of assimilation (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). Winiarska (2019) noted that in the scientific



discourse the concept of integration is increasingly less often used because of its pejorative meaning; instead, researchers use concepts such as 'rooting', 'settlement' or 'inclusion' (in Creative Europe, 2019).

It has been argued that the concept of integration became increasingly problematic because of its ongoing politicisation in Europe, what restricted the understanding of the concept as a mutual process (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). Consequently, the studies tend to pay more attention to measuring of the narrow determinants and outcomes of integration, including education and training, employment, housing and income, while disregarding less tangible, but equally important, social and psychological factors. This is due to the fact that such factors are much more difficult to measure as they are about subjective perceptions of what is defined as different and the consequences of such categorization, that might later result in growing stereotypes and prejudices (Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016). The other side of the process, the adaptation of indigenous communities to growing diversification still receives little attention (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018).

Perceiving integration through the lens of assimilation theory fall into several big pitfalls. One major argument is that it solely focuses on the point of view of the host society and it disregards the similarly important migrants' own perspective. This "ethnocentric and patronizing singular-path assimilation", demanding immigrants to shed their 'cultural distinctiveness' and blend into the social mainstream is perceived as discriminatory and unrealistic, in the view of diverse attributes of immigrant groups and their social contexts (Lee, 2009). The critique of the one-way integration process also centres on the problematic nature of the notion of 'mainstream', which implies the existence of a homogeneous social environment (Garcés-Mascareñas & Penninx, 2016), while in fact this so-called host society is formed itself by super-diverse communities (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018). Moreover, it is seen as weak and impossible to explain the persistence of inequality and conflict among different population groups (Lee, 2009). Despite its central position in migration studies, the concept of integration became a problematic notion because of its politicisation and the domination of an empirical approach over the theoretical one (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). It is generally perceived as vague and entangled in implicit functional categories resulting from hidden power relations, what makes the concept insufficient to capture the complexity of migrants' lives (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). Both concepts of assimilation and integration are believed to be inadequate, and they are widely critiqued for its failure to incorporate and highlight the migrants' psychological need for security, stability, and belonging (ibid). Accordingly, researchers call for the rethinking of the integration concept highlighting that it can only be successful if it encompasses the mutual adaptation of migrants and the host population, and allows migrants to maintain their original ethnic identity (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018).

## *2.21 Pathways and approaches to integration*

The migration of workers has long been an integral part of European history. Nonetheless, migration and associated integration have gained attention as a serious societal and governmental concerns only recently (Bruquetas-Callejo & Doomernik, 2016). As the number of immigrants in Europe has increased considerably, the integration arose as an intensively debated issue and the object of policy consideration due to the rising degree of ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural diversity (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014) that has become the norm in big European cities and caused societal clashes.

The post-war migration has been considered merely an issue of labour supply and demand, and not one posing social or other challenges. The position of a migrant as 'guest worker' did not raise ideas about integrating them into society (Bruquetas-Callejo & Doomernik, 2016). Only in the mid-1970 the migration, or rather the restriction thereof, became a topic of debate (ibid). Last decades brought about change in the integration policy focus, shifting attention from multicultural policies towards forced learning processes of the language, history, and cultural norms and beliefs of the receiving societies (Meier, 2018). The politicization of migrants' integration in the 1990s and 2000s led to policy initiatives that emphasised the importance of prevailing national culture and values, what was associated with an assimilationist turn in integration policies (Scholten & Penninx, 2016). In this way, the process of integration has been limited to the conviction that migrants must fit in and adjust their cultural characteristics to the dominant society to be well-integrated (Meier, 2018). This idea has manifested in integrational approaches of many European governments. In countries like the UK, Germany, France, and the Netherlands migrants are expected to take part in the educational integration programmes which include tests of basic knowledge about society in order to acculturate into the social mainstream (Scholten & Penninx, 2016; Bruquetas-Callejo & Doomernik, 2016). Obtaining permanent residency status has in some cases been conditioned upon fulfilling integration requirements. For example in the Netherlands, immigrants within a prescribed period of time are required to learn the Dutch language, history, law and several common norms and values. The chance to acquire a permanent residence permit or Dutch citizenship in the case of a failed exam is said to be low (Meier, 2018). However, while obligations to acquire basic language and cultural skills are present in most of western countries, their understanding and approach to integration differ to some extent making them more, or less 'welcoming'. Newcomers in France are required more cultural adaptation and are considered as 'individuals who had to disappear into the pre-defined political model by renouncing their own attributes—cultural, religious or otherwise—in the public sphere' (Bruquetas-Callejo & Doomernik, 2016). On the contrary, in more tolerant countries such as the UK the integration was defined as 'not a flattening process of uniformity but as cultural diversity coupled with equal opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (ibid). Nevertheless, despite divergent attitudes, integration policies developed by

European countries have been largely described as top down, control oriented, exclusionist, and unfavourable to immigrants, and have been strongly criticised by a multitude of scholars on this basis (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018).

### 'Positive gentrification'

More recently, in the light of ongoing globalisation and migration, many governments have been concerned with the problem of rising economic, social and ethnic segregation and the emergence of 'ghettos', as such neighbourhoods have been often associated with concentrations of poverty, crime, and high levels of deprivation (Ostendorf et al. 2001). In order to prevent the hypothesised detrimental effects of low-income neighbourhoods, and to facilitate the process of integration, a new area-based policy approach called 'positive gentrification' has been developed and widely employed in many European countries (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). The idea was initially developed as the means to reduce poverty, however it was further employed also to enhance integration among communities, including those with migration background.

The aim of the policy is to restructure the housing market in order to improve conditions for social mobility and generate neighbourhood revitalization while attempting to combat socio-spatial segregation and foster inclusion (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). This is to be achieved by mixing different tenures and price levels within one neighbourhood, and by dispersing poor people to more affluent communities or attracting higher-income residents to low-income neighbourhoods (ibid). However, in this case a part of existing housing has to be demolished to be replaced by new housing complexes of a different tenure (Ostendorf et al. 2001). The presence of higher-income residents is expected to facilitate social control, reduce crime, and improve stability and safety, as they are supposed to exert normative pressure and enforce rules to maintain order and safety in the neighbourhood (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). The theoretical assumptions of mixed-income development highlight the positive influence the presence of more affluent residents can exert on economic opportunity through their higher level of entrepreneurship and creativity (ibid).

Despite this widespread policy thrust, the idea of 'positive gentrification' has been proven controversial and has been challenged on the theoretical as well as empirical basis, as it only tries to mitigate the effects of social inequality, and does not address the root causes of the problem (Galster, 2007). While it aims to address the goals of poverty de-concentration and inclusive integration, its ideological assumptions rather generate a set of tensions (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013) and the issue for whom social mix is effective is contested (Galster, 2007). Relocation of social housing residents and placing them in fundamentally different context is likely to cause isolation, avoidance of interaction, and alienation (ibid).

In such circumstances the potential for integration is very limited. Moreover, the mixed-income development does not address the problem of stigmatization based on race and class and is insufficient to shorten the 'distance of perceived difference' and bridge the huge existing social divides amongst residents (ibid). Additionally, it has been empirically proven that mixing does not reduce poverty (Ostendorf et al. 2001), and on the other hand, positive effects for migrants are very difficult to prove (Meier, 2018). Meier (2018) in her case study, demonstrates that local opportunities for integration are confined by perceiving successful integration via a small-scale social mix, and the neglect of public representation of cultural diversity. She contends that state institutions produce scale processes to standardise 'pathways of integration', which are perceived as inherently neoliberal business models (Meier, 2018).

The idea of what constitutes a successful integration process may differ significantly. Governments tend to see it as a process of assimilation and acceptance in the social mainstream, whereas immigrants do not want to shed their cultural inheritance (Dahinden et al. 2013). Moreover, the process of integration becomes very complicated as the relation between two main groups in the integration process - the immigrants with their own identity and the receiving society with varied reactions to newcomers - that determines the outcome of the integration process remains unequal in terms of power and resources (Penninx, 2005). The host society is therefore much more decisive for the outcome of this process, and integration policies are more aligned with their expectations and demand instead of treating both groups as equal partners (ibid). Another major failure of current integration policies is that they rarely encompasses the psycho-social need for stability and security or identity (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018), which are proven to be crucial to the successful integration process and inclusive incorporation of migrants, as this is one of the primary human needs. These normative and simplifies 'pathways of integration' are critiqued as they are inappropriate for understanding everyday struggles and needs of immigrants (Meier, 2018), and ineffective to guide inclusive processes of integration.

### **2.3 Concluding remarks - the point of departure**

In this chapter the current state of migration and associated integration in the European Union has been discussed. European context has been viewed as particularly important for receiving migrants as it accommodates the biggest share of immigrants all over the world. At the same time, both national and local European governments have been facing multiple challenges regarding enhanced migration movement from outside of the EU, particularly the one of inter-ethnic integration. The integration of migrants and local communities has become the core of the migration debate in Europe and has been viewed as one of the predominant goals of migration policies. The elaborated response in the form of

'pathways of integration' has become the point of reflection of multitude of scholars who question the suitability of these methods. Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter was first to explore the current focus of the discourse of migration and integration that has evolved throughout past decades and to fully comprehend the European context in which migrants are positioned, and recognise its pitfalls. It has to be noted that Polish national discourse on migration, which will be outlined in fifth chapter, is in some ways similar to the Western-European one. Secondly, it was to uncover the critical response of researchers to the undertaken approaches to integration. This critique constitutes a point of departure for this research. The ultimate aim of this chapter was to open the debate to further exploration for more inclusive and attentive approaches to inter-ethnic integration while recognizing the pitfalls and failures of existing pathways. The following chapter constitutes a subsequent point in the discussion over integration. This chapter encompasses a review of the literature which aims to provide a guideline to shift the discourse of integration towards more inclusive solutions.

### 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the relevant concepts and theories for this thesis are explored and conceptually linked to each other. The fundamental concepts and theories that will be discussed are: de-migrantization, the theories of urban justice, public space, and the theory of social contact. The previous chapter explained the concepts of migration and integration in Europe and stated the problem of inappropriate approaches to inter-ethnic integration. In this chapter, more inclusive forms of integration are sought. The selection of concepts and theories was based on several considerations. I start by discussing de-migrantization perspective which is a valuable framework as it warns against the use of the category of difference which has been proven to create an unreal perception of migration and immigrants. It is important for this research owing to the promise to reduce prejudice and discrimination by criticizing the nation-state- and ethnicity-centred epistemology. Subsequently, the critique of the current 'pathways of integration' raised the question about social justice, human rights, and democratic values. Hence, Fainstein's 'The Just City' theory and Lefebvre's 'The Right to the City' framework are further explored as they became particularly influential in the debate around social justice in the city. Based on these theories I present the critique of the integration processes, and ultimately I derive from these theories a set of factors that could be emphasised in order to create a more inclusive and just multicultural urban society. The last part is dedicated to the concept of public space and the theory of social contact. As Lefebvre pays particular attention to urban space and its value for interaction and expression of cultural diversity, I turn my investigation into this concept. I present a relation between the concept of public space and social contact showing that these are interrelated concepts that reinforce one another. These concepts, theories, and the relationship between them provide a base for in-depth research.

#### 3.1 Beyond the category of difference

Migration and integration studies have been highly institutionalized in the recent years (Dahinden, 2016). Scholars contend that migration is often wrongly perceived as a nation-state deviance (Talleraas, 2020) and that this institutionalization enhanced the perception of migrants through a category of difference and the conviction that this 'difference' has to be managed by the nation-states. Janine Dahinden (2016) in her 'plea for de-migrantization' argues that "migration and integration research originates in a historically institutionalized nation-state migration apparatus and is thus entangled with a particular normalization discourse". According to the logic of nation-states, migration-related difference is 'naturally given'; migrants have been always perceived to be fundamentally different and have always been put in contrast to non-migrants (Dahinden, 2016). Nation-states create labels for migrants and people with migration background and put them into a 'migration container' which is automatically assigned with the category

of difference or deviance (ibid). Such categorization leads to the situation when even long-term residents with a migration background have to face acts of exclusion and discrimination (Elrick and Schwartzman, 2015). Likewise, Liu (2014) in his study comes to the conclusion that political influences and identity politics that prioritize the nation over ethnicity have the biggest impact on public attitudes towards immigrants.

Consequently, scholars have been calling for more reflexivity, and at the same time they criticised this ethnicity-centred epistemology that often informs a large share of migration and integration research (Dahinden, 2016). To reduce the expression of prejudice and discrimination some researchers urge against perceiving migration as 'the number one category of difference' (Talleraas, 2020). Dahinden (2016) questions the use of migrant-related categories and therefore calls for 'de-migrantization' of migration and integration research. She encourages migration researchers to "re-orient the unit of analysis from the migration population to (parts of) the whole population". Nevertheless, she also recognises that migration and ethnicity might be still valuable criteria of difference in research, as ultimately the reality of migrants is constantly entangled in the issue of inequality owing to the nation-state migration apparatus (Dahinden, 2016). Talleraas (2020) builds on the de-migrantization concept in her study on transnationalism and contends that such oversimplified categories impede the understanding of migration issues and can negatively impact how migrants are perceived and treated. Politicians, policy-makers, and bureaucrats have been commonly critiqued by migration scholars for such institutional categorization and top-down approaches to the normalization of migrants (Talleraas, 2020). According to Anderson (2013), such state practices produce exclusionary understanding and false perceptions of migrants. It is worth noting that "before and after migration events, migrants are people" (Hui, 2016; in Talleraas, 2020).

Nevertheless, in the discussion on migrants and minorities the use of terms such 'minority-race', 'race', 'ethnicity' (Thomas, 2008) cannot be avoided. This is because such terms have social meaning to many people, despite its scientific vagueness (ibid). However, as Thomas (2008) points out, the popular concept of 'race' is socially constructed with a little biological justification. Categorisation based on perceptions of difference such as skin colour is highly inappropriate as the term 'race' does not give us any information about the person except his skin colour. Thus, migration and race should never be interchangeable concepts.

### **3.2 Social justice in the city**

The question about the position of migrants in society, the role that is imposed on them, and the challenges they face regarding integration and adaptation are strongly related to the question of justice and human rights. Given the foregoing contextual background on the migration and integration in Europe, several important questions arise. Namely, is it just to limit the rights of migrants only because they come

from another part of the world? Is it just to impose the top-down integration requiring shedding their own culture and identity? Is it just to automatically perceive immigrants through the category of difference, as the 'others' who unless adjust to the dominant group will be exposed to discrimination and exclusion? These questions and many others that might emerge out of this discussion are certainly not new.

Justice has always constituted an important topic within political philosophy, however, in recent decades the debates on ideals of human rights have become much more articulated, and have been in the centre of attention both politically and ethically. In the light of the uneven development that accompanies globalization, the 'difference' appears to be growing, leading to enhanced fragmentation by race, income, class, and other categories (Thomas, 2008). Given such circumstances, a lot of political effort is made in order to protect human rights and promote their significance as a premise towards building collective acceptance of differences worldwide. However, as justice is a complex concept, its comprehension and interpretation still might differ according to many contextual factors. The issue of whether the outcomes of migration and integration policies are equitable and what human rights prevail is still contested and causes heated debate among researchers.

The discussion around urban justice arose as a reaction against the state-sponsored urban regeneration programmes, which had a devastating effect on low-income communities (Fainstein, 2014). Jane Jacobs (1961) called these redevelopment programmes 'the rape of cities'. Instead, more recently many authorities have advocated the idea of 'positive gentrification' outlined in the previous section, which also faced deep criticism (Meier, 2018; Wieviorka, 2014; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Uitermark, 2003; Ostendorf et al., 2001). In this regard, Harvey states:

*"For the most part the concepts circulating are individualistic and property based and, as such, do nothing to fundamentally challenge hegemonic liberal and neoliberal market logics and neoliberal modes of legality and state action. We live in a world, after all, where the rights of private property and the profit rate trump all other notions of rights one can think of" (Harvey, 2012).*

Although the ideals of human rights such as the rights of minorities and migrants often come to the fore, they are less likely to prevail on the policy level, what causes a lot of controversies. This leads to the contention that there is a need for broader incorporation of human rights and changing the focus away from the pro-growth regimes in order to resolve inequalities and consider the need of every individual and every social group.



Seeking for the answers to the initially stated questions, I explore the two predominant theories of urban justice which have experienced the revival of interest in the past decade. They will be analysed in order to highlight the important values they might add to the migration debate and how they have been applied to counter the expression of discrimination. The theoretical basis for much of the discussion about the justice in cities was developed by the French theorist Henri Lefebvre (Fainstein, 2014), who introduced a new kind of collective right – the right to the city, as a critical response to the existing society and the world ruled by the principles of capitalism. His argument became particularly influential as he maintained that space is constructed by social relations and all individuals, despite their class, gender, race, culture, or origin, should have a ‘right to the city’. The idea became an ideal of justice as it goes beyond the issues of economic growth and property rights, to encompass the right to participate in the creation of the city (Fainstein, 2014), and calls for maintenance of heterogeneity within urban areas (Fainstein, 2006). Lefebvre argues for the augmented set of rights given to all city dwellers (Lefebvre, 1968).

He particularly articulates three indispensable elements of this framework: self-management (named by him as *autogestion*), the *appropriation* of urban space, and *participation*. Lefebvre imagined a radical vision of a revolutionary change in society in which users collectively self-govern the city beyond the control of capitalism and the state, and participate in its creation with their multiple, and often contradictory interests (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013). He gives a lot of attention to urban space, which in his vision ceased to be a container of buildings, population, and production; instead, it is constituted by social relations and became an element of the production and reproduction, and by implication a source of inequality and injustice (Fainstein, 2014; Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre believed that the city belongs to every person who inhabits it (Purcell, 2013), and the appropriation of space would create ‘lived spaces’ – spaces of encounter, connection, play, difference, learning, and novelty – that would contribute to the engagement in the meaningful interactions through which societies can overcome divisions, learn about each other, and deliberate together while avoiding the understanding of these experiences through categories such as class status, gender, race, income, or culture (Lefebvre, 1996). Ultimately, the most prominent characteristic of a truly democratic society is the right to participation. Therefore, Lefebvre calls for empowered ‘real and active participation’ and the mobilization of inhabitants to strive for their rights and control over the urban space (ibid).

The second theory that will be used to ground this study is ‘the just city’ theory developed by Susan Fainstein, who was particularly influenced by Lefebvre’s framework (Fainstein, 2014). Fainstein calls for the reinforcement of democratic values of participation and proposes an urban theory of justice in which equity, democracy, and diversity are the governing rules for urban justice which are to emphasise the democratic decision-making in the light of technocratic urban renewal programmes as ‘positive

gentrification' (Fainstein, 2014). The Just City theory aims to address the shortcomings of other contemporary planning theories or movements. Fainstein argues that urban planners need a normative theory of justice as the allegedly promising idea of social and built environment diversity has not resolved the problem of inequality under pro-growth regimes (Fainstein, 2009). She critiques the dominant communicative planning paradigm for being unable to yield just outcomes as it is believed to since it cannot resolve the inequalities among different actors (Fainstein, 2010). However, she maintains that if the centre of discussion shifts from a focus on competitiveness to the discourse of justice and equality, the quality of life can be ameliorated (Fainstein, 2014).

The rule of democracy (or deliberation) posits the abolition of the socio-economic hierarchy so that all the individuals are given an equal position in society and no one's interest can dominate (Fainstein, 2010). She believes that broader participation of disadvantaged groups is a prerequisite to produce more just outcomes (Fainstein, 2009) as they will be given more opportunity and even the priority to take part in decision-making processes (Fainstein, 2010). Consensus-building is here criticised as it might only deepen inequalities while the groups involved are fundamentally unequal partners in terms of power and resources. In regards to the second principle - diversity, Fainstein builds on the influential work of Iris Marion Young (1990), who recognizes the significance of social differentiation and considers them as a desirable aspect of modern social processes (Fainstein, 2014). In furtherance of equity, Fainstein aims to specify policies that would favour disadvantaged groups (Fainstein, 2014). Such policies should promote empowered participation in decision-making and inclusion to have all the interests fairly represented (ibid). Furthermore, Fainstein endorses the 'capabilities approach' of Sen (1999) and Nussabum (2000) which indicates that to attain equity all the people need to be given the same opportunity, including being conscious of the value of capabilities (Fainstein, 2006). She highlights the importance of both means and ends in the pursuit of equity, as it cannot be assured what will be the most successful source of change, however, what is sure is that this way "we can make it [justice] central to the activity of planning" (ibid).

Fainstein has built her work on the theory of justice developed by John Rawls which usually opens the discussions around equality, with the aim to harmonize his theory with its post-liberal critique. She was particularly influenced by this theory as it presents a logical argument based on rational choice theory (Fainstein, 2006). Rawls starts the debate with an argument concerning the distribution of values that individuals would pick while posited in the original position, wherein, 'behind the veil of ignorance' that prevents them from knowing their ultimate attributes and position in society (Fainstein, 2014). He contends that people will opt for an egalitarian distribution of goods to assure that they will not find themselves in an inferior position (ibid). He argues for the policies that strive to improve the situation of those worse off at the first place and the situation of those better off can be only improved if it brings advantage to those less

fortunate as well (Rawls, 1971; Fainstein, 2014). Despite the critique, Fainstein (2009) contends that “its salience for developing a model of the just city requires attention in an age of identity politics, ethnic conflict, and immigration”.

### ***3.21 The critique of the pathways of integration***

Based on the theories, the issue of whether current approaches to inter-ethnic integration are appropriate, and thus equitable, will be discussed. The good point to start this debate is the argument of multiculturalists who condemn liberal logic which usually guides integration policies for its aspiration for homogeneity, the desirability of assimilation, and its ignorance of embeddedness of people in class, gender, and cultural relationships (Fainstein, 2014). They argue that “people do not exist outside of culture and that stripping them of their social relations is both denying history and robbing individuals of their existential security” (Fainstein, 2014). Young (1990) rejects the assimilationist model and claims that the group should define itself rather than being defined by the external actors (in Fainstein, 2014). She contends that social justice “requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote respect for group differences without oppression”, however, many policy-makers fail to acknowledge that recognizing liberty as the greatest value puts migrants in an unequal game.

Striving for equity and integration by means of imposed mixed-income development did not acquire many proponents among researchers. Chaskin & Joseph (2013) looking at the idea of ‘positive’ gentrification through ‘the right to the city’ framework recognise that although it strives to address both market goals of revitalization and social goal of poverty alleviation, it also generates a set of tensions – between integration and exclusion, appropriation and control. Lefebvre strongly opposes these practices as they are essentially market-driven strategies that privilege the private property over the values of justice and equity, and largely rely on attracting more affluent citizens (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). Such efforts lead to appropriation, privatization, and control over common urban space what is at odds with Lefebvre’s notions of *autogestion* and *appropriation* of space by its users. His argument against capitalism is that it seeks to make everything in the city, including space itself, reducible to a marketable commodity (Purcell, 2013). This leads to the production of space that is driven by market forces and the needs of property owners, what subsequently creates residential segregation, separates users from each other, and prevents people from encounter, play, and interaction in these spaces (ibid). Moreover, Fainstein (2014) concludes that economic equality which is assumed by the proponents of ‘positive gentrification’ to be a result of such policies, does not eliminate the manifestations and feelings of superiority based on colour, nationality, culture, or religion. Similarly, Simmel (1950) maintains that “greater equality does not eliminate hostility” (in Fainstein, 2014).

Under the principle of neoliberalism, efficiency and cost-benefit analysis, rather than equity or inclusion, became the main criteria for evaluating public policy and permit unjust outcomes such as marginalization and economic inequality (Fainstein, 2010). Such a situation often leads to displacement and deterioration of life of those who are already the most disadvantaged (Fainstein, 2014). Additionally, Lefebvre critiques one-way participatory activities that are often practiced by public authorities, as they significantly limit the influence of the inhabitants on the decision-making processes and merely treat citizens as an advisory voice. This is particularly evident when it comes to non-citizens with a migration background, who are increasingly excluded from participation and acquire limited rights. Ultimately, to counteract such hegemonic actions Fainstein refers to Harvey (1992) who recognizes that "a just planning and policy practice must seek out non-exclusionary and non-militarized forms of social control to contain the increasing levels of both personal and institutionalized violence without destroying capacities for empowerment and self-expression" (Fainstein, 2013).

### ***3.2.2 Towards inclusive life in urban space for migrants***

Both Henri Lefebvre's "The Right to the City" framework and Fainstein's "The Just City" theory, as well as a number of scholars who re-examined these approaches, introduce some important remarks to the discussion about migration and integration. They bring attention to a set of important values that could change the focus of the discourse of integration from the imposed top-down pathways to more inclusive practices. These are not all and definitive values that must be included to certainly lead to successful integration processes, however, their recognition is a significant step towards shifting away from exclusionary and market-oriented pathways as they emphasize the appreciation of inclusive citizenship and prominence of diversity.

First of all, Lefebvre and Fainstein highlight the importance of self-management and deliberation. These are extremely important factors for building inclusive citizenship which stress that all the individuals need to acquire a broadened set of rights that allow greater community control over urban affairs. Both authors explicitly state that these rights should be given to all inhabitants, despite the category of difference or immigration background. All the parties are placed at the same level and the societal hierarchy must be abolished. Every inhabitant must be given a right to articulate his interest that should be always taken into account, and under no circumstances can one's interest prevail. In the discussion about participation, I shall invoke Sherry Arnstein, the author of a highly influential typology of forms of participation "The Ladder of Citizen Participation", who calls participation of the governed in their government "the cornerstone of democracy" (Arnstein, 1969). However, she recognizes that participation may be employed in a variety of ways, starting from 'non-participatory' forms such as manipulation and therapy to

delegated power and complete citizen control. With regard to immigrants and have-not minorities, participation often does not exist or is reduced to forms that do not redistribute power to citizens and only result in 'the empty and frustrating process for the powerless' (ibid). She critiques the institutional citizen participation and maintains that the redistribution of power is essential for the have-not citizens to 'induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society' (ibid). Moreover, Penninx (2005) claims that one of the key conditions for an effective integration policy is that immigrants must be given an opportunity to participate in politics and policy-making. Unfortunately, he also notices that political systems often do not support this idea and still the majority has the decisive vote leading to outright exclusion and even discrimination (Penninx, 2005).

Academics have frequently referred to 'the right to the city' in discussions on immigration and social exclusion (Attoh, 2011; Dikec, 2001; Mitchell, 2003, Purcell, 2013), seeking to interpret and expand it in order to conceptualize human rights, social struggle, and citizenship claims in a way that is applicable to non-citizens (Carpio et al., 2011). Balbo (2007) maintains that migration raises the central issue of 'the right to the city' - that it is the right of every inhabitant, including migrants and minorities, who should have equal access to the benefits that the city offers. In their study on immigrant activism and politics in the suburbs of Los Angeles, Carpio et al. (2011) recognise that migrants are not a separate social group but an inherent part of communities. Thus, inclusive policies should address the whole society rather than only the individuals with certain characteristics like membership in a nation-state (Balbo, 2007). According to Bhagat (2017), the political inclusion of migrants in decision-making processes is "an important step to ensuring the right to the city for all, for promoting alternative urbanisation, and building cities based on the principles of freedom, human development, and equality". In Lefebvre's vision, rights are entirely determined by inhabitants and given to them all; national citizenship can no longer be a prerequisite for political participation. Instead, the concept of urban citizenship, which entails governance and right to the city by inhabitation, prevails and necessarily includes non-citizens in political participation (Carpio et al., 2011). The right to the city gives the opportunity to seek for ways to promote awareness and representation of these groups within the city (Balbo, 2007), and underscores the need to integrate migrants socially, economically, politically, culturally and spatially in order to counter the expression of discrimination that is so detrimental to migrants' lives (Bhagat, 2017). Bhagat believes that these issues should be central to city planning and development agendas.

Secondly, to prevent inequitable treatment of migrants the argument of appropriation of space by Lefebvre may be particularly useful. He pays a lot of attention to the importance of urban space for everyday practices and meaningful societal interactions, stressing that public spaces in cities such as streets, parks, shopping malls, or squares belong to every inhabitant and every user despite his race,

gender or culture, and no one can be excluded from using and appropriating it. As the urban space is a space of encounter, interaction, deliberation, self-expression, and inter-ethnic experience it is believed that through the appropriation of public space and spatial practices of everyday life, people learn about each other and overcome all divisions (Purcell, 2013). However, due to the absence or inadequacy of integration policies, migrants are often denied access to urban spaces, services, and opportunities (Balbo, 2007), which is certainly at odds with ideals of social justice. Varsanyi (2017) recognises that studies which aim to seek for ways to reclaim urban space for migrants, draw both directly and indirectly upon the theories of social justice. In the face of "the right to the city" framework, contestations over permission to be present in urban public spaces relate to broader struggles over societal membership and legitimacy (ibid).

Lastly, recognition of urban diversity has become an inherent criterion of urban justice which urges for a greater acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism in order to counteract exclusionism (Fainstein, 2010). While heterogeneity is rather seen as an undesirable outcome of migration and is combated by governments in their assimilationist policies, both Fainstein and Lefebvre as well as many other theorists and philosophers criticise these practices and advocate the call for diversity and the respect of people's identity. As Sandercock (2003) contends diversity is one of the goals in urban contexts, and only a city where everyone is treated with respect can be defined as a just city (Fainstein, 2014). Urban ethnographers who strive to counter political narratives that define migrants as problematic 'others', place diversity central to the experience in everyday social life (Çağlar & Schiller, 2018) to allow strangers to come together and go beyond their 'familiar enclaves', to meet and interact together and to develop their identity (Young, 1990). According to Young (1990), a social group is defined by a sense of shared identity and she argues that justice should be about 'social differentiation without exclusion' instead of fair distribution. In the light of the increasingly diverse world, identity and feelings of belonging became extremely important for individuals with the migration background as they help to "find in themselves relatively stable footholds in an unpredictable world" (Grzymala-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). It is also believed that physical heterogeneity would stimulate creativity that would not only make cities more attractive but also more productive economically (Jacobs, 1962; Fainstein, 2013). However, it should be noted that diversity should never be attained by all means. While it should be highly desirable and respected, governmental actions to combat segregation by producing imposed social-mixing proved to be counter-productive. According to Young (2000), segregation does not always have to be detrimental to society. She argues for 'differentiated solidarity' rather than integration and supports neighbourhood homogeneity with 'porous borders', as she acknowledges that "living among those like oneself provides existential security" (Fainstein, 2014). Heterogeneity is an important and valuable feature of urban society,

however, at the same time public spaces do not have to be used by a full range of inhabitants as long as people are not kept out of them (Young, 2000; Fainstein, 2006).

The utopian ideals of the theories of social justice faced some criticism as they were said to be unrealistic in the context of the prevailing modern, capitalist economies. Nevertheless, some researchers highlight the important role of the utopian ideals – they have important functions in human consciousness, and are the source of mobilization and inspiration, they provide the goals for the better future towards which to aspire (Fainstein, 2006). Purcell (2013) highlights that despite Lefebvre’s call for the profound change, his vision might be still very practical and can serve as a guide for the concrete actions in order to change the direction that cities are heading nowadays. This may be confirmed by the recent increased attention paid to the Lefebvre’s idea on the practical level (UNESCO, 2006; UN-HABITAT, 2010; Habitat International Coalition, 2005) and the effort to encourage urban policies that promote justice, participation, and inclusion in cities in order to abolish the division and exclusion based on the perceived differences (Purcell, 2013).

### **3.3 The role of public space for integration**

In this section, I give attention to the concept of public space and its importance for social and inter-ethnic integration. The theories outlined above pointed me in the direction of this concept, as it is said to be particularly important for the development of any community relations. It is a crucial venue where host societies and newcomers have an opportunity to meet and integrate, and where inclusiveness, openness, and equality despite all differences are particularly emphasised. I will start the discussion with statement of Çağlar & Schiller (2018) who say that “migrants must be approached as social actors who are integral to city-making as they engage in the daily life of cities through different and varied forms”, which I believe should be one of the guiding principles of the process of integration.

#### ***3.3.1 The meaning of public space***

The concept of public space is one of the main concepts in this research. While it may seem to be easily definable, it turns out to be the subject of much research and reflection. A fundamental characteristic of a public space that is emphasised by nearly every scholar is its free access for everyone and its opposition to a private space. For instance, for Brunt & Deben (2001) “Urban public space is by definition accessible to everyone (...) Without asking permission, people can enter the public domain, use it as a passage, as a place to sit, meet others, do business, observe. As often and as long as one wishes, day and night, summer and winter, and it does not matter whether you are rich or poor, male or female, black or white” (Van Melik, 2008). However, the current debate takes a step further and increasingly goes beyond the

definition based on physical structure and access (Peters, 2011). Many authors refer to public space as a space of 'unexpected encounters', interaction, and leisure (ibid). According to Van Aalst & Bergenhenegouwen (2003) it is "a place for meetings and exchange, in which the shared experiences of different cultural backgrounds, the so-called cultural mobility, is central" (Van Melik, 2008). Public space has been also emphasised as a site of power and protest (Peters, 2011), negotiation, and expression of identity. Accordingly, Mitchell (1995) contends that it is a place where "marginalized groups can create 'spaces of representation'" through which they can manifest themselves and express their identity (McCann, 1999). Additionally, Merrified (1996) highlights the democratic value of public space saying that "Exploring what the constitutive qualities of an acceptable public space are is tantamount to exploring what a truly democratic society might be". However, in regard to this study, the notion of public space is particularly important as it is considered to be a socio-spatial prerequisite to generate civic integration and is essential for public participation (Giardiello, 2014).

### *Third spaces and community life*

One specific form of public space are so-called third spaces which are defined by urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1989) as "great, good places that foster community and communication among people outside of home and work, the first and second places of daily life" (in Jeffres et al., 2009). Third places may function in various forms of public spaces such as community centres, cultural venues, restaurants, or cafes where people meet, congregate, and create social ties. According to Jeffres (2009), third spaces are of great value for community enhancement and the quality of life as they offer a space for relaxation other than home or workplace which provides people with an opportunity to meet friends, neighbours, and also strangers (Mehta & Bosson, 2010). Importantly, there are no barriers, policies, or exclusiveness of membership to enter third spaces, and therefore they are of great importance also for integration. Instead, they are meant to enhance the feeling of "inclusiveness and belonging associated with participating in a group's social activities" (Jeffres et al., 2009). Third places are associated with community building as they provide the space for sociability and social interaction and expression (ibid).

Third places are venues that are open to public and are regarded as public spaces, and at the same they are often owned by private parties. Consistently with this line of reasoning, in this study public space will be regarded in a broader sense, which means that it will consider all public spaces - outdoor spaces with a constant free access as well as privately owned indoor spaces such as shops, libraries, galleries, or cultural venues.



### *3.3.2 The value of public space for migrants*

“Public spaces are the most important spaces of a city and its most vital organs” (Jacobs, 1961). This influential statement of Jane Jacobs brought attention to the important role of public spaces for urban society. Not without a reason, these ‘spaces of common’ are believed to be essential venues in the lives of urban dwellers. Primarily, they allow inhabitants to experience urban life together as a community. However, the term ‘experience’ is very broad; it has a variety of meanings and denotes different functions that have been attached to urban public spaces. Here I will explore these functions to show why the experience in public space is of such importance for building an inclusive society.

Given the fact that much of interaction between migrants and host residents takes place at local level, acknowledgement of the value of public space is particularly important (Winiarska, 2015). The social meeting function is one of the most common functions highlighted by scholars, which also has further implications. Facilitating interactions between individuals and various groups is an essential social value of public space (Peters & De Haan, 2011). Local common spaces are where everyday lives are lived and community relations are negotiated (Phillips & Robinson, 2015). Public space is said to play an important role as a setting for intensifying social contact (ibid) and encounters that are believed to support the formation of social ties (Van Melik, 2008). Furthermore, it has to be noted that being in a public space gives a possibility for interactions between different social and ethnic groups (Peters & de Haan, 2011). It is the place where multiculturalism and ethnic diversity are the most visible and manifested, and where people are confronted by it and where they have to cope with it (ibid). The expression of multiculturalism in public is particularly important as it contributes to exposing and sharing of cultural values and norms, what might also initiate interaction (Peters & de Haan, 2011). The confrontation with diversity in local spaces such as the neighbourhood, the market, the park, stores, a range of institutional spaces, or at public events can be an interesting and entertaining experience, as these are the places where people’s behaviours and habits can be observed (Peters, 2011). Encounters in public space, however, are not always pleasant and can result in distrust and avoidance, as people do not always understand certain behaviours, and therefore they tend to interact with individuals who are similar to themselves (Peters & de Haan, 2011). This is related to the previously mentioned notion of symbolic threats, whereby people feel uncomfortable when they face different values, morals, beliefs or behaviours (McLaren, 2003). People confronted with ‘unknown others’ who are different in physical appearance or behaviour may express different reactions. On the one hand, this might result in tensions leading to stigmatization and exclusion of ‘cultural others’, on the other it may reinforce willingness to create new social ties driven by curiosity (ibid). Therefore, for many people such a confrontation with diversity gives a chance to test prejudices (ibid). It cannot be forgotten that as public space is a place of free expression, disorder and contestation are also

integral facets of public venues (Merrifield, 1996). According to Sennett, such manifestations should never be repressed, as in public space they might be confronted by many different people who are interested in giving an argument in the dialogue. Sennett believes that only in such circumstances “it be possible to fight against all forms of exclusion and oppression, and push for more inclusive urban policies that celebrate spontaneity and revel in disorder” (Merrifield, 1996). Notwithstanding, it is believed that the place where individuals from all kind of backgrounds come together and express their identity and diversity, produces a setting for collective learning about each other, what subsequently results in increased tolerance (Giardiello, 2014; Peters, 2011), generate more awareness and acceptance of multiculturalism, and create more realistic images about ‘the other’ (Peters & de Haan, 2011). As a result the formation of a collective feeling of trust is enhanced what exerts a positive influence on the process of social integration, which largely takes place in public space.

Public space plays a crucial role in displaying different identities and sharing values and norms. People being in public express themselves by various means - by participation in activities, behaviours, or displaying distinctive appearances (Peters, 2011). At the same time people strive to maintain positive social identity for fear of discrimination or exclusion (Dahinden et al. 2013). Public space thus constitutes a place where identity is created, negotiated and contested (Peters, 2011). This is also related to the notion of visibility and recognition. According to Hegel individuals self-realization is conditioned by “the establishment of relationships of mutual recognition”. Recognition is here defined as being recognised by other humans with ‘human dignity’ (Merrifield, 1996). Speaking about those unjustly stigmatized and marginalized, Merrifield (1996) highlights that maintaining visible presence in public is vital as these groups have to struggle much more to gain recognition. He concludes that “the notion of visibility and recognition has to be an integral component in the development of any open-minded public space” (ibid).

### ***3.3.3 Multicultural contacts in public space***

The analysis of the importance of public space in the previous section implies that experience in a common public place matters considerably for migrants’ settlement, integration, feelings of safety and sense of belonging. Increasingly more scholars advocate the aforementioned assumption that increased intercultural contact can change people’s attitudes, diminish prejudices, and results in more tolerance and acceptance of people with different ethnic or migration backgrounds and less stereotyping (Peters & De Haan, 2011). Most of these statements are based on the assumptions that originate from the social contact theory. The theory was first proposed by Williams (1947) who stated that contact with potentially disliked groups result in reduced prejudice towards them (McLaren, 2003). Subsequently Allport (1954) have

revisited this hypothesis as the increased number of voices were arguing to clarify why contact may yield positive effects on the reduction of prejudice and specify the conditions of such outcomes of inter-ethnic interactions (McLaren, 2003). According to Allport the intergroup contact is more likely to have a positive result if groups have an equal status, they share collective goals, or there is support from authorities (Peters & De Haan, 2011; McLaren, 2003). Ultimately, many researchers contend that under the right conditions, intercultural encounters does facilitate greater understanding of diversity, and can lead to the reduction of prejudice (Phillips & Robinson, 2015; McLaren, 2003). Moreover, studies based on the social contact theory in the context of migration in Europe highlight that such contact does matter for reducing hostile behaviours towards immigrants (McLaren, 2003). They show that members of the host society who are in regular contact with migrant express more positive feelings about the presence of newcomers, and similarly, migrants who have more contact with local people consider them less stereotypical (Peters & De Haan, 2011). However, as it has been already noted, such encounters should not be overestimated, as they can also exacerbate tensions. A question therefore arises – what kind of encounters do actually produce positive attitudes towards migrants?

Trying to address this question and understand what brings migrants and locals together Çağlar & Schiller (2015) employ the term “sociability”. The concept of sociability can be defined as “social relations that provide pleasure, satisfaction, and meaning by giving actors a sense of being human, as though all were equal” (Çağlar & Schiller, 2018). To encompass sociabilities of positive affect some also use the word ‘friendship’ (ibid). Through sociabilities people “construct domains of being human together despite their differences” what may prove powerful to reclaim social justice and struggle against any growing disparities (ibid). Thus, the understanding of how sociabilities are created helps bridge differences between native society and newcomer immigrants. According to Çağlar & Schiller (2018), to investigate emerging sociabilities the study has to be placed on social relations initiated by people as they encounter each other in urban spaces and build mutual respect. They conclude that sociabilities may be crucial in building a united society.

One of the urban approaches that is considered to facilitate the creation of sociabilities is ‘place-making’. The participation of migrants in place-making has been long recognized as an essential strategic response to avoidance, alienation, and prejudice (Phillips & Robinson, 2015) as it is meant to strengthen the connection between people and the place they share (PSS, 2009). The idea of place-making is that all people gather together in a collaborative process to collectively reimagine and reinvent public spaces as the heart of community (ibid). It emphasises the communal assets and shared identity in order to build inclusive public spaces that contribute to people’s happiness, comfort, and sense of belonging (PSS, 2009). The idea might be particularly useful to employ in the multicultural context where divergent

identities clashes causing avoidance and distrust, as it allows inhabitants to learn about each other while acting for a common purpose. Studies show that these newly recreated places engender feelings of security and wellbeing, and facilitate social engagement (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

The inter-ethnic contact proved to have a great value for integration. They are said to generate a more realistic view of multiculturalism, as they create positive feelings towards diversity and have considerable impact on people's attitudes (Peters & de Haan, 2011). What is important is that these views are based on reality and real experience with migrants, not on prejudices resulting from lack of awareness or stereotypes (ibid). However, little still is known about which encounters and what certain attributes of space generate more positive attitudes towards immigrants. According to Peters & De Haan (2011) different urban spaces generate varied kinds of social contacts. They contend that the presence of an event or amenity can influence the process of integration and draw strangers together who would not initiate contact in other circumstances (Peters & De Haan, 2011). However, Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore (2018) point out to some problems regarding the extent to which such 'meaningful contact' can facilitate integration. Not all contact yields the establishment of social bonds, and therefore there is a need to uncover circumstances that lead to the creation of positive relations. This has to be further explored in order to unpack the complex issues of social contact and their consequences (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018).

### **3.4 Concluding thoughts**

In this section I take a step back to look through the developed theoretical framework and present some concluding thoughts on what has been derived from literature on migration, social justice, and public space. Starting from the beginning, what is known so far is that the concept of integration and migrant are wrongly categorised owing to the dominant integration discourse that confuses integration with assimilation (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). Its assumption that newcomers should adapt to the receiving society, as they are the 'problematic other' induces the social divide into 'us' and 'them' leading to exacerbated problem of discrimination and exclusion (Peters, 2011). Although integration is emphasised as a two-way process of mutual adaptation, in practice it is rather used to describe the extent to which migrants have adapted to the host society (ibid) in terms of culture, language, education, training, and income, and it tends to disregard equally important social and psychological factors of security and belonging. While the term integration is often used because there is no better one, it should be remembered that it can be deceiving and we should be careful to use it without specifying its meaning and purpose. Consequently, it is proposed to advance the concept of integration beyond normative integration paradigm. The theoretical assumption is that the integration discourse should shift its focus

away from assimilation and categorisation, towards more inclusive practices and enhanced set of rights given to migrants. The review of the literature presents that scholars emphasise that integration should be a two-side process of mutual adaptation, learning, and empowerment, which treats local society and newcomers as equal partners. Moreover, as Dahinden (2013) highlights, migrants should be perceived as normal citizens beyond the category of difference to address the root causes of discrimination and avoid raising prejudice, expression of exclusionism, and increase awareness of cultural and ethnic differences. Researchers stress that policies should be more attentive to the struggles of migrants and their disadvantaged position in new society, and they should encompass a broader set of outcomes including mental health, security, and stability.

The 'Right to the City' and 'The Just City' theory provide a foundation for social integration that goes beyond assimilation and offers potential pathways towards enhanced engagement of the citizenry (Urban Synergies Group, 2013). The argument of appropriation of space proves useful to encourage meaningful connections, and helps to recognise that all individuals have equal rights to public common space. It is not only a space of encounter but also a place of collective action and participation, through which residents can have a say in shaping their community (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013). It has been also noted that diversity is an important inherent part of today's societies and that through recognition of differences a respect and acceptance for divergent cultures can be fostered (ibid). Although these ideas are said to be utopian as they call for a profound change, it is also believed that this is their particular strength; they may serve as a guide and inspiration to induce a great change in today's cities (Purcell, 2013). It empowers inhabitants to rise up and reclaim the space in the city where they approach themselves as equal partners.

The appropriation of space by Lefebvre entails a discussion ensued about the importance of public space for urban society and the contact hypothesis allows to further investigate the potential effects of inter-ethnic interactions in public space on people's perceptions and attitudes towards migrants (Peters & de Haan, 2011). What is thus the relation between migration, public space, and integration? To understand the potential of public space for integration meant by realistic/positive attitudes towards immigrants it has to be specified under what circumstances public space may have an effect on reducing hostility towards migrants. Are there certain attributes of space or conditions that have to be met to facilitate such integration? Under what circumstances inter-ethnic encounters in public space may result in positive interaction? And what is exactly meant by inclusive public space? The perception of actors involved in the process will be explored to address these questions and discover other aspects that are seen to be important in the process of inclusive integration.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter elaborates on the research strategy, methods and techniques, data collection, and methodological considerations. The foregoing review of the literature was the first method employed in this research to obtain the secondary data and to ground the research in the theoretical framework. Having completed the theoretical analysis which provided guidance towards the empirical research, it is now possible to test the theoretical assumptions in practice and seek further insights. Following the examination of the relevant theories, this chapter presents methods that were selected to tackle empirical research and collect data for this thesis. The chapter is finalised with the discussion of the research quality.

### 4.1 Research strategy

The research was conducted in a qualitative manner, as it is the most suitable strategy to discover a set of factors that could facilitate inter-ethnic integration in public space and yield positive results on the local level. This will be explored from the point of view of different professionals who directly and indirectly shape local opportunities for the integration of immigrants with local residents. Given the aim of the study and the fact that there is little known about this particular topic, it is a justifiable rationale for conducting the research of an explorative character. Moreover, as the migration-related topics are often sensitive and require the researcher to take a specific position to better understand the research participants and see the world as they see it (Bryman, 2012) the qualitative approach where the participant's perspective is a key element in data collection, was selected as suitable for this study. Qualitative strategy with an interpretative approach allowed to view the world in which migrants and integration processes are positioned through the eyes of people being studied and interpreted from their perspective. This is particularly important in the context of intercultural integration which is inevitably a social phenomenon that may be perceived differently depending on many factors such as the context in which the informant is positioned, worldview, or moral rules and beliefs. Thus, constructionism is the ontological position that was employed in this research, assuming that the truth is constructed by one's perspectives and ideas about the surrounding environment (ibid). Consistently, the data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews which allow a greater interest in the interviewee's point of view, what is crucial to acquire valuable data and carry out an intensive examination of a case (ibid). Such exploratory qualitative research was selected as it results in new insights and gives the opportunity to develop assumptions and propositions for further inquiry on the integration processes (Yin, 2009).

### ***4.1.1 Case study design***

According to Yin (2009), one of the most suitable strategies to conduct exploratory research is an exploratory case study. This thesis encompassed a single case that is placed in Warsaw, Poland, and entailed a detailed analysis of the issue of inter-ethnic integration on the local level, viewed from the perspective of different professionals concerned with this topic. A case study was chosen as the most appropriate method as it provides valuable and concrete, context-oriented and context-dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerg, 2006), and is concerned with the complexity and nature of the particular case (Bryman, 2012). This is highly important in this study as it is placed in the specific 'contradictory' context which makes it a unique case (this is explained in the further section) and plays a key role in this study as it uncovers the importance of context-dependency of integration issues. Although one can question the quality and relevance of case studies, this particular case is considered valuable as its context-dependency is its particular strength and can lead to the discovery of new insights that other research methods cannot offer. Essentially, the purpose of the study was not to replicate the findings, but to bring new theoretical insights to the current immigration and integration discourse, and enrich the international debate with new solutions and practices that are derived from this research and might be an inspiration for new ideas.

### ***4.1.2 Case selection***

Although the context of Warsaw, Poland may not be regarded as an adequate place to hold an integration debate owing to its unfavourable approach to migration and lack of fundamental policies, this is, in fact, one of its strengths. This context is considered unique as the approaches towards migrants on local and national levels differ considerably and it is the reason why this case has been chosen. The integration of immigrants has been widely studied in Western European countries since this is the destination of the vast majority of migrants and where immigration and integration policies are developed. However, the body of research placed in a highly different, anti-immigration Polish context where growing tensions and problems regarding community integration has been perceived as an escalating problem, is underdeveloped.

In the last few decades since the immigration flow has increased, the considerable share of incoming migrants settled just in one city in Poland - Warsaw (Grubbauer & Kusiak, 2012). As a result of the growing concentration of 'new' minority groups, the frequency of contacts between foreigners and the host Polish society has increased and it is much higher than in any other Polish city (ibid). Although Warsaw cannot be called a multicultural city in a Western European sense, diversity is becoming more visible and acknowledged, what brings attention to the issue of adaptation and integration (Winiarska,

2015). The increased intercultural encounters in a highly ethnically homogenous country where diversity is not commonplace and the lack of coherent immigration and integration strategy make Warsaw a very specific context for the incorporation of migrants. Furthermore and most importantly, the Polish context in which migrants are positioned can be described as 'contradictory'. This is because the local more 'welcoming' context of Warsaw is embedded in a different, anti-immigration national setting. The national discourse of migration is rather unfavourable and 'hostile' and implies integration through assimilation like some Western countries, however, this is not reflected in the directives on the city-level. This unfavourable central narrative provided local actors a stimulus to counter anti-immigration approaches and create more inclusive pathways. Although there is a clear hierarchy between postulates formulated on the national and local level, the city of Warsaw together with NGOs and private partners adopted a more hospitable and inclusive approach for the incorporation and empowerment of migrants. The focus on inclusion is reflected in the programmes and initiatives on the local level, what gives an opportunity to explore how local professionals shape inclusive integration (Creative Europe, 2019).

The case of Warsaw is considered as unique and significant in this debate because it is a new destination for immigrants without ensuing immigration policy, where ethnic diversity is a relatively new phenomenon (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014; Winiarska, 2015). Studying integration of migrants in Warsaw is particularly interesting in the situation of minimal state support, and at the same time, the increased importance of intercultural contact despite the lack of visible multiculturalism in either descriptive or political sense (Winiarska, 2015). Such an unusual context for studying the integration of migrants gives the opportunity to examine the process of integration from a different, local perspective what is not possible in Western societies (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014), where the integration discourse has been deeply rooted, and the integration policies have been established. In this sense, the context of Warsaw constitutes a testing ground for the uncovering the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space, and the recognition of the importance of the local context for such processes.

## **4.2 Data collection**

The empirical data for this study was obtained through semi-structured interviews with professionals of different backgrounds who are concerned with migration issues in Warsaw and work on the implementation of strategic projects which aim to integrate migrants with local communities. These projects are the main objects of this research. They are various, yet they have some common characteristics: their aim is to build a platform for integration by drawing people of different backgrounds together in one common space where they can interact, learn about each other's cultures, and act in a



collective purpose; they are meant to raise awareness about multiculturalism and migration, and they might take many forms such as city events, neighbourhood meetings, or workshops.

As this is a qualitative research where an interviewee's perspective is crucial in data collection, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the main method to obtain the data. Qualitative interviewing gave the researcher an opportunity to obtain rich and detailed answers by allowing a greater generality in the formulation of questions and points of discussion, what guided the interviewee to freely express his point of view (Bryman, 2012). The interviews encompassed topics as outlined in a topic list, however, the formulated questions sometimes varied in terms of structure. Moreover, sometimes additional follow-up questions were asked to deepen or clarify statements made by a respondent. The interviews were conducted with flexibility in order to discover significant insights that would not emerge in the course of fully structured interviews. By employing this method the researcher aimed to uncover the specific perceptions of informants that allow for the in-depth elaboration of the meaning and value of public space for the process of integration on the local level.

#### ***4.2.1 Interviews and participants***

For the purpose of this research, one group of participants was selected which is distinguished as local professionals from Warsaw involved in migration and integration issues. However, as this group encompassed both municipal workers and NGO's representatives, two topic lists were produced as their competences and scope of action regarding integration differ. The topic lists were prepared using the information obtained in the theoretical framework, and according to the interviewees' expertise. They were not fixed questions and they rather served as a guidance for the researcher, what allowed for more freedom to shift questions according to the course of the conversation and pose additional questions to deepen or clarify the interviewee's message. It made it also possible for respondents to add points of discussion which seemed relevant to them and were not mentioned by the researcher. In appendix 1 the topic lists can be found.

In table 4.1. all the respondents are listed. Gaining access to municipal workers was not an easy task considering the unfavourable time of pandemic in which the study was conducted, yet the only interview with a municipal worker was very comprehensive and allowed to understand the approach and action taken by the municipality of Warsaw. The subsequent respondents were selected based on the organisation they work for. To select the organisations, the research was conducted in order to choose those whose work is the most in line with the research objectives. The vast majority of respondents were the members of NGO's whose work, in general, is about helping migrants, working with the host society, and facilitating common integration in various actions. One interviewee was from the Museum of the

History of Polish Jews that also works with migrants and local communities, and one respondent was from NGO whose main goal is not to integrate but to create a place of local activity with joint artistic activity of people with different backgrounds where migrants are also welcome. All respondents were from different organisations. Moreover, during each interview, the interviewee was requested to suggest the potential interviewees that might hold relevant information for this research. This method was particularly useful as these professionals cooperate with each other and know each other's organisations well, what resulted in the selection of adequate respondents.

The interviewees were all approached by e-mail or telephone and all the interviews were conducted online through the Zoom platform as meetings in-person were not possible due to the pandemic. The preparation of interviews encompassed researching migration and integration situation in Warsaw and learning about each organisation's scope of action. The length of interviews varied as some interviewees were more concise in their answers and some were willing to explain more aspects in detail. All the interviews were conducted in Polish and transcribed also in this language. Quotes from interviews used in the Results chapter were translated from Polish to English by the researcher.

Table 4.1 The list of interviews and participants

No.	Respondent	Organisation	Role	Time	Recording consent	Date
1.	Respondent 1	Municipality of Warsaw	Migration and integration expert	95 min	Yes	7 May 2020
2.	Respondent 2	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Activist, multicultural animator	90 min	Yes	15 May 2020
3.	Respondent 3	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Activist, migration and integration expert	69 min	Yes	18 May 2020
4.	Respondent 4	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Member of the board, coordinator of language courses	49 min	Yes	21 May 2020
5.	Respondent 5	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Founder and President of the foundation, initiator of various social and artistic projects	60 min	Yes	21 May 2020

6.	Respondent 6	Museum	Expert in intercultural and civic education	75 min	Yes	22 May 2020
7.	Respondent 7	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Founder and President of the foundation, initiator of various activities for refugees and migrants	64 min	Yes	25 May 2020
8.	Respondent 8	NGO - Foundation that promotes the joint artistic activity of people from all backgrounds	Founder of the foundation, project coordinator, cultural animator	43 min	Yes	25 May 2020
9.	Respondent 9	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Chairman of the foundation with migration background	55 min	Yes	28 May 2020
10.	Respondent 10	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Member of the foundation specialised in PR	45 min	Yes	28 May 2020
11.	Respondent 11	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	Cultural mentor	37 min	Yes	15 June 2020
12.	Respondent 12	NGO - Foundation that works for the integration of migrants and local communities	NGO volunteer	42 min	No	19 June 2020

#### ***4.2.2 Data processing and analysis***

The collected data was in the form of audiotapes and transcripts of interviews. The data analysis procedures encompassed transcribing and coding the interviews, and the analysis of personal notes from interviews about the attitude, and general experience with informants (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, during the process of research, the evaluation and reflection about the progress were executed. This encompassed a review of day to day activities, methodological notes, decision-making procedures (Bryman, 2012). Besides, after each interview, the list of questions was reviewed in order to steer the subsequent interviews towards subjects that have not been discussed yet or to obtain more information about specific issues.

The reconstruction and analysis of the data acquired from interviews were carried out in the NVivo computer software which allows to analyse the interview in a structured way using the coding technique (Bryman, 2012). The coding encompassed several steps in order to make the data ready for the final analysis. First of all, all the transcripts were read through and initial notes called 'memos' (ibid) were made to highlight information that might be particularly useful in the research. Subsequently, fragments of transcripts were given a code that reflected the topic or idea of particular parts of interviewees' answers what it called open coding (Goia, 2012). In this step the number of codes was very big and unstructured, therefore the next step was to give categories to some groups of codes that had something in common and could be related to each other and to theoretical concepts. As the analysis progressed, it was necessary to find connections between categories to reduce the number of categories to the manageable number, what is called axial coding (ibid). This step made it possible to order the codes and decide which of them were relevant for the research. This way a code tree that can be found in appendix 2 was created. The code tree systematized data and shows it in a more structured way what made it possible to find connections with theoretical findings and analyse both theoretical and empirical findings in detail and with connection to each other.

#### ***4.2.3 Ethical and privacy issues***

There are two important rules that are followed in this research in order for it to be ethically correct and respectful with regard to interviewees' privacy. Namely, the respondents were aware of the subject and purpose of the research, and they knew the status of the researcher and the nature of the investigation (Bryman, 2012). They were informed in detail about why they have been chosen as a source of data and how their answers would be used. The whole procedure was preceded by asking for permission to record the interview for the research purposes. These measures were to assure the interviewee that he is being treated with respect and allow the researcher to gain his trust. Secondly, to ensure the privacy of the respondents, their identity was revealed only when they gave explicit consent. Personal data protection is of particular importance in the research on immigration as it may relate to sensitive or confidential information.

#### **4.3 Considerations of the research quality**

Scientific social research requires a researcher to be reflective towards the research process, methods, and data analysis in order to guarantee the quality of research (Bryman, 2012). It is to assure whether the gathered data is verifiable, and the results are credible and valid. This section will elaborate on the criteria of validity and reliability, and limitations concerning this research.

### *4.3.1 Validity and reliability*

Validity and reliability are very important criteria that allow for the assessment of the quality of research (Bryman, 2012). According to LeCompte and Goetz (1982), there are two types of validity: internal and external. Internal validity mainly concerns the accuracy of interpretation of data, and thus the link between theoretical ideas and empirical results (Bryman, 2012). The internal validity is ensured if the theoretical and empirical analysis is consistently connected, what asserts that the study is trustworthy and meaningful. To increase internal validity, the content of interviews was guided by theoretical findings derived from the theoretical framework, and concepts explored there were also studied in the empirical research. Moreover, the interview transcripts were given to participants to review their responses, what enhanced the interpretive accuracy (Carlson, 2010), and the given answers were verified confidentially in subsequent interviews in order to check the uniformity of assumptions and assertions.

The applicability of the external validity, and thus, the ability to generalise the scientific findings across other social settings (Bryman, 2012) is relatively limited with regards to a single case study. The statistical generalisation of findings derived from this research cannot be made outside of the Polish context. However, in this research, the external validity was about theoretical rather than statistical generalisation. The external validity was increased as its purpose was not to generalise findings to all migrant populations across Poland but rather it aimed to generate theoretical propositions. Essentially, this research focused on generating theoretical insights that could be reconsidered and tested in other settings.

The reliability of research is concerned with consistency and accountability of the study (Carcary, 2009), and thus its replication (Bryman, 2012). Semi-structured interviews have a lower level of reliability due to the difficulty to cover the same subjects with each participant. Moreover, the course of such interviews is difficult to repeat what makes this research unlikely to be reproducible. The researcher was aware that this may cause some disturbances in the formulation of consistent results. Therefore, these issues were tackled by being completely explicit about the process of data collection including providing the lists of interview topics, its analysis – a code tree shows the process of coding in more detail, and content (anonymously) by producing transcripts. These actions increased the reliability of this qualitative case study research. Additionally, the research has been carried out until theoretical saturation occurred, what means that the research has been conducted until new data no longer suggested new insights (Bryman, 2012). This aspect enhanced both internal validity as the saturation ensured that the results are complete and true, and reliability as it increased the possibility to obtain similar results by another researcher.

### *4.3.2 Research in a pandemic*

A great limitation of this research was the unfavourable time of a pandemic in which it was conducted. Such circumstances constrained the study considerably as many of the research methods were no longer applicable and alternative methods and sources to acquire research materials had to be developed. Face-to-face fieldwork that was initially planned to be employed in this research, such as participant observations and semi-structured interviews in person, had to be limited to the online interviews by the Zoom platform. This is a particular weakness of this research, as such limitations made it impossible to fully experience the meetings with informants and notice all the details that might be important for the outcome of this study. Thus, it has to be born in mind that the results would vary slightly if they had been conducted in normal circumstances. To mitigate these shortcomings, the researcher aimed to conduct comprehensive and detailed interviews which were complemented by online research.

## 5 THE POLISH CONTEXT

Poland traditionally has been an emigration country and it has remained ethnically homogeneous since the end of World War II (Rajca, 2015). However, after the fall of communism in 1989, the inflow of immigrants to Poland started to increase inducing cultural and ethnic diversification to the uniform Polish society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). According to the national data from 2020 migrants in Poland constitute almost 2% of the Polish population and this number is gradually increasing. Moreover, a considerable share of foreigners, namely over 20%, reside in Warsaw, where the largest groups are of Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Belarusian, Russian and Chinese nationality (Urząd do spraw Cudzoziemców, 2020).

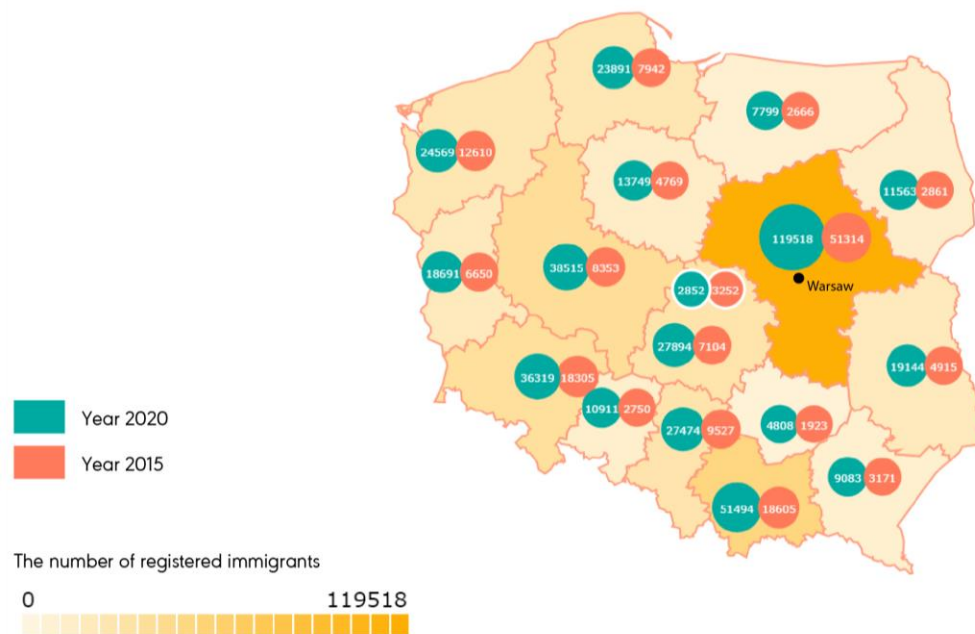


Figure 5.1 The comparison of the number of migrants in Poland in 2015 and 2020

Source: migracje.gov.pl

Immigration is a relatively new phenomenon and its scale in Poland is much smaller than in Western European countries. Nevertheless, Poland now is being challenged by the new state of immigration and faces arising problems regarding the integration of newcomers and receiving society (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). Polish policy of the integration of migrants, both on the national and local level, is at a very early stage of development. It has to be noted that currently, Poland does not have a coherent strategy with clearly defined goals to integrate immigrants (Rajca, 2015). According to Grzymała-Kazłowska and Okólski (2010), Polish state immigration approach can be described by its "amorphous nature" characterised by lack of immigration and integration policy and reactive, ad hoc character of regulations developed under the pressure of occurring events and international influences (Grzymała-

Kazłowska, 2014). In the light of the current migration crisis, the rather anti-immigrant hostile Polish environment and the lack of fundamental policies, social attitudes towards the reception of migrants have been to some extent marked by prejudice and exclusionist reactions (Rajca, 2015). As Piekut (2012) maintains, migrants in Warsaw can be divided into two specific groups - 'invisible' and 'visible' ethnic others. The former group includes often highly skilled migrants from the United States and Western Europe, the latter encompasses migrants from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa who are culturally and religiously remote from Polish society (Winiarska, 2015). The study shows that attitudes to migrants within the host society largely coincides with the aforementioned division. Poles express more negative attitudes including discrimination towards people from Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia than from Western and Central European countries (ibid). An interesting exception are Ukrainian immigrants who have an ambiguous and contradictory position in Poland defined as "neither strangers nor the same" (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). Ukrainian minority constitutes the largest group of migrants in Poland which is relatively deeply rooted in Polish society, yet, the relationship between these nations is affected by historical conflicts and negative stereotypes resulting from the past (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). Despite the cultural similarities and geopolitical proximity, there is a social distance and the expression of patronising attitudes that affect Ukrainians' adaptation and integration with the Polish society (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). Although studies highlight the emergence of more positive attitudes towards migrants in Poland (Winiarska, 2015), the country still remains a rather unfavourable context for their incorporation, mainly owing to the national discourse that largely underpins discriminatory beliefs and practices.

## 5.1 The national discourse on integration

As it has been already mentioned, in Poland there is no official immigration policy and no systemic strategy concerning the integration of migrants (Lesińska, 2015). Essentially, the public discourse on immigration and integration is marked by the strong anti-migrant and anti-refugee political narrative, the increasing islamophobia, and the belief that foreigners are a threat to Poland's cultural integrity and/or public security (SGH & Fundacja Ocalenie, 2020). There have been minimal actions undertaken to develop a national policy of integration. According to Lesińska (2015), they can be described as "reactive, centralized and top-down processes". This is due to several reasons. In the current legal status, the creation of integration policy is a task exclusively of the national government. Local government units can perform activities of a rather ad hoc nature, however, such initiatives are optional (Rajca, 2015). Furthermore, the legal and institutional framework has been created only as a response to EU requirements and under EU guidance, or in order to solve specific administrative problems (Lesińska, 2015), whereas the initiatives of the national government have been very limited, and encompassed a set



of ad hoc measures dedicated to specific groups of newcomers. Grzymała-Kazłowska (2014) argues that the state approach towards immigrants could be portrayed as “incorporation via ‘abandonment’”. The Polish integration system has been very selective and narrowly oriented. Any legal provisions and short-term integration programmes have been addressed to only two particular groups of immigrants, namely refugees and repatriates with their families (ibid), who constitute a relatively small group of migrants in Poland. The institutional support from the state is limited what causes problems for migrants’ adaptation to life in a Polish society, especially for those of non-European origin (Lesińska, 2015), and widens the gap between locals and incomers. The issue of immigrant integration on the Polish political agenda remains a low priority. Such a negligence seems to stem from Poland’s limited experience with long-term migrants and lack of interest of policy-makers in encouraging settlement migration (ibid). The failure to recognise the emergent ethno-cultural diversity that is increasingly prevalent in the Polish society results from the conviction that Poland is a transit country with a limited scale of migration which is seen as ‘unproblematic’, since it is dominated by migrants of Eastern-European origin who are close to the receiving society in terms of culture and language (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014).

In contrast to the anti-immigration public discourse, there has been a declared acceptance for migrants who are seen as culturally close as Ukrainians. There is a tacit consent for labour and student migration from Eastern Europe, as this is the interest of the Polish labour market, higher education, and economy, particularly in the context of demand for workforce and a predicted depopulation of the country (SGH & Fundacja Ocalenie, 2020; Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). This demonstrates that the Polish state differentiates between European and non-European migrants and creates divergent strategies towards them. Whereas immigrants from Eastern Europe are seen as ‘unproblematic others’, there is a contrary attitude towards migrants from more remote countries, who are treated with suspicion (Grzymała-Kazłowska, 2014). These practices strongly influence the attitudes of Polish society and the nature of the incorporation of immigrants (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Brzozowska, 2016). Researchers show that the expression of paternalistic attitudes towards migrants still takes place, and according to Rajca (2015), the scope of integration processes and their effects are unsatisfactory, and the integration of immigrants, particularly those from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, will constitute an inevitable challenge.

## **5.2 Integration on the local level – the context of Warsaw**

In Poland, the elaboration of the integration policy does not belong to the tasks of local governments. They do not have strong legal instruments to create their own integration policies and they are not obliged to do so (Rajca, 2015). However, representatives of local governmental units increasingly recognise the growing diversity and social disparities associated with the inflow of migrants. Given that local level is

believed to play an important role in the incorporation of newcomers, authorities have been taking the initiative and starting to cooperate with other entities, especially non-governmental organisations, in order to find solutions to persisting problems of marginalisation and exclusion, and to inclusively incorporate and integrate immigrants. In Warsaw a multitude of professionals such as public authorities, members of NGOs, cultural organisations, volunteers, and researchers have been involved in implementing activities for integration and intercultural education, facilitating inter-ethnic dialogue and acceptance of cultural diversity. They work together in order to create inclusive places and events where migrants and local communities can meet, participate, and learn about each other. A great example is a Multicultural Centre, which was created in Warsaw in 2014 by the city's government in cooperation with a private partner. Its goal is to activate and support immigrants, empower integration with the inhabitants of Warsaw, and strengthen multicultural dialogue to prevent discrimination and social exclusion (Rajca, 2015). Additionally, in July 2019 in Warsaw, the aforementioned professionals gathered at an important seminar that has been organised in order to have a debate over the integration of migrants, refugees, and locals in cultural and social activities. Mutual understanding of cultures by Poles and foreigners as well as joint work and activities are perceived as a key to understand and overcome stereotypes, and socially include migrants (Creative Europe, 2019). The purpose of the seminar was to inspire cultural and social organizations and institutions to implement cultural and social activities that actively involve migrants and refugees in the life of local communities, and to encourage participants to build local partnerships for the integration of foreigners living in Poland (ibid).

Although such initiatives are increasingly present on the municipality's agenda, they are at an early stage of development. The limited funding and the lack of state support constitute considerable barriers to the development of integration activities on a larger scale and of a more systemic nature. Largely owing to the European initiatives and funds such ideas have been initiated, however, it has to be noted that the local professionals are one of the most important actors in Warsaw who, despite the unfavourable national discourse, strive to facilitate the creation of an inclusive society and enhance local opportunities for integration.

## 6 RESEARCH RESULTS

In this chapter, the results of data analysis are presented and discussed. This chapter focusses on the second and third sub-question: *How do different professionals, directly and indirectly, shape the opportunity for integration of migrants with local residents? What is the role of public space in facilitating inter-ethnic contacts and integration?* The results are presented from the point of view of local experts who presented their opinions on migration and integration issues in Warsaw and Poland. The chapter starts by giving an overview of the general perceptions of professionals on the process of integration and elaborates on factors and approaches that are crucial to attain inclusiveness in this process. Subsequently, local pathways of integration executed by the municipality and NGOs are discussed. Lastly, the role of public space, social interaction, and encounters and their value for integration is discussed. The chapter is finalised with a conclusion on the discrepancy between local and central governmental levels.

### 6.1 Factors to ensure inclusiveness of the integration process

As presented in the first chapter, there is no agreed scholarly definition of the concept of integration, thereby its meaning is rather ambiguous and many various interpretations emerged out of this discussion. Ultimately, this has led to a problematic situation when *integration* and *assimilation* became interchangeable terms. However, all respondents strongly reject this practice and highlight that these terms are highly different as their major assumptions vary considerably. They condemn the assimilation pathway and what it posits, as one respondent says:

*"(...) we absolutely do not seek assimilation. I also always make great linguistic care that such terms do not appear in our discourse."*

Respondent 1 – The Municipality of Warsaw

Respondents when asked about their own understanding of the term *integration* and what it would ideally look like, presented diverse and multilateral answers. Yet, they believe that *inclusiveness* is a rule that should guide integration processes and shape approaches towards migration and migrants. To ensure *inclusiveness* several factors were particularly emphasised by the majority of respondents.

#### *Two-way process and mutual learning*

The most frequently mentioned feature of the integration process is mutuality. In contrast to assimilation pathways implied by many national integration policies, all respondents strongly agree that a process of integration should be two-fold and should involve all migrants and local residents, what they also practice

in their integration strategies. They put an emphasis on a process of mutual learning, respect and values that emerge out of this process, as it is believed that the most valuable things result from the connection of these groups. In their pathways they strive to respond to the needs of both groups and think about them equally:

*"(...) So, when we were building our thinking about the foundation, we thought that our work must be two-fold and it is two-fold throughout all these years of work, that is, on the one hand, we try to work with the inhabitants, 'indigenous' people of this country and build openness, understanding in these people, and a readiness to contact another culture. On the other hand, we work with foreigners giving them tools to understand this local society. This is our approach. We focus on making both sides ready for it".*

Respondent 7 - The member of NGO

*"I understand integration, as if we were to imagine it, it would be a mixture of different elements and these elements learn from each other, consider each other valuable, and they enjoy this process. Integration is learning about unknown elements (...) it is an exploration, conversation, dialogue with mutual respect, because I can't imagine integration without respect and probably it can't be done at all. And also very privately, I associate integration with colours and joy."*

Respondent 10 - The member of NGO

The point of view of an expert with migration background is similar, however, he emphasises that migrants should also to some extent adapt to the reality and common values and norms of the host society, as this is an act of respect for their culture.

*"From what I observe and from what I went through in the integration process, because I have lived in Poland for 10 years and 1 month now, the integration process is such a process when everything around you ceases to be strange and you are no longer a stranger, they become more familiar and 'your own' too. It is also about the penetration of cultures, customs and adapting to those customs that apply here in this host society. So it must be mutual to be a positive and building process."*

Respondent 9 - The member of NGO

The mutuality described by respondents is mostly related to a common process of learning when people can simply draw on their competences, skills, experiences, and the fact that they come from another part of the world. It is necessary to treat these groups equally with the assumption that one is learning from the other and each of these groups has competences that they can exchange while meeting on a common

ground, where they have the opportunity to meet in a situation where their value is the same and no discussion on who is 'a full citizen' or 'more welcomed' must take place. As one respondent highlights, in her work she does not aim to integrate migrants, but rather to create conditions for joint learning where everyone is treated equally, and integration happens as a side process:

*"From the beginning, we did not talk about the fact that we want to integrate foreigners with Poles, we only care about a mutual agreement. This means that we meet somewhere on a common ground, everyone learns from each other, and there is a joint action. We simply create a space for a joint artistic activity, and we do not appear as experts because we are born here and we are Polish. What we do is completely from scratch and we all start from the same level. Also the foundation was founded with a reflection that there are no meeting places where foreigners would have contact with Poles on a different relation than teacher-pupil."*

Respondent 8 - The member of NGO

#### *Incorporation in the society - migrants as regular urban citizens*

As it has been mentioned, there is a big gap between the central and local government level, which unfortunately is growing. The limited rights and founding restrict municipalities from taking systemic action towards the incorporation of migrants. However, it is acknowledged that cities are the 'receivers' of new inhabitants, and they are responsible for ensuring the local socio-economic well-being of all urban dwellers, thus there is a need for cities to take action in this regard. Not noticing this group and not undertaking any integration activities would be unreasonable and harmful to both inhabitants and the city. This would result in exclusions and other undesirable phenomena. The local government of Warsaw strives to treat migrants as regular citizens, notice that they bring knowledge, experience, and participate in cultural and social life, and counteract the exclusionist central narrative. As the municipal representative says:

*"So the point is that everyone should have access to the city and feel as full-fledged residents. This is the definition that I use in my work. An integrated migrant is a person who feels as and is a full-fledged resident. She/he may not have this national identity, but she/he is a 'Warsavian'. I am not Polish but I am Warsaw citizen. This is the goal that guides us."*

Respondent 1 - Municipality of Warsaw

Respondents believe that migrants should be incorporated in the society as soon as they arrive to feel welcomed, know where to find help, and know how the city works. The city strives to be open and accessible for migrants and Poles on the same level, and the services the municipality offers to regular

citizens should be adjusted to the needs and capabilities of foreigners as well. They promote city's participatory tools and information is shared always in multiple translations. In Warsaw, this is partially done by the creation of a multilingual publication that explains rights and duties of an active resident. It is particularly important to incorporate all residents to create a united community. As the municipality representative highlights, they do not want to create a separate system for migrants, and above all, they do not want to isolate them. Instead, everything should be available equally for all:

*"I pay a lot of attention now to, paradoxically, stop treating migrants as a separate group that requires special care. Everything needs to be available in terms of language, in terms of crossing cultural barriers, in legal terms. The aim that the whole Warsaw is now striving to, having first the Multicultural Centre, is to become such a multicultural centre itself. We don't want to build such an 'integration ghetto', the goal is to build a city where it doesn't matter what language you speak, what your skin colour is. You can enter the theatre, library, resident service point and there will be no barriers for you. Migrants should be regarded also as co-hosts of this urban space, because they also co-create this social reality. And that's the main point."*

Respondent 1 - The Municipality of Warsaw

### Empowerment of migrants

Despite the fact that migrants should be treated as normal citizens, respondents believe that it is also a group that requires help and empowerment to adapt to the new reality, to organize life in new society. There have been two main ways of empowerment mentioned. Firstly, it is important to give them space to speak out, to show them that their voice is equally important in discussions on city affairs and integration:

*"We try to invite representatives of different cultures to this discussion. If we talk about migration, about the identity of different groups, the voice of the community itself always should be heard. We should not talk about them without them."*

Respondent 6 - The Museum employee

Respondents agree that when doing something for migrants, it should be done in cooperation or entirely by themselves, giving them tools and space to initiate integration according also to their vision, and not only how NGOs imagine it. And they believe it is always a valuable means of integration:

*"When it comes to working with migrants themselves, we have our own internal policy - we do nothing for migrants, we do it with them. We give them space, we support them financially and substantively, so that they can do something themselves. They know best how present their*

*culture and themselves. These grassroots initiatives and working a group are very bonding. One of our projects is about activation through culture - migrants first take part in workshops where they acquire the competence to implement cultural-artistic and social projects, prepare the budget, seek funds, promote, implement, and evaluate the project. It is really empowering."*

Respondent 3 - The member of NGO

Another mentioned way to strengthen migrants is to guide them while they make their first steps in a new country. Cultural, organisational, legal, and language differences constitute a great obstacle for incoming residents. Integration on the local level should strive to make it easier for them and accelerate the process of learning and adaptation to reduce uncertainty that often causes stress and anxiety:

*"We had a project 'Meetings with Poland' which aimed to teach migrants about everyday life in Poland. Once it was about national holidays, the other time it was about how to behave in formal and informal situations, how to rent a flat, or set up a bank account. It was such a 'Polish ABC'. It was a project only for migrants, moreover, led by and designed by migrants. And it had great integration significance because every person coming out of this meeting came out with such knowledge that he did not have to be afraid to talk and interact with Poles."*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

### *Respecting migrants and their identity - diversity as an asset*

The second most frequently mentioned aspect is the value of diversity and respect for migrants' identity. It is extremely important to all respondents to not require migrants to shed their cultural identity and adapt to the receiving society, ultimately becoming a Pole. Instead, diversity is perceived as an asset, as something that makes societies more interesting and more unique, what is also in line with the assumptions of Fainstein's and Lefebvre's theories of social justice. According to the respondents:

*"For me, integration is a process in which a migrant retains his cultural identity and, on the other hand, also adopts some of the cultural identity of the host country. So this is not assimilation, we do not expect the migrant to change his name to Polish, switch to the majority religion in Poland, but that he will keep, if he wants, his identity related to religion, culture, cuisine and values, but also will be able to feel comfortable among Poles, to feel that it is his place too."*

Respondent 4 - The member of NGO

Similarly, and most importantly, all the respondents with migration background strongly agree that the respect for identity should be also mutual. The process of integration cannot happen without a mutual respect:

*"Of course, I have some traditions, my identity and I respect them but I also respect this country, because it took me in, it provided me a roof over my head."*

Respondent 11 - The member of NGO

Experts in their work seek to use and celebrate this multicultural diversity and history of Warsaw and present it to people to indirectly shape their openness, educate, and show that diversity can be interesting and joyful. They believe that by finding common cultural traits, as well as, perceiving differences in learning about common culture and history it is possible to shape people's opinions and attitudes towards diversity so that they no longer think that different means worse.

*"[...] During this course, we worked with the memory of the common Polish-Jewish-Ukrainian history, how this memory works today and what the life of the Ukrainian community in Warsaw looks like today. And later, the classes they conducted concerned the memory of their places of origin and how this memory of the past works today. So here they co-created something. And we got feedback from participants that it was a very important experience."*

Respondent 6 - The Museum employee

Moreover, one respondent presented an interesting and important remark about the problem of misusing the value of diversity that is a considerable threat to building mutual understanding between groups:

*"We also observe a threat when we talk about the advantages that people bring with them from another culture that is a phenomenon of 'zoologizing'. Sometimes it is believed that if someone comes from Africa, it means that what he can definitely do is teach Zumba and it will be a good idea for him to set up a dance school. Or if someone is from Vietnam, it means that he should open a restaurant, because he certainly cooks. And I think it is a shallow thinking and insensitive to the potential of these people and what they want, how they see themselves in the future, how they see their development."*

Respondent 7 - The member of NGO



## Understanding the needs and struggles of migrants

*"Integration should be a process which gives a person with a migration experience a tool so that he enters this society confidently, so that he feels safe, has some psychological support, because it is a very difficult experience - entering the host society".*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

Lastly, most of the respondents strongly articulated that the process of integration is not always about this mutuality, but it is also about taking care of and helping migrants in their new, and often tough and uncertain reality. It has been highlighted that some NGOs in their work care the most about the "individual happiness of these people and their sense of life satisfaction" (Respondent 7). Yet, there is no happiness without safety and stability and these are the first and most important needs of newcomers - to have an essential level of security provided because otherwise, they will not be able to proceed in this integration process.

*"You know, it's also very important to point out that these people come here for very different reasons and in very different mental and economic conditions. Most of people who arrive, at the beginning must take care of their basic living needs and only then they are ready to integrate socially."*

Respondent 3 - The member of NGO

In the Polish reality where the state provides very limited support, the support of NGOs and kind people who are always willing to help is essential. It is crucial that there are places where migrants in need can come and can always find help. Such places definitely give a sense of stability and security. As one respondent recalls:

*"These women [refugees] have this feeling that she is their guardian angel, that if they say they have some troubles, she will always help them. And this is also what we hear from migrants and refugees - 'owing to the fact that you are here and there is this organization, I feel safe' we often hear 'I don't know how I could do without this support'".*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

As one respondent concluded, the goal of the valuable integration process is to:

*"(...) make Poles look at these foreigners as valuable individuals, and make this life in Poland with Poles satisfactory for migrants."*

Respondent 7 - The member of NGO

## 6.2 Pathways to integration on the local level

As the support from the central government is minimal, the municipality of Warsaw together with other organizations and institutions work together to provide sufficient support for incoming migrants and shape the process of integration locally through multilateral actions. First of all, it has to be recognised that there are essentially two types of integration - individual and mutual/group integration. Most NGOs whose activity is specifically focused on helping migrants and integration processes offer a very wide range of activities and services which can be mostly grouped into three components. These are counseling services addressed only to foreigners, counseling and educational activities for the host society, and multicultural activities for both groups which are the space for interaction and collective action, and this is the biggest component. According to respondents, the first two components are regarded as individual integration - this type is about indirect integration what means that integration is not their most important goal, but rather an intended side effect. These components constitute, thus, some kind of integration prerequisites, which indirectly shape the process of integration. Only the last component is regarded as mutual integration based on encounter and interaction, with direct integration as its main goal. Although this thesis is not focused on individual integration, but only accounts for mutual direct integration which mostly happens in public spaces, it is borne in mind that integration pathways do not only consist of these common group activities but rather they are a part of a broader gradual process.

Secondly, such categorisation results from the fact that integration is a gradual and long process, which has its steps according to migrants' needs that emerge along the migration pathway. Interviewees strongly underline that integration is a very complex process which is best managed progressively following some steps. According to respondents, these steps together reflect a 'pathway of integration'. As one respondent explains:

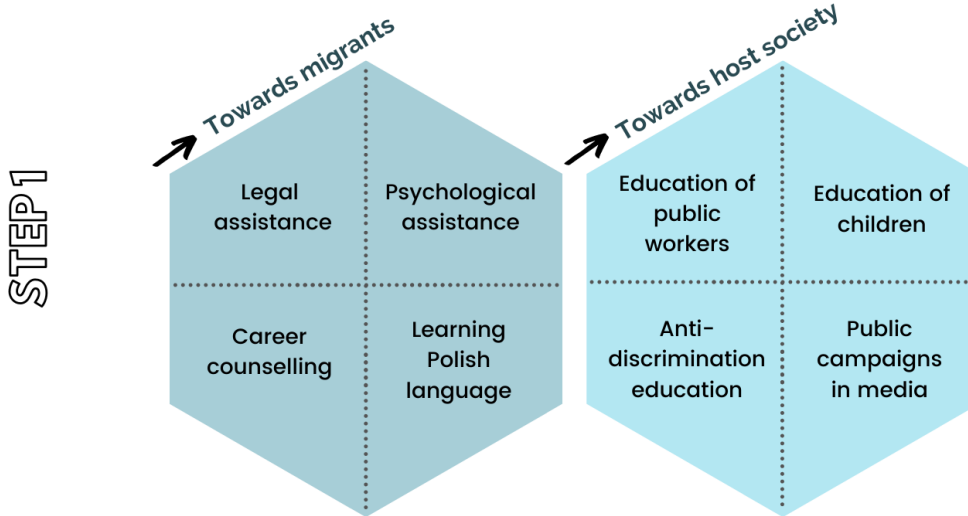
*"In the first weeks and months of migration there are many basic needs to meet and it is difficult to require or even encourage these people to take part in activities that have an integrative dimension. This situation of migration may bring about a difficult economic situation, broken bonds. (...) This is a psychological need. And most people need more time to be ready to participate in any cultural activities. They have to take care of themselves first. Such a person has a lot of things on mind, he must legalize the stay, think about a new home, and in this time integration activities are simply inadequate to his needs. Only after this period, they are ready to integrate socially, what is, however, equally important."*

Respondent 6 - The Museum employee

# INTEGRATION PATHWAYS

## Individual *indirect* integration - integration as a side goal

"Making both groups ready for the process"



## Mutual *direct* integration - integration as a main goal

"Building a platform for interaction by drawing people of different backgrounds together in one common space"

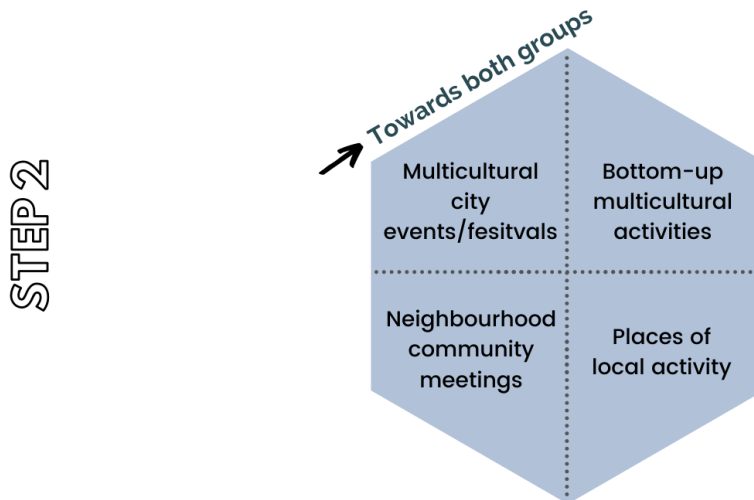


Figure 6.1 Pathways to integration employed by local experts in Warsaw  
Source: Author, 2020

Most foundations base their first support component on four services that are expected to answer the most important needs that migrants have when they come to a new country. The information and consultation services encompass an extensive legal and psychological assistance, career counseling, and courses of Polish language. Additionally in the time of a pandemic, some NGOs have a health advisor who organises meetings for migrants regarding coronavirus. The second component encompasses educational

and counselling services for the receiving society. This component can be divided into four main directions, namely, the education of public workers, the education of children, public campaigns in media, and anti-discrimination education. Essentially, these prerequisites aim to prepare both groups to be ready to contact another culture.

*“Legal and psychological support, career counseling, advice on, above all, legalization of stay - this is the so-called 'combo' that gives the person who enters the host society tools to deal with it.”*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

All respondents agree that these are all indispensable components that must be ensured to attain inclusive integration. However, they underline that integration is a complex process and there is still no well-established and systemic pathway.

*“I think that integration processes are so complex because apart from systemic solutions, it is still about working with relationships and attitudes. (...) These are extremely delicate things and it is probably difficult to give a simple definition and a simple solution. There are certainly no simple prescriptions.”*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

### **6.3 Integration in public space**

In this section the answer to the second sub-question is given: *What is the role of public space in facilitating inter-ethnic contacts and integration?* This section elaborates on projects and solutions towards direct integration which are employed in Warsaw public spaces, as they give the opportunity to directly shape attitudes towards migrants. Here, the concept of public and third spaces is tested with regards to its importance in the process of integration. Interviewees paid close attention to urban and other public spaces as main venues where direct integration takes place. They agreed that these are key spaces for integration, however, it has to be specified how urban space and third places enhance the opportunity for integration. The section starts by showing *why* respondents pay close attention to the notion of common spaces in the city, what value they associate with it, and why in Warsaw they are particularly important. Subsequently, it is explained *what* are their ways and approaches to facilitate meaningful encounters, and what is the role of different spaces *where* inter-ethnic integration largely happens in Warsaw.

### 6.3.1 *The role of multicultural interaction and encounter*

When asked about the most important factor and the meaning of public space in the process of integration, all respondents agreed that social meeting function is absolutely crucial if we want to counteract discrimination and raise awareness about multiculturalism and migration. Activities or events which facilitate inter-ethnic contact and collective action are perceived to be more efficient than pathways addressed only to one group. Although they are important in the overall process, if it is to destroy the grounds for discrimination, people should meet each other, see different identities and cultures in everyday life. The situation described by one respondent explains it:

*"I think that we have too little contact with Poles. Of course, I have Polish colleagues who I talk to and they know what it looks like, but sometimes there are such situations... Once I met on a street an old gentleman came over and began to talk stupid things about me. It was enough to talk to him for an hour to change his attitude. He said that everything he said was based on what he hears in media. I explained to him that in many situations this is not true and after this conversation, he said that he did not know it was this way. (...) We just need more common meetings, more conversations, because without these conversations people only have what they show in the media."*

Respondent 11 - The member of NGO

Respondents pay close attention to the notion of public space as this is where people meet, interact, and where communities are formed. However, in such a prejudices society where multiculturalism is still not commonplace and migrants are often not regarded as full-fledged community members, experts acknowledge that random encounters and occasional visibility of migrants in public space are not enough for many Polish people to change attitude, and to counter prejudices and discrimination. Poles might be largely aware of the growing multiculturalism and can still exclude migrants. Experts argue for a deepened contact and enhanced collaboration which requires people to talk and interact and not only look at each other from a distance.

*"In Warsaw, the inhabitants are aware of this diversity, but at the same time, they don't have any closer contact with these people. Thus, a public anti-discrimination campaign or seeing black people on the street won't open their eyes anymore, they need something more, there must be this group process, there must be some deeper interaction. And this is what we are striving to achieve."*

Respondent 4 - The member of NGO

*„On the one hand, education and talking about discrimination are needed, but usually if it is in the form of a panel discussion or lecture, it won't have much effect. People who come there are already determined that multiculturalism is great, that integration is the right direction. However, to really integrate, something more is needed, they need interaction.“*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

Interviewees agree that a permanent destruction of discrimination is a challenge. They believe that it can be achieved by creating a platform for cooperation in common purpose, where the whole group pursues a common goal because this is a situation when possible prejudices regarding race or origin cease to be so significant and play a role. Experts highlight, that the goal is not to force prejudiced people to change their mind, but to create this common ground for interaction that will show the real view of migration itself.

*“I think that nothing integrates more than meeting other people. Those people who come to us, who are often sceptical, after sitting down to the common table, talking, learning, and working together, they enjoy this multiculturalism and they are often surprised. And those who come to these events are not often convinced that diversity is a value and we do not convince them, we do not say ‘Listen, you have no idea about the world, you are stupid saying migrants are bad people’, no, we say ‘Please, here you have a gay, a black person, talk to him, see, do something together’. So we make them cooperate and suddenly it turns out that these cultural differences are really something very external and very easy to ignore.“*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

### Finding the universal language

It is still a great challenge to inject these multicultural topics into everyday life and mainstream culture, and make it interesting to a larger group of people, especially those who are not naturally interested in multiculturalism and have some doubts about it. Therefore, respondents believe that it is important to create places and opportunities when people can meet on a common ground and collectively act to achieve one common goal, so that the discussion is not about migration or multiculturalism, but about simple everyday activities that both groups are interested in:

*“If our goal is only integration, we do not have to focus our participants on very ambitious tasks. For example, cuisine and sport perfectly integrate because these are things that ‘speak a universal language’. Despite the fact that they differ from each other, we all recognize the flavours, we are curious, or we all can move better or worse and sport or competition gives us some pleasure. So do not try to build great bonds right away, just find this universal language.“*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

*“Our foundation was founded with an intention to organize artistic events, during which people of different origins would meet and share the same interest. All our projects revolve around the cooperation between people from different cultures and different religions.”*

Respondent 8 - The member of NGO

The situation when people have something in common, when their collective action is based on something mutual what connects them, common interests or goals, breaks some psychological barriers and increases the opportunity to integrate and raise multicultural awareness.

*“So if we have a culinary event where are people interested in cuisine, there is some a stimulus to talk. So a well-thought-out topic around which one can build this integration is a key. This also applies to the place of residence, if we have a common goal as a community and people get together, it unites communities around a broader common goal.”*

Respondent 4 – The member of NGO

### ***6.3.2 Mutual integration***

According to respondents, direct mutual integration is the most important in the process of integration, as this is when the intercultural dialogue and interaction described in the previous section happen. The predominant goal is to build a platform for integration by drawing people of different backgrounds together in one common space where they can interact, learn about each other's cultures, and act in a collective purpose. Experts maintain that this is the way to increase awareness about multiculturalism and build a realistic view of migrants. By the means of this pathway they endeavour to address the root causes of the problem of prejudices, as they all believe that there is no better form of integration and raising mutual tolerance than meeting, talking, and learning about each other. What is particularly important in this process is that migrants and Poles are not only the recipients of these actions, but they are also the creators, they take initiatives to guide this integration as well, with the guidance of organizations.

#### **Integration through culture**

Cultural integration is the most diverse group of integration actions on the local level in Warsaw. It encompasses a wide range of activities from big city festivals, through smaller events in neighbourhoods, to workshops and meetings in 'places of local activity'. These are spaces where people can work together

and meet another cultures, what is intended to shape their openness and attitudes. As one respondent says:

*"Culture is the most important, because it is everywhere, and it is an inseparable component of life. Culture is such a 'super-thing' that allows you to find your own elements, allows you to spot similarities, learn about them between your and Polish culture, and vice versa. This reverse action is very important, when Poles meet with migrants and their eyes open, it suddenly turns out that migrants are not such terrible people."*

Respondent 10 - The member of NGO

Activities are various and multilateral. As some respondents describe, they have many different forms and can be about different topics. Expert summarize the most popular activities they organize:

*"Multicultural events are inscribed in our program. These are usually about different holidays, i.e. we do events for The International Refugee Day, Christmas, but also other holidays of other cultures and religions. Such events are also a reason to meet in a multicultural environment. (...) There are also cultural initiatives such as the Neighbour's Day or various musical attractions."*

Respondent 10 - The member of NGO

*"Every year we organize vernissages, exhibitions, book presentations, where everything is related to Poland-Belarus topic. We also do integrative events, such as the celebration of Kupala Night and there is always a lot of people and not only Belarusians and Poles, but also Americans, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians. They like it very much. And this is also a more informal venture where people can meet. We also organize dancing evenings or festivals of Belarusian cuisine and such events always attract more people and at very different ages. Sometimes there are professors of the University of Warsaw who are 60 or 70 years old and they are also interested."*

Respondent 9 - The member of NGO

### Bottom-up initiatives of migrants

In addition to cultural initiatives organized by NGOs and the municipality, migrants are encouraged by them or take the initiative themselves to shape the integration process as well. Sometimes they become members of NGOs, or they create their own organizations. In Warsaw there are many foundations that were created by migrants with the aim to unite migrants from different nations, create a 'place like home' for them, and to show their culture to Poles from their perspective.



*“There are a lot of migrant organizations, i.e. there is a Vietnamese, African, Ukrainian, and Belarusian community. They try to help newly incoming people but also try to present a real picture of their own culture, not the one based on stereotypes. They organize small activities in neighbourhoods, in the courtyards, or classes in schools.”*

Respondent 3 – The member of NGO

Apart from migrant organizations, Polish NGOs also try to encourage both migrants and Poles to participate in creating various events, so that they are co-creators of this space of integration. One initiative is a small fund of several thousand for mini projects only for private individuals. The effects are often very interesting:

*“For example, the project of multicultural breakfasts was brilliant and very integrating. The idea was very simple, we sit at the common table, people could try dishes and learn about them and about cuisine in a given region. It was also combined with the presentation about important rituals and traditions. And indeed, both Poles and foreigners came, and it actually resulted in the creation of some relations afterwards. It is so cool that there are a lot of grassroots initiatives, i.e. migrants themselves say what and how they want to organize something, and they just do it, and it's always great.”*

Respondent 2 – The member of NGO

### City festivals

Some experts call for an extended program of multicultural-integration festivals in the city. They emphasize that working with urban space in the field of integration should encompass the organization of events, festivals, and performances that show multiculturalism on a larger scale and create spaces for an inter-ethnic encounter. Such action is considered valuable as it often has a two-fold effect and differs considerably from other smaller events and workshops. On the one hand, by taking urban space it gives the opportunity to reach people on a wider scale, also those who are not sure about the value of multiculturalism, what allows the host society to get used to the presence of migrants and learn about them. On the other hand, it shows migrants that they are also important individuals in the city, that there are spaces where they are welcome to present themselves and their culture according to their vision. In Warsaw, there are two main big multicultural events that are mostly recalled by respondents – Diversity Days and Multicultural Street Party. The Street Party organizer describes:

*“Multicultural Warsaw Street Party is the largest festival in our part of Europe, where we invite people who want to show their culture. We invite also migrant businesses by all means, it can be*

*some presentation of handicrafts, cuisines. So Street Party is about a direct meeting, integration, where people talk together, sit down in a living library, learn at various workshops, play together, dance. The event consists of two modules, the first is a multicultural parade, during which we go through the streets of the city. There are often performances and migrants with flags or in their traditional costumes. (...) In fact, the recipients of this event are mostly Varsovians and we always strive to organize it on one of the main streets because being in the centre of Warsaw gives people the opportunity to get there by accident - it takes up urban space and goes out to random people and I think this is also key when it comes to raising awareness of multiculturalism. We always have a positive reception. Once I had such a nice conversation with a lady who was probably 90 years old who said that it's so great that we are doing such events, that it is wonderful. It is also great that not only young but also older people come and are also recipients of this event. (...) Also, this way we let migrants know that this city is theirs too and we can close one of the main streets especially for them so that they can show their culture."*

Respondent 3 – The member of NGO



Figure 6.2 Multicultural Street Party 2019

Source: [www.streetparty.pl](http://www.streetparty.pl)

### Sub-conclusion

Ultimately, it is not an easy task to specify which kind of encounters are more successful in the process of integration as they differ, and also opinions of respondents are divergent on that matter. Despite the common goal, there are some important differences that impact the process. Approximately half of the

respondents believe that big multicultural events in public space where migrants present their culture and everyone can celebrate their identity, have the biggest impact on integration as they reach a greater number of people and also those who are not interested in multiculturalism and have no systematic opinion about migration, have a chance to learn about it without being affected by the bias in media. Despite their temporality, they are considered crucial owing to a great impact and city-wide scope. However, some experts have doubts if such events really integrate, if they really effectively act against discrimination and have the power to diminish prejudices. They believe that small but frequent and recurrent events are often more successful as they allow people for deeper interaction and provide an opportunity to get to know each other better. In their view, the long-term effect of regular meetings is key in the process and has a bigger influence on people's attitudes, although they have a considerably smaller scale. Therefore, these respondents emphasise that in order to integrate, the group process, direct interaction, and the long-term process is key. One respondent presents her point of view:

*"I have doubts about big events. Every year, a Diversity Day is organized in Warsaw it seems to me that such an outdoor event could be successful in a small city where people do not meet so many foreigners and they are curious about them. But in Warsaw, where the inhabitants are aware of the presence of migrants, an such an event where they can listen to some black singer won't have a substantial effect on their attitudes. I think they rather need to be involved in a long-term group process. (...) Yet, I do not think that they must be abandoned because not everyone has time for long-term processes. But if this is to be an integration space, it is better to do it a smaller group and in a long-term process. Integration will not happen at a single meeting or at a multicultural event."*

Respondent 4 - The member of NGO

Nevertheless, it is crucial that this offer is diversified because each recipient value different activities and each person has different needs. It is important, however, that the activities create a common space for conversation that is completely different, is not moderated, and is very natural. Notwithstanding, certainly both forms of integration can be effective and valuable as they provide different possibilities and assume different effects, so they are not mutually exclusive. However, in order to determine which of them are more effective in counteracting prejudices and discrimination, it is necessary to conduct in-depth research involving migrants and the local community.

### **6.3.3 Spaces of integration**

All the activities outlined above largely happen in urban spaces and third spaces. The meaning and value experts attach to public space is associated with its public domain that means it is for all inhabitants, and

it is the place where community is created and manifested. However, the use of public space in Poland has still a conflicting nature. Respondents highlight that despite the recognition that all residents should have equal access to common spaces and no one should feel excluded, in practice, many public spaces of Warsaw are still not prepared physically for the incorporation of migrants, and there is still a noticeable reluctance and uncertainty towards adapting public spaces, including institutional places, to their presence. They claim that due to the hostile public narrative, the municipality is restrained from taking action in public space and making it more welcoming for migrants, as it might result in various reactions of citizens. In doing so, the accessibility of public spaces for migrants or multicultural activities is sometimes limited, however, not by direct restrictions, but by not adapting public spaces to all inhabitants, whereby migrants feel excluded and unwelcome. A respondent presents an example:

*"We acknowledge that our urban and institutional spaces are not prepared to welcome migrants. For example, regarding the school space and how this space welcomes foreign children and their parents - schools often accuse their parents of not being involved, but there is not a word in any foreign language in this school, so why should they come, it doesn't make sense. So we talked about how to welcome foreigners in these spaces. Advertisements or some information have to be multilingual for these people to benefit. And it is a big problem, I don't know why, schools are very reluctant to publish and communicate with parents in foreign languages in a public, visible place. It is not easy at all, there is a barrier because they feel that it becomes an unknown environment for them. (...) I also think that such space creation is important for our communication. For instance, whether they can buy a ticket in their own language or not, influences how people feel in this city. It is important for us to let migrants know that this city is theirs too, what is hard to notice now on a daily basis."*

Respondent 7 - The member of NGO

Therefore, the way many public spaces are governed in Warsaw might also negatively impact the integration process. Although they are certainly important in the process, they are rather considered as mediators of multicultural activities guided by local experts, than direct facilitators of integration. However, respondents believe that good public space governance might facilitate integration by itself, by making them more welcoming for all residents despite any premise. On the one hand, it could have a positive influence on migrants' feeling of acceptance, and on the other hand, it might enhance the visibility of multiculturalism in public space what could lead to its increased acceptance, knowing that by are welcomed by authorities.

### Welcoming urban space for migrants

Respondents presented their vision on how urban space should be governed to be a welcoming space for all residents. They believe it is very important how public space is arranged, governed, and how it answers the needs of all inhabitants, because it influences their potential to indirectly shape the integration by itself:

*“In addition to creating spaces for conversations between people with migrant experiences and people who do not have such experiences, we have to think about how to make the city a place where people who do not speak Polish and do not have this identity can feel that this is also their place which also comes out with a special offer for them. (...) A friendly urban space should make residents feel safe and respected, no matter if you are a migrant or a Pole. It is also a space that migrants can co-create in a broad sense: e.g. public consultations are available also to them and they are invited to create art in public space. Essentially, they are allowed to use this space and create new patterns of using it.”*

Respondent 3 – The member of NGO

The first step towards integration in urban space is making the city accessible in terms of language. Experts stress that different languages should be present in public space, public transport, and public institutions to make foreigners feel safer and more welcome. Urban space should be equipped in city signposts, information points, maps, and guides in different foreign languages.

*“It is very important that these languages are present in public space because it gives the feeling that someone is doing something for you, that they want to get along with you, this is an important message for migrants. I also think that creating multilingual space is important for our communication and how people feel. For many years messages at our central station were only in English. And we discussed this with public officials, that if we have so many Ukrainians, we should add this language as well. And it finally happened and at the moment this communication is already trilingual.”*

Respondent 7 – The member of NGO

The governance process of public spaces concerns also public institutions such as schools, offices, hospitals, etc. Respondents believe that to build an inclusive city, the municipality and service providers of various types should take care of eliminating access barriers for migrants and foreigners. This largely concerns the issue of language accessibility, but also the understanding of cultural differences and the situation which migrants face in a new place.

*“Employees of public institutions should be bilingual, and official matters should be available in several languages. It is hard to expect officials to be polyglots, but information on the website or in brochures available in public places are not a big challenge. It is also very important that these public workers are prepared to work in a multicultural society and understand that migrants are full-fledged residents as well, however, with sometimes different needs and problems.”*

Respondent 4 – The member of NGO

### Places of local activity

Although public open and institutional spaces in Warsaw are not always regarded as welcoming owing to unfavourable national context, local professionals concerned with the lack of fully accessible and open places for migrants, created places of local activity that are specifically meant to gather and unite people of different cultural backgrounds. Places of local activity play in Warsaw important role in building community. They are various types of places that, in addition to their daily activities e.g. being a community centre or library, support local ideas and social activities of residents. Such places are conducive to implementing the ideas of residents, establishing neighbourly relations. Essentially, places of local activity bring together and attract residents, and this is also one of the directions in which the municipality and NGOs work on the issue of integration.



Figure 6.3 Events and workshop organised in the Multicultural Center

Source: [www.centrumwielokulturowe.waw.pl](http://www.centrumwielokulturowe.waw.pl)

Currently, the most important subsidy for the integration of migrants is the Multicultural Center, which was initiated by the organization, created in a participatory way and is now one of the most important places on the map of Warsaw regarding the integration on the local level, and is supported by a wider group of organizations. Respondents put an emphasis on the fact that these places are genuinely open for everyone, anyone can come and take part or initiate an event, workshop, or just talk to each other, and many integration activities take place there. A worker talks about Multicultural Centre:

*"Anyone who needs to come to us, can do it at any time and so it happens. People just come to drink tea, sit and talk to us, or just talk to foreigners, because it is so exciting for them that someone is from another country and you can talk to him. (...) We establish very warm relations with our beneficiaries and thanks to this while designing an integration event which is supposed to connect locals with foreigners, I know these people, I know who I design it for and I know how to really meet the needs. And also, anyone who has a concert, event, workshop, anything - can do it with us."*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

Places of local activity are also meeting places for people who share a common passion, who want to feel equal, and want to act together. Some of them were created with the thought that there are no meeting places for migrants with Poles, where everyone would feel welcome, where they can freely express themselves, learn from each other, and work with their passions. One place was created on this premise - to unite people interested in cultural and artistic activities and facilitate the cooperation between cultures. This is a place for neighbours, for the district, but also for the whole of Warsaw. A founder describes 'FreeSpeech Zone' - an organisation that was created with a premise to unite foreigners and Poles while working together on artistic events, and its place of local activity called 'Common table':

*"It seems to me that there is also a lack of places that would take into account that our society is multicultural and that it is great to take them into account when planning activities. From the beginning, we have not talked about the fact that we want to integrate foreigners with Poles, but we want a double agreement. This means that we meet somewhere on a common ground, we work together and all learn from everyone. This is a place where you can raise your confidence a bit and meet other people who do not necessarily look at you as 'exotic' or 'poor'. People do not have to speak Polish there and this condition is accepted and it also creates an opportunity for development."*

Respondent 8 - The member of NGO

Despite its main goal to unite and empower people and communities, these places have also one more important function for migrants. They also indirectly enhance the feeling of safety in a new environment, as they create an opportunity to engage in something with other people, and they are also places where people can always get support:

*I: Do you think such meetings in the spaces of local activity are of great importance to increase the feeling of security or even stability by migrants?*

*R: I think they are, and on many levels. When it comes to people with migration experience, the feeling that there are places where they can always come and feel welcome, and that there are people who will always be willing to support them, gives and means a lot to them. They help people find themselves in new reality and feel safer and more comfortable.*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

#### **6.4 Concluding thoughts - the contradictory setting**

The foregoing pathways and strategies to conduct integration on the local level are broad and, as respondents claim, largely effective to some extent, however, there is still one key element missing that would provide more systemic action. All experts highlight that the lack of migration and integration policy, lack of help from the central government, and limited rights of local government to conduct integration processes are still substantial problems that significantly limit the scope of action of both the municipality and organisations. Although they believe that without bottom-up integration activities successful integration will be very hard to achieve, the problem occurs when there is no larger central system that would unite all these actions and organisations, provide legal grounds for these processes, and support them financially. Yet, it is not present in Poland, and local organisations take all the responsibility to provide support for migrants:

*"It seems to me that any migration policy is needed for integration and that ideally we would be one of the elements, a part of a larger system that is also organized by the state and not by NGOs, because at the moment they are responsible for the integration of foreigners and the state has no migration policy that would somehow help these people. This level of state security is very low, hence such places, people or organizations are the ones that give this stability. Yet, in my opinion, our actions are best as if they were complementary activities that give confidence and some good feeling in a new place. I would prefer that our state guarantee this stability and not leave migrants alone."*

Respondent 8 - The member of NGO



Respondents underline that the lack of funding and the anti-migration narrative on the central level constitute considerable barriers to integration. The lack of funding constrains the planning of integration in a long-term vision and its continuity. Organizations and the municipality are underfunded, whereby they are forced to volunteer or constantly look for other forms of financing, which in the long run disturbs the continuity of processes. Most places of local activity, except the Multicultural Centre which receives constant funding, are forced to get funds from commercial activities or projects, but such uncertainty in financial terms greatly complicates the process. Another problem relates to the hostile attitude towards migrants at the central level, which is often shown in the media, which intensifies the growth of stereotypes and exclusionist reactions towards foreigners. One respondent explains why it is so important to oppose and not give permission to discrimination and intolerance, and instead, to build a real vision of migration, and not one based on stereotypes that have no reflection in reality:

*"It's great that NGOs can carry out activities, but it can't be that the central or local authorities are putting everything on the shoulders of organizations. Because until there is permission from the authorities, there will always be someone who will start throwing xenophobic or racist comments that he heard from one of the ministers on television. It takes a minute so say it, and months or years for organisations to fix what these words caused."*

Respondent 3 - The member of NGO

Many people claim that without a structural change, there might be no change at all. Nevertheless, local actors believe that their effort and action can initiate a breakthrough in the perception of migration in Poland. The organizations have undertaken integration measures to oppose the government's passive attitude with the belief that such actions have a chance to reverse this negative discourse.

*"While talking to people, I often come across the statement that as long as there is no structural change, there is no change at all but I believe that such grassroots activities are the basis for structural change, because later such a man will become a politician and find that these migrants work, take jobs that Poles do not want, support the economy and, above all, are valuable and interesting people, who have the right to the city just like Poles."*

Respondent 6 - The Museum employee

### Accounting for the locality

Ultimately, all respondents agree that integration is the process that happens on the local level and in the local context, and it is where it should be managed. Integration is not a uniform process and its progress largely depends on local characteristics. It is important to study the local community and to understand

the local context in order to find the adequate tools to work on the integration in the specific locality, as it largely impacts the whole process. Respondents underline that placing integration pathways in specific contexts and communities, and adjusting them according to these specific features is crucial in order to understand the needs and struggles of residents and face them accordingly. Moreover, respondents maintain that locality should also be used as a factor in the process.

*"It is so important to understand the local context, to know where we operate, what we do, and why. For example, there are refugee centres which are very important places and they should be co-created by both professional staff and customers themselves. Then, the next thing is that they should work in cooperation with the local community centre, with the local library, there should be joint initiatives for this space. In other words, very often good integration of migrants will be an action that will end, for example, with something that will be joint action, e.g. for the benefit of the local space and the entire local community. Certainly if you want to do something, just like with the integration of migrants, it has to be something progressive that will make sense in the local context. Do not copy the Western experience or even do not copy the Polish experience. It has to be learnt from the locality, from the local context, and taking action on this basis requires the participation of a diverse group of participants."*

Respondent 5 - The member of NGO

This research shows that the issue of integration is certainly an issue of multilevel governance. Respondents believe that the local level is the place most important in the process of integration. Although the role of central authorities is not without significance, specific localities play a fundamental role in creation integration pathways. As one respondent concludes:

*"We believe that bottom-up activities are much more effective and from the central level it is enough to create conditions for these activities. There will be organizations and there will be people who will take care of it. All they need is to create legal conditions, support financially, and provide space for it."*

Respondent 2 - The member of NGO

## 7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The point of departure for this research was the common scholars' critique of the current pathways of integration that are employed in many European countries, what was presented in the first chapter. Therefore, the aim of this research project was to reconsider these pathways of integration of migrants with local communities and look for more inclusive solutions that could generate more awareness and acceptance of multiculturalism, by looking at the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space. The third chapter elaborated on various concepts and theories to build concrete grounds for this study. Drawing on the theories of social justice by Fainstein and Lefebvre, it was possible to present a critique of current integration pathways that are largely at odds with the assumptions of The Right to the City and The Just City theory, and bring attention to the notion of equity and human rights what provided a stimulus for a critical reflection on factors that should be emphasised to acquire social justice in cities. The Right to the City theory and Lefebvre's argument of the appropriation of urban space entailed a discussion ensued about the importance of public space for a multicultural society, and the social contact theory allowed to explore the potential conditions that would facilitate meaningful encounters in public space that could shape people's perceptions and attitudes towards migrants. The empirical research aimed to expand on theoretical findings by answering the overarching research question:

*What are the factors that could strengthen local opportunity for inclusive inter-ethnic integration in public space?*

This research based on interviews with local experts involved in integration issues in Warsaw gave the opportunity to examine the process of integration from a different, local perspective, where the central anti-immigration narrative gave local actors an impetus to counter unfavourable approaches and create more inclusive pathways. This study resulted in some valuable theoretical insights that uncovered the relationship between the concepts of integration and public space in a hostile context which are presented in this final chapter.

In this chapter, all theoretical and empirical findings are brought together in order to present conclusions and answer the overarching research question. The chapter starts by answering each sub-question, what ultimately provides an answer to the main question. In the second section, the theoretical and methodological reflection is given. Subsequently, recommendations for further research are presented to steer other researchers towards undiscovered interesting topics that might expand and enrich this study. The chapter is finalised with more general practical recommendations that could guide professionals who are involved in the creation of the Polish integration policy.

## 7.1 Answering research questions

### 1. What is the current focus of the discourse on migration and integration in Warsaw/Poland?

First of all, this research has shown that context has a considerable impact on the course of the integration processes. Because of the highly unfavourable conditions and attitudes towards the incorporation of migrants in Poland mostly on the national level, local experts felt determined to counter such exclusionist narrative, as they do not agree on discrimination of any Warsaw resident. The need to incorporate more inclusive integration pathways also results from the recognition that the reception of migrants and their integration happens on the municipal level – experts acknowledge that this is where all the consequences of central actions are manifested and where migrants have to be provided with socio-economic wellbeing. Yet, municipalities in Poland are granted very limited rights to conduct integration what considerably constrains their scope of action. Nevertheless, the local professionals of Warsaw do not give consent for the stereotypical hostile attitude and strive to co-operate with organisations, institutions, and private parties in order to build a welcoming place of living for all residents, despite any premise. Therefore, all the integration pathways presented in the sixth chapter show that local representatives notice that it is their task to conduct integration and to build an inclusive society where no one feels disregarded. These pathways picture their opposition against the central narrative and show that they believe that such innovative initiatives have the potential to induce a structural change, having its starting point on the local level.

Secondly, this research has pointed out that the issue of integration is certainly an issue of multilevel governance. The case of Warsaw is entangled in the contradiction between national and local governance, what makes it an interesting and unique, but also a difficult setting for studying integration. It is believed to be a testing ground for novel integration pathways on the local level, where national policy has not been developed and deeply rooted, however, paradoxically, this research shows that such policy is a fundamental element of any migration and integration system which unites all the elements in order to attain collective and systemic action. The last section of the previous chapter shows that experts aiming to enhance integration strategies acknowledge that if society is to be united, first, the government also should be coherent and act for a common purpose. Experts emphasise the importance of structural changes on both central and local levels because only this way a cohesive migration and integration governance system can be created. This means that the scope of efficiency of presented pathways may not be fully researched in the absence of such a policy, however, it might provide valuable insights towards the creation and implementation of genuine integration pathways and policies. Thus, this research shows that the absence of policies gives one important opportunity – to develop integration pathways from a

different perspective, from the local level, based on novel approaches while recognizing the pitfalls and failures of existing pathways. While it has been shown at the beginning of this thesis which pathways are less successful (Meier, 2018; Galster, 2007; Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Ostendorf et al., 2001; Grzymala-Kazłowska & Phillimore, 2018), this research further presents more inclusive pathways of mutual integration in public space which have the potential to change the course of the integration process and serve as a policy inspiration in many places in Europe with a similar context.

## 2. How do different professionals, directly and indirectly, shape the opportunity for integration of migrants and local residents?

By the means of the second sub-question, the role of local professionals in the process of integration and how their actions facilitate the opportunity for inter-ethnic integration was explored. As the literature review has shown, local actors from the municipality and NGOs are said to be key actors who can shape the process of integration locally (OECD, 2018), having adequate knowledge of the locality and being so close to society. Their role has been researched through interviews when they described the pathways they undertake in order to integrate migrants with local residents. The research has shown that local professionals are particularly important in the Polish context. In the absence of substantial assistance from the national government and national policy that would guide integration, they are the only actors who directly and indirectly shape integration. Local experts, thus, take over the role of guides and facilitators and strive to shape the process of integration into inclusive pathways that would not be ensured without their action.

In Warsaw, the main actors who shape the integration process are members of NGOs who cooperate with the municipality. The pathways outlined in the chapter 6 show that their action can directly and indirectly shape integration depending on their initial goal. There are organizations whose work is specifically focused on migration issues and which goals are to help, teach, and integrate migrants. Their work encompasses two directions: indirect integration – providing help and services only for migrants, and activities for the host society; direct integration – multicultural activities for both groups. Indirect integration, encompasses prerequisites to conduct the actual process, which also have an indirect integrational dimension. For example, experts believe that teaching migrants Polish language helps them feel more safe and comfortable in a new place and gives them the courage to talk to local residents and integrate with them. So here, the main aim is to teach migrants the language, yet it also indirectly impacts the process of integration. Therefore, the role of local experts is first to help migrants find themselves in a new reality and provide them with broad assistance so that they do not feel disregarded, and secondly to prepare the host society to live in a multicultural society and create a real image of migration. Regarding direct mutual integration, as the current governance processes in Warsaw do not account for it and

common spaces are largely not prepared to welcome migrants, the role of local actors is to facilitate and moderate the direct meeting, interaction, learning, and collective action in public spaces between the two groups so that the broader and real scope of migration and multiculturalism can be visible and become commonplace.

Secondly, there are organisations which do not specialize in migration and integration issues and still exert impact on integration processes. Some interviewed experts do not aim to integrate, but their goal is simply to create a welcoming space for all the residents. The research has shown that in Warsaw, many of these places emerged on the idea that there is lack of meeting spaces that would welcome all people despite any premise. These organisations create meeting places and activities that are based on common interests and a common goal, which is, for example, joint artistic activity. Therefore, integration is by no means the goal of these activities, but the nature of the place is of the greatest importance here - openness to multiculturalism, all participants start from an equal level, there are no language barriers, and above all, there are no barriers to participate in meetings. This study shows that such places are of great importance to overall process in the context where migration cannot be completely freely manifested in open urban spaces. Moreover, their creation helps migrants to feel accepted and comfortable, and become a part of community. The results section on places of local activity shows that experts notice the lack of such spaces and recognise the increasing need for creating them, as other spaces are not fully welcoming for all residents yet.

### 3. *What is the role of public spaces in facilitating inter-ethnic contacts and integration?*

The role of public space in the integration process was researched through literature review and interviews. While the theoretical framework provided guidance towards studying this concept and uncovered the value of urban space and third spaces for inter-ethnic encounters, the empirical research aimed to answer the question in detail and discover how urban space and third places enhance the opportunity for integration, and under what circumstances they facilitate positive contacts.

The concept of public space has been incorporated in this research owing to its distinct characteristics that cannot be attributed to any other urban space. The insights derived from the theoretical framework on the basis of the theory of social contact indicate the potential of various public spaces to facilitate meaningful encounters that might change people's attitudes, diminish prejudices, and result in more tolerance (Peters & De Haan, 2011) that are now mostly shaped by anti-immigration narrative and media. Similarly, the presented pathways show that local professionals emphasise the incorporation of public space in designing local integration pathways as they take an important role in community building, identity manifestation, and social contact enhancement. Although, indeed, both scholars and experts maintain

that the social meeting function and facilitating interactions between individuals and various groups is an essential social value of public space, this study also shows that such conclusion does not fully apply to the Warsaw/Polish context where the use of public space is still to some extent exclusionary and the way they are governed that does not always account for the presence of migrants, what do not facilitate the building of a multicultural community. While experts recognise that the presence and visibility of migrants in public space is the first step towards raising acceptance of multiculturalism and migration, they also acknowledge that in such a hostile context where prejudices are deeply rooted, simple every day encounters in public space will not bring about a fundamental change. Given such circumstances, the assumption of the social contact theory and the value that is assigned to public space remains doubtful in the context of Warsaw.

The presented integration pathways showed that local actors put more emphasis on *what* has to be done to facilitate interaction, rather than *where* it should happen. Their recognition that for the integration and shifting attitudes to occur the deepened contact is needed led to the conviction that it is their task to create a platform for cooperation and facilitate meaningful interaction and encounters. In their belief, such a platform is created by the means of multicultural city-festivals, events, neighbourhood meetings, or workshops that are based on a principle to draw people together, where people have the opportunity for a deeper interaction that would not be initiated in other circumstances. This means that experts consider social contact crucial but it is rather facilitated by activities and events than physical spaces. The way they emphasise the organisation of activities indicate that they are aware that Warsaw public spaces are not prepared to have direct effect on the process of integration. Therefore, it can be concluded that public spaces in Warsaw do not play a key role in enhancing the process of integration, but they are considered as tools or mediators that provide adequate space for multicultural meetings facilitated by experts that, in their opinion, have more potential to shape attitudes towards migrants.

However, respondents acknowledge that while public spaces of Warsaw are not developed well enough to exert great influence on integration, they believe that they might play a more important and direct role in more welcoming contexts. They understand that events and workshops are not something that happens every day, thus they believe that the good public space governance and creation of a welcoming space for migrants could directly influence social attitudes ensuring that all residents are treated equally and are welcome, as the city offer is adapted to their needs. To sum up, experts mostly underlines four rules that ensure the inclusiveness of urban space: language availability both in public spaces and in public institutions; creation of meeting and leisure spaces that explicitly welcome all residents; a broad offer of urban events and festivals which occupy public space and make multiculturalism more visible and present its assets.

### The main research question

Having obtained the answers to each sub-question it is now possible to formulate final findings of this research which are the answer to the main research question:

#### What are the factors that could strengthen local opportunity for inclusive inter-ethnic integration in public space?

The final conclusion of this research is that integration is certainly a very complex process and there are many important and indispensable factors that must be ensured to boost opportunity for inclusive integration on the local level. Moreover, pathways of integration presented by experts show that it is also a long and gradual process that consists of a few steps and several conditions that should be followed in order to increase its level of success. This study highlighted that mutual integration that largely happens in public spaces is just one of the steps in the process, however, it has been also shown that such direct integration based on meaningful encounters and collective action is seen as a key strategy to change attitudes towards migration. While it has been shown that public spaces in Warsaw do not directly facilitate the integration process, based on this research the following factors that could enhance the opportunity for integration placed in public spaces, have been identified:

1. The answer to the first sub-question provided the first conclusion – migration and integration policy is regarded as necessary to ensure legitimacy and systemicity of migration issues. Such a policy could enhance the cooperation between central and local governments, which are now conflicted regarding the Warsaw case, and make the integration process more systemic. The way respondents describe migration issues they deal with in Poland leads to the conclusion that such a condition is key for any integration pathways to be created and to be successful in the long run. Although it is acknowledged that this condition does not solely relate to integration in public space, according to this study it is a fundamental factor that cannot be avoided.
2. The second factor refers to the inclusiveness of public spaces. The socio-spatial context where interaction takes place is significant for the process as it shapes the course of the encounter, and influences how users feel in it. Based on this research it has been found that many public spaces are still exclusionary what negatively impacts integration, thus the belief that public spaces enhance integration and positive encounter based on its public and community domain is here contested. Experts believe that there should be an effort made to make urban meeting spaces more welcoming – that is, its characteristics are to make it explicitly accessible and open to anyone to manifest and express their identities, and no physical nor mental entry barriers might occur. Moreover, the research shows that local actors acknowledge that a public space governance process is to account for the presence of the



multicultural society – it is about shaping urban space according to the needs of all residents, for example in terms of language accessibility. These are the first factors that increase the inclusiveness of integration in public spaces according to this study.

3. The third factor is about facilitating direct interaction of social groups by the organisation of multicultural meetings, events, or workshops that draw people together and create a platform for integration by the means of collective action and increased public visibility of migrants. This point was discussed in the answer to the third sub-question – in such an unfavourable context as Warsaw/Polish one, where a deeper contact is needed to encourage integration and shape social attitudes, the respondents acknowledge that the integration in public space has to be enhanced by local actors by facilitating meaningful encounters that are believed to counter prejudices. This research has shown that local experts strive to address this goal by the organisation of multicultural meetings and events, where the cooperation of migrants with the host society is encouraged, what subsequently enhances the opportunity for integration.

4. The fourth factor that is believed to have a positive influence on the integration process in public space is the creation of places of local activity that explicitly account for the presence of migrants. The case of Warsaw has shown that in such a context where migrants are not always publicly welcome, there is a lack of meeting places that would openly welcome everyone, and places of local activity strive to address this problem. Local actors by their creation strive to build additional common places that first make migrants feel more comfortable as they know that there are places created especially for them, and second, allow the host society to notice that these people are also important members of the community from the point of view of local authorities. By being explicit about its aim and open/inclusive character, while entering such place people understand and agree that there is no space for discrimination and everyone is equal, what gives an additional integrative dimension that is not present in other public spaces.

5. Finally, in this study, it was found that strong cooperation between different actors in the process enhances the systemicity of integration processes. This research has shown that different local actors have also different competencies, responsibilities, and opportunities to guide integration. In regards to public space, the municipality has bigger capacities to shape public space in physical and organisational terms to make it more inclusive. On the other hand, according to this study, experts from NGOs are adequate actors to facilitate multicultural interaction. Such cooperation proved fruitful as it builds grounds for integration in public space.

## 7.2 Theoretical and methodological reflection

The general reflection of this research is that studying migration and integration issues in Poland is a challenging task due to several reasons. First of all, the limited scientific knowledge and research on integration strategies in Warsaw and Poland constituted a considerable challenge regarding the definition of the theoretical and methodological framework of the study. Moreover, the concept of integration is rather broad and integration pathways are various and multilateral what enhanced the scope of research making it hard to define. Secondly, the complex Polish context made the research more difficult and less systematized due to the lack of important policies and the fact that there are no systemic integration pathways, what resulted in researching unsystematic and ad-hoc measures in the absence of the larger integration system. Lastly, studying migration issues in Poland was challenging because of the topic-sensitivity and complex narrative of conflicting views at central and local governmental levels. Although these are aspects independent of the researcher, it is an important remark for researchers who will study this subject in the future. To deal with such impediments, it was necessary to have comprehensive knowledge about the Polish and Warsaw context so that it was possible to understand all the nuances and be closer to the research participants. To narrow the scope of the integration pathways and deepen theoretical insights, the focus on public space was added, which also made it possible to research integration in spatial terms.

The theoretical framework composed of the elaboration of various theories of social justice, social contact, and public space allowed to look at integration from a broader perspective, beyond the migration categories, but looking at societies as a whole, what made it possible to understand and address wider societal problems associated with integration. The incorporation of the concept of public space as a venue for integration made it possible to look at the integration process from a more inclusive community perspective as public space is said to play an important role in intensifying social contact and encounters that are believed to support the formation of social ties (Van Melik, 2008). The juxtaposition of the concept of public space and the theory of social contact made it possible to revise the role of public space in enhancing inter-ethnic contacts and their potential for integration. This research has added some insights to this theory as it provided a possible answer to the question stated by researchers who questioned the initial theory proposed by Williams (1947): Under what circumstances/conditions contact may yield positive effects on the reduction of prejudice in interactions with migrants (McLaren, 2003)? The possible answer derived from this research relates to the organisation of multicultural meetings facilitated by local actors. Furthermore, the discovered role of experts adds some insights to The Right to the City theory. While Lefebvre believed in a revolutionary change in society in which users collectively self-govern the city beyond the control of the state (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2013), this research confirms that this vision is rather

utopian (Purcell, 2013). In practice, for migrants with their starting inferior position in a new society, especially in a hostile context, the appropriation of space imagined by Lefebvre seems hard to achieve and could rather enhance the division between social groups. Essentially, the social groups should be first integrated to have the potential to reclaim rights and space together, as Lefebvre imagined. In fact, this research adds to this perspective by stating that migrants to reclaim the city need some guidance and help of local experts, also public authorities. Thus local authorities, guided by the assumptions of Lefebvre's theory, might be also helpful as they strive to reclaim rights and urban space together with them.

Regarding the methodology, the biggest constraint of this research was the unfavourable time of the pandemic in which it took place. In this uncertain period, many of the research methods were no longer applicable. It is believed that more comprehensive data collection would prove useful and would increase the reliability of the research. Firstly, the perspective of experts was important as it pointed out to the problematic public discourse and the problems of multilevel governance of integration processes, and the role local actors have in them, however, it appears that as the process of integration predominantly involves two social groups, their representatives should be interviewed to see how people perceive integration processes in Warsaw themselves. This way, perceptions of different groups may be compared and reflected on to obtain more comprehensive results. Yet, due to the pandemic, it was not possible. Furthermore, to fully research the specific Warsaw setting, participant observation could be an adequate method to understand the context in which migrants are positioned by experiencing the process of integration together with them. This method would allow the researcher to experience life in public space in Warsaw and see its real limitations and possibilities for integration and multicultural action. Observation and participation in different multicultural events and meetings, and the interaction with various stakeholders would expand, clarify, and complement the data acquired through interviews.

The case of Warsaw may be called as unique and even extreme case that raised some important points of discussion and brought new insights to the debate on integration in the anti-immigration hostile context. This research with its context-dependency proposed some theoretical propositions which enrich the international debate with solutions and practices that could be reconsidered and tested in other settings and might be also an inspiration for new ideas. To see how other contexts and local characteristics shape the process of integration in public spaces, the comparative case study of other Polish and international cases might prove essential and result in a valuable theoretical contribution.

### 7.3 Recommendations for future research

As has been presented in the previous section, this research has been constrained by several factors that could be accounted for and improved in further research. Taking it into consideration, three main recommendations and points of discussion for future research on integration processes in Poland can be made. To begin with, it should be recognised that there are more than one or two groups of actors that are involved in the integration processes. The interviews might include the bigger number of different actors from both central and local governments, independent local experts, and most importantly residents and migrants themselves. To deepen this study, each group should have a say as they all have a role in the process, what subsequently could result in an insightful comparison of common approaches or goals, and places of conflict, what might lead to more systemic ways to guide integration and counter emerging problems. Moreover, the incorporation of inhabitants would make it possible to discover how residents perceive current pathways and which are most valuable for them.

Secondly, it would be crucial to conduct similar research but after the structural change in Poland, in the presence of policies, and possibly when local actors are given more responsibility to guide the reception and integration of migrants. This is certainly a challenging task and no one can assure it would be possible, yet such research would be able to confirm or deny the findings of this study. Moreover, in this regard, another approach could be to carry out a comparison of different Polish case studies to see how the process changes according to the specific municipal context, or a comparison of cases from different European cities with different legal, institutional, and social systems so that they can be compared in terms of their characteristics to see what pathways work better in different contexts. Essentially, integration is a place-based process, thus it should always account for context in which it is positioned.

Finally, the role of different public space and space management in the process of integration could be researched in more detail to include the perceptions of residents themselves that could lead to a better understanding of space characteristics and socio-spatial processes that shape the attitude towards migrants. The initial idea for this research was to incorporate the concept of placemaking into integration processes to see how it might influence the social attitudes and the community-building process. Although the idea was abandoned due to many constraints the researcher encountered, it might be an interesting study to use the placemaking theory, as it is based on the collaborative process of community participation and collective action, that is meant to strengthen the connection between people and the place they share (PSS, 2009). It seems to be a relevant concept to be tested in the multicultural context, and some studies highlight its potential to be a strategic response to prejudice (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

## 7.4 Recommendations for practice

This research has shown that migration and integration issues constitute still a considerable challenge for authorities and professionals involved in the process not only in Poland, but also in many other European countries. While analysing the overall process of integration, it is evident what are the limitations of current integration strategies. Based on this study, some general recommendations for professionals to improve the governance of integration processes can be distinguished. Although they do not explicitly consider public spaces, they cannot be avoided as integration in public space is a part of a broader process:

1. First and foremost, as it was already underlined in conclusions, the migration and integration policies are indispensable elements that ensure legitimacy and systemicity of migration issues, and they should be created in agreement with representatives of both central and local governments. They should provide guidance for all governmental units regarding their responsibilities, and provide grounds for the creation a larger national integration system.
2. In order to improve the horizontal and vertical collaboration with stakeholders, there should be a strong multilevel collaboration of national government, local governmental units, NGOs, and residents who should participate in decision-making processes. Moreover, horizontal cooperation of cities, also on the international level may prove effective and helpful, as it allows for mutual learning on the mistakes and successes of other cities.
3. Local governments should be granted more rights to conduct integration processes according to their own vision which would be aligned to the specific locality, social needs and struggles that occur, and persisting socio-spatial problems and inequalities.
4. The role of central authorities regarding migration and integration should predominantly encompass three duties: migration and integration policy-making; provision of legal, financial, spatial, and institutional support for cities to conduct integration; ensuring that national discourse is focused on equality and tolerance.
5. Integration prerequisites should encompass action in two directions - a wide range of assistance in order to help migrants accommodate in a new place, and activities directed at the host society in order to promote an informed opinion-making of multiculturalism and migration and to shape attitudes of openness and tolerance. These are the initial steps to prepare people to live in a multicultural society.
6. Migrants should be perceived as regular citizens who have the same rights as other urban citizens - migrants are not a separate social group but an inherent part of communities and inclusive policies are those which address the whole society. Also, they should have a right to retain their own identity and not be forced to shed their culture.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 826-874.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35 (4): 216-224.
- Ashmore, R., D. (1970). Prejudice: Causes and Cures. In: *Social Psychology: Social Influence, Attitude Change, Group Processes, and Prejudice*. Edited by Barry E. Collins. Addison-Wesley.
- Attoh, K. A. (2011). What *kind of* right is the right to the city? *Progress in Human Geography*, 35, 669-685.
- Balbo, M. (2007). International migrations and the "Right to the City". *Cosmopolitan Urbanism: Urban Policies for the Social and Spatial Integration of International Migrants - Expert Group Meeting, Università Iuav di Venezia, 27-28 September 2007*.
- Bhagat, R. B. (2017). Migration, Gender and Right to the City - The Indian Context. *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol 52, no 32.
- Bollens, S. A. (2004). Urban planning and intergroup conflict: confronting a fractured public interest. In: *Dialogues in Urban and Regional Planning 1*. Routledge NY.
- Bosson, J. K. & Mehta, V. (2010). Third Places and the Social Life of Streets. *Environment and Behavior* 42(6), 779 -805.
- Brunt, L. N. J. & Deben. P.L.L.H. (2001). *De ijle zone: het stedelijk wonen onder druk*. Utrecht: Nethur.
- Bruquetas-Callejo, M. & Doomernik, J. (2016). National Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe Since 1973. In: *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. (4th Edition), Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burgers, J. (2000). Urban landscapes: On public space in the post-industrial city. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15(2), pp. 145-164.
- Çağlar, A. & Glick Schiller, N. (2015). Displacement, emplacement and migrant newcomers: Rethinking urban sociabilities within multiscalar power. *Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power*.
- Çağlar, A. & Glick Schiller, N. (2018). *Migrants & City-Making. Dispossession, Displacement and Urban Regeneration*, Duke University Press.

- Carcary, M. (2009). The research audit trail – Enhancing trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*. Vol 7: 11–24.
- Carlson, J. A. (2010). Avoiding Traps in Member Checking. *Qualitative Report*, vol. 15, no. 5, pp. 1102-1113.
- Carpio, G., Irazabal, C., Pulido, L. (2011). Right to the Suburb? Rethinking Lefebvre and Immigrant Activism. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Volume 33, Number 2, pages 185–208.
- Chaskin, R., J. & Joseph, M., L. (2013). 'Positive' Gentrification, Social Control and the 'Right to the City' in Mixed-Income Communities: Uses and Expectations of Space and Place. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Volume 37.2, March 2013, 480–502.
- Creative Europe (2019). Report from the seminar "Intercultural dialogue. Integration of migrants and refugees in cultural and social activities". [online] Available at: <<https://kreatywna-europa.eu/relacja-z-seminarium-dialog-miedzykulturowy-integracja-migrantow-i-uchodzcow-w-dzialaniach-kulturalnych-i-spoecznych/>> Accessed 9 April 2020.
- Davies, A., A. (2006). Migration: A Social Determinant of the Health of Migrants. International Organization for Migration.
- Dahinden, J. et al. (2013). German Muslims and the 'Integration Debate': Negotiating Identities in the Face of Discrimination. *Integr Psych Behav* 47: 231–248.
- Dahinden, J. (2016). A plea for the 'de-migrantization' of research on migration and integration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2016 Vol. 39, No. 13, 2207–2225.
- Dikec, M. (2001). Justice and the spatial imagination. *Environment and Planning A* 33: 1785–1805.
- Doomernik, J. & Glorius, B. (2016). Refugee Migration and Local Demarcations: New Insight into European Localities. *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 29, No. 4. Published by Oxford University Press.
- EESC. 2004. Common Principles of Integration. [online] Available at: <[http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/common-basic-principles\\_en.pdf](http://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/common-basic-principles_en.pdf)> Accessed 6 March 2020.
- Elrick, J. & Schwartzman, L. F. (2015). From Statistical Category to Social Category: Organized Politics and Official Categorizations of 'Persons with a Migration Background' in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (9): 1539–1556.
- Fainstein, S., S. (2006). Planning and the Just City. Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation Columbia University.
- Fainstein, S., S. (2009). Spatial Justice and Planning. Harvard University Graduate School of Design, USA.
- Fainstein, S., S. (2010). The Just City. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

- Fainstein, S., S. (2014). The Just City. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1-18.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings about Case-study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (2), pp 219-245.
- Galster, G. (2007). Neighbourhood Social Mix as a Goal of Housing Policy: A Theoretical Analysis. *European Journal of Housing Policy* Vol.7, No. 1, 19-43.
- Garcés-Mascareñas, B. & Penninx, R. (2016). The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept. In: *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*.
- Giardiello, M. (2014). The Generative Theory of Social Cohesion and Civic Integration. 1st Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities, MIFS 2014, 23-26 April, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Gijsberts, M., Hagendoorn, L., Scheepers, P. (2004). Nationalism and Exclusion of Migrants. Cross-National Comparisons. Ashgate Publishing.
- Grubbauer, M. & Kusiak, J. (2012). Chasing Warsaw: Socio-Material Dynamics of Urban Change since 1990. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. (2014). The role of different forms of bridging capital for immigrant adaptation and upward mobility. The case of Ukrainian and Vietnamese immigrants settled in Poland. *Ethnicities* 2015, Vol. 15(3) 460-490.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. & Brzozowska, A. (2016). From Drifting to Anchoring. Capturing the Experience of Ukrainian Migrants in Poland. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2017, pp. 103-122.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. & Okólski, M. (2003). Influx and Integration of Migrants in Poland in the Early XXI Century. Institute of Social Studies, University of Warsaw.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. & Okólski, M. (2010). Amorphous population movements into Poland and ensuing policy challenges. In: Segal, U., Elliott, D., Mayadas, N. (eds) *Immigration Worldwide: Policies, Practices and Trends*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grzymała-Kazłowska, A. & Phillimore, J. (2018). Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44:2, 179-196.
- Habitat International Coalition. (2005). Proposal for a Charter for Women's Right to the City. [online] Available at: <<http://www.hic-net.org/articles.php?pid=1685>> Accessed on 18 March 2020.



- Harvey, D. (1992). Social justice, postmodernism and the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 16(4), 588–601.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London; New York: Verso.
- Heath, A. W. (1997). The Proposal in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 3 (1), 1-4.
- Jacobs, J. (1961). *Death and life of great American cities*. New York, NY: Vintage.
- Jeffres, L. W., Bracken, C. C., Jian, G., & Casey, M. F. (2009). The impact of third places on community quality of life. *Applied Research in Quality of Life*, 4, 333-345.
- Lee, C. (2009). Sociological Theories of Immigration: Pathways to Integration for U.S. Immigrants. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 19:6, 730-744.
- Lefebvre, H. (1968 [1996]). *Le droit a la ville*. English translation: *The Right to the City*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *Writings on Cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Lesińska, M. (2015). Immigration of Ukrainians and Russians into Poland - Inflow, integration trends and policy impacts. INTERACT RR 2015/06, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, San Domenico di Fiesole (FI): European University Institute, 2015.
- Lichter, D. T., Parisi, D., Taquino, M. C. (2012). The Geography of Exclusion: Race, Segregation, and Concentrated Poverty. *Social Problems*, Vol. 59, No. 3, pp. 364-388. University of California Press.
- McCann, E., J. (1999). Race, Protest, and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City. *Antipode* 31:2, 1999, pp. 163-184.
- McLaren, L. M. (2003). Anti-Immigrant Prejudice in Europe: Contact, Threat Perception, and Preferences for the Exclusion of Migrants. *Social Forces*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (Mar., 2003), pp. 909-936. Oxford University Press.
- Meier, S. (2018). Being Accommodated, Well Then? 'Scalar Narratives' on Urban Transformation and Asylum Seekers' Integration in Mid-Sized Cities. *Urban Planning*, Volume 3, Issue 4, Pages 129–140.
- Merrifield, A. (1996). Public space: Integration and exclusion in urban life. *City: analysis of urban trends, culture, theory, policy, action*, 1:5-6, 57-72.
- Mitchell, D. (1995). The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of public, and democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85: 108–133.

- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The Right to the City*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Needham, B. (2007). Belangen, rechten en plichten bij publieke ruimte. In: AIR, ed., *Stedelijkheid als rendement: Privaat initiatief voor publieke ruimte*. Rotterdam: Trancity.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2000). *Women and human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ocalenie Foundation & Warsaw School of Economics (2020). Presentation of the immigration situation in Poland. During: Welcoming Spaces Conference, Utrecht 6.03.2020.
- Ostendorf, W., Musterd, S. & De Vos, S. (2001). Social Mix and the Neighbourhood Effect. *Policy Ambitions and Empirical Evidence, Housing Studies*, 16:3, 371-380.
- Penninx, R. (2005). Integration of Migrants: Economic, Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions. In: *The New Demographic Regime. Population Challenges and Policy Responses*. United Nations, New York and Geneva.
- Penninx, R. & Scholten, P. (2016). The multilevel governance of migration and integration. In: *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, pp. 91-114.
- Peters, K. (2011). Living together in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods: The meaning of public spaces for issues of social integration. PhD Thesis, Wageningen University.
- Peters, K. & de Haan, H. (2011). Everyday spaces of inter-ethnic interaction: the meaning of urban public spaces in the Netherlands. *Leisure/Loisir*, 35:2, 169-190, DOI: 10.1080/14927713.2011.567065.
- Phillips, D. & Robinson, D. (2015). Reflections on migration, community, and place. *Population, Space and Place*, 21 (5), 409-420.
- Piekut A. (2012). Visible and Invisible Ethnic 'Others' in Warsaw: Spaces of Encounter and Places of Exclusion, in: M. Grubbauer, J. Kusiak (eds), *Chasing Warsaw Socio-Material Dynamics of Urban Change Since 1990*, pp. 189-212. Frankfurt, New York: Campus.
- Project for Public Spaces (PPS). (2009). What is Placemaking. [online] Available at: <<https://www.pps.org/article/what-is-placemaking>> Accessed 24.03.2020.
- Purcell, M. (2008). *Recapturing democracy*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Purcell M. (2013). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and The Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, Volume 36, Number 1, pages 141-154.
- Putnam, R., D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, no. 2: 137-74.

- Rajca, L. (2015). Integracja migrantów w dobie kryzysu migracyjno-uchodźczego. *Chorzewskie Studia Polityczne*, Number 10.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Reece, J. W. (2018). In Pursuit of a Twenty-first Century Just City: The Evolution of Equity Planning Theory and Practice. *Journal of Planning Literature* 1-11.
- Robila, M. (2018). *Refugees and Social Integration in Europe*. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA).
- Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities in the 21st century*. London: Continuum.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Commodities and capabilities*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Simmel, G. (1950). *The sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Talleraas, C. (2020). Who are the transnationals? Institutional categories beyond "migrants". *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43:4, 652-671, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1599133
- Thomas, J. M. (2008). The Minority-Race Planner in the Quest for a Just City. *Planning Theory* Vol 7(3): 227-247.
- Uitermark, J. (2002). 'Social Mixing' and the Management of Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods: The Dutch Policy of Urban Restructuring Revisited. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 531-549, 2003.
- UN-HABITAT. (2010). *The right to the city: Bridging the urban divide*. Rio de Janeiro: World Urban Forum, United Nations.
- UNESCO. (2006). *International public debates: Urban policies and the right to the city*. Paris: UNESCO.
- United Nations (2019). Department of Economic and Social Affairs [online]. Available at: <<https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/international-migrant-stock-2019.html>> Accessed 27.02.2020.
- Urban Synergies Group (2013). *Shaping Healthy Communities. Perspective Statement: Right to the City* <<https://urbansynergiesgroup.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/perspective-statement-right-to-the-city.pdf>> [Accessed 25.03.20]
- Urząd do spraw Cudzoziemców (2020). *Migration statistics in Poland* [online]. Available at: <<https://migracje.gov.pl/statystyki/zakres/polska/typ/dokumenty/widok/mapa/rok/2020/?x=0.3301&y=0.9783&level=1>> Accessed 9.04.2020.
- Van Aalst, I. & G. Bergenhenegouwen (2003). Openbare ruimte op een hellend vlak. *Rooilijn*, 36(8), pp. 397-402.

- Van Melik, R. (2008). Changing public space: The recent redevelopment of Dutch city squares. PhD Thesis, Utrecht University.
- Varsanyi, M. W. (2017). Immigration Policing Through the Backdoor: City Ordinances, The "Right to the City," and the Exclusion of Undocumented Day Laborers. The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego. Working Paper 165.
- Wieviorka, M. (2014). A critique of integration. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, Vol. 21, No. 6, 633-641.
- Winiarska, A. (2015). Intercultural Neighbourly Encounters in Warsaw from the Perspective of Goffman's Sociology of Interaction. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* Vol. 4, No. 2, December 2015, pp. 43-60.
- Yin, R.K. (2009). Case Study Research - design and methods. SAGE Publications 5(2), 1-53.
- Young, I. M. (1990). Justice and the politics of difference. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Young, I. M. (2000). Inclusion and democracy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## APPENDIX 1 – Topic lists

### *Topic list interview – the municipality of Warsaw*

#### a) The context of Warsaw

- the relation between central and local level,
- the relation between migrants and Polish residents,
- the approach to migrants in Warsaw.

#### b) Pathways to integration

- initiatives/projects of the municipality that aim to integrate migrants with local communities,
- actions to diminish prejudices and promote openness and tolerance towards multiculturalism,
- actors most involved in migration and integration issues,
- opinion/assessment of undertaken initiatives – level of satisfaction, perceived changes, attractiveness to recipients.

#### c) Inclusive integration

- own perception and understanding of an inclusive integration process – guiding rules/factors to be fulfilled,
- opportunity of participation for migrants,
- how migrants should be approached/treated.

#### d) The role of public space

- migrants' presence in public spaces – visibility, reactions of Polish residents,
- pathways to make public space more welcoming – characteristics of an inclusive urban space,
- the role of places of local activity.

#### e) Concluding questions

- the biggest barriers to integration,
- local initiatives as parts of policies.

## *Topic list interview - NGO representatives*

### a) Pathways to integration

- initiatives/projects of the organisations that aim to integrate migrants with local communities/facilitate intercultural dialogue,
- actions to diminish prejudices and promote openness and tolerance towards multiculturalism,
- opinion/assessment of undertaken initiatives – level of satisfaction, perceived changes, attractiveness to recipients,
- the most important rules to be followed before and during the process of integration,
- the meaning of social/cultural spaces/events in the integration process.

### b) Inclusive integration

- own perception and understanding of an inclusive integration process – guiding rules/factors to be fulfilled,
- how migrants should be approached/treated,
- what are primary migrants' needs and struggles.

### c) The role of public space and third spaces

- pathways to integration in urban spaces,
- pathways to make public space more welcoming – characteristics of an inclusive urban space,
- the role of places of local activity,
- the relation between the presence of inclusive spaces and migrants' feelings of security and stability.

### d) Concluding questions

- the biggest barriers to integration.

## APPENDIX 2 – Code tree

Nodes			
Name	Files	References	
Barriers to integration		3	3
Closure of migrant communities		1	1
Lack of different languages in public space		2	2
Lack of good research		1	1
Lack of preparation of school workers to work in a multicult		1	1
Migration on the central government level		8	15
Anti-migration narrative in politics and media		1	2
Stereotypes and prejudices		6	9
Important factors in the preparation of integration processes		2	2
Financial help, funding		2	2
Finding an universal language		6	12
Incorporation in the society, equal partners		7	28
Long-term process		3	4
Relations with beneficiaries		2	2
Respecting migrants and their identity		3	7
The feeling of safety and stability		6	9
Two-way process		6	13
Understanding the locality		1	1
Understanding the needs and problems of the migrant co		6	22
Integration in public space		4	5

## Nodes

Name	Files	References
Integration in public space		5
'Place of local activity'		9
Multicultural Center		12
Spaces for integration		40
The value of interaction and encounter		31
Local approach to migrants		0
Migrants as regular citizens		11
Migrants as a diverse group		2
The relation between migrants and Polish society		8
Migration and integration on the local government level		6
Intercity and international cooperation		2
Municipality's own initiatives		3
The cooperation of the municipality with NGOs		13
The structure of the Warsaw city hall		1
Pathways to integration on the local level		17
Activities for the receiving society		11
Anti-discriminatory, educational practices		14
Bottom-up multicultural initiatives		19
Campaigns		7
Cooperation of NGOs		9
Education of kids and students		11
Education of public workers		8
Foreign languages in public space and social media		5
Integration through culture		33
Integration through media		4
Learning Polish language and the education of migrants		14
Legal and psychological assistance		14
'Migrants for integration'		17
Participation		4
Reasons to start NGO		4
The concept of integration		13