



DELIVERABLE 1.6

# Policy briefs

Prepared by: KU Leuven  
Dissemination: Public

## Document Control Sheet

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**Project Number** 101004704

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**Project Acronym** ReROOT

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**Work Package** WP 1

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**Last version** 30/11/23

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**Main editor** Karel Arnaut, (KU Leuven)

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**Partners contributed** ALL

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### This report is:

Draft	X
Final	
Confidential	
Restricted	
Public	X

### Version history

Version	Implemented by	Revision Date	Changes description
V1.0	KU Leuven	30/11/2023	



# Infrastructuring migration is possible: building on local coalitions towards translocal, enabling policy environments with a future

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Policy recommendations occupy a rather unusual place in ReROOT. The project is not aiming to produce high-level substantive policy recommendations for national governments and EY policy makers to formulate measures for handling migration and advance integration of newcomers. Instead it tries to empower arrival processes, prompt local multi-actor collaborations towards integration and bring in local and regional policy makers to assess the potential of these 'integration coalitions', inviting them to enhance the opportunity structures for these to prosper. In short, ReROOT seeks to build policy from below. What it expects from the (trans)national policy makers is to create a discursive environment that allows the local infrastructural work to succeed. On the rebound, the (trans)national policy makers are invited to draw from the local integration stories in order to enrich the translocal enabling discursive environment. To explain and illustrate this process, is the overall aim of this policy brief.





## 1. Introduction

### **1.1. Beyond the migration crisis: making space for infrastructuring**

Ever since the ‘summer of migration’ of 2015, EU policies concerning migration have been (re) designed in the context of, and sometimes in direct response to, considerable fluctuations in migration movements towards Europe – often framed in terms of ‘crises’. In the post-2015 period, the Russian occupation of Eastern Ukraine that started almost two years ago, and the massive displacement of Ukrainians into Europe that ensued, has produced two rather contradictory developments which until now continue to shape the migration/refugee discourses in Europe and beyond. On the one hand, the wealth of infrastructuring initiatives and projects for the sake of the Ukrainian refugees, has widely elicited negative reactions directing our attention to the stark contrast with the way refugees from the Middle East and Africa are treated, both during their journey into Europe and during their early arrival situation. On the other hand, and perhaps contiguous with the previous evolution, migration discourse across Europe has gone sour, with omnipresent calls to ‘limit the inflow and increase the outflow’, the electoral successes of political parties who have been defending a anti-migrant line, sometimes resulting in their ascent to government. The overall outcome of these developments is negative, unproductive if not damaging, both for the migrants/refugees, for society building in Europe, and the latter’s overall self-ascribed disposition of exemplifying democracy while valuing equality, solidarity, and the rule of law.

In order to remedy this increasingly unhelpful, if not dystopic rhetoric on migration, ReROOT proposes to start building a new narrative, or rather new narratives from below – narratives that engage migrants, both ‘oldcomers’ and newcomers, residents, citizens, civil society actors, both more formal and informal, as well as local policy makers. Substantiating this proposition by suggesting a concrete evidence-based *modus operandi* is the

overall aim of ReROOT. The latter’s appeal to higher-level (national and EU) policy makers is that they should above all create a new openness, i.e. the discursive space and enabling environment for these new narratives to come to fruition.

After having clarified the foundation of the ReROOT perspective on migration – ‘The four pillars of ReROOT’ – this first proper policy brief expounds on what the new migration narrative from below could contain – based on the preliminary findings from the ReROOT research of the preceding two years. The next step is the organisation of a policy event bringing together a small group of carefully chosen policy makers at national and EU level in order to explore concrete ways of creating a more open, democratic, equality and solidarity-based discursive space concerning international migration and integration. This will inspire the local and translocal policy work allocated to WP7, starting in the spring of 2024 and ending in the summer of 2025. The outcomes, insights and conclusions of this policy work will be the subject of the final (third) policy brief.

### **1.2. The Russian war on Ukraine, refugees, booming infrastructure and its backlashes**

Very soon after Russia invaded Ukraine in February 2022, a massive displacement of Ukrainian residents (both citizens and foreigners) took place. Rather quickly, this led to the impressive mobilisation of resources for more than 4 million Ukrainian refugees dispersed mainly across the EU and the UK. As said, this generalised welcome discourse and action, also triggered bitter comments about how differently non-Ukrainian, often ‘non-European’ or non-white refugees were handled – framed, talked about and received. Accusations of racialisation and downright racism were widely ventilated.

For ReROOT, this welcoming culture and policy making was above all eye-opening in the sense that it exposed at least six domains of arrival infrastructuring being activated simultaneously at the national and EU level: (a) a general discourse of compassion with refugees fleeing war and destruction, in the mainstream media and in politicians' declarations, (b) countries were quantifying their reception capacity and often took pride in announcing they were (willing) to accommodate millions (Poland) or tens (Hungary) or hundreds of thousands (UK) of refugees, (c) EU invited member states to reactivate a directive for temporary protection dating back to the Balkan wars of 2001, enabling Ukrainian refugees to automatically receive a protective status, bypassing the need for even a short asylum procedure), (d) private and public initiatives facilitated refugees' travel from Ukraine to different EU countries (e.g. Eurostar distributing free tickets for Ukrainians travelling from Amsterdam or Brussels to London), (e) beyond building container villages, finding other centralised accommodation, governments (Belgium) encouraged and enabled private households to register themselves as potential hosts for refugees, while control mechanisms were set up to protect Ukrainians from (sexual) abuse, harassment, and violence in private homes, finally, (f) the overall media discourse apart from being compassionate and understanding, also took care in differentiating the different positionalities of the refugees, narrating how children, the elderly, mother and young fathers, professionals and students lived the drama differently.

ReROOT researchers reported instances of all six of the creative, pro-active welcoming discourse and ambiance, witnessed manifold initiatives but equally observed the tensions this generated across our nine research sites. In Brussels, Barking & Dagenham (London) and Dortmund, researchers observed how non-Ukrainian refugees felt treated unequally in comparison with Ukrainian refugees. One specific complaint was about how the sudden arrival of Ukrainians put the refugee services under additional stress with more severe detrimental effects for themselves who were coping with heavier administrative processes than their Ukrainian

counterparts. Both in Karditsa/Katerini and in Budapest, researchers noticed how the 2001 directive for temporary protection was activated, accompanied by structured integration measures, exclusively accessible to people from Ukraine. This echo's observations among non-European migrants that they felt Ukrainians were considered 'more integratable' than themselves. Early on, in the late spring of 2022, it was clear that in Brussels several mass shelters earmarked for Ukrainians were remaining empty. The action group followed by the local ReROOT site researcher decided to occupy several of these sites. One of the most notable was the former office building in the Rue du Palais in Schaerbeek, renaming it Palais des droits (Palace of rights). The claim to equal rights, the researcher observed, was as much directed to Belgian residents as it was to Ukrainian newcomers whom they considered privileged.

While the above critical reflections had strong overtones of racism and racialisation, the ReROOT researcher focused on the rural sites of Westland and Haspengouw reported that UE migrant workers from Eastern Europe sometime also felt 'racialized' subjects, unwanted by some, exploited by others. After February 2022, remarkable re-categorisations took place. Before the war, a growing number of Ukrainian migrant workers were already active in agricultural production in the Netherlands, mostly with a Polish passport. While national governments and employee organizations were negotiating special labour visa for Ukrainians without Polish passports. When the war broke out, Ukrainian migrant workers were joined by their families who not only received permanent protection but were also granted a special status with which they were allowed to work more permanently in the same agricultural sector.

In all, the above tour d'horizon of the post-February 2022 arrival situation in Europe, presents an ambivalent image: an impressive display of arrival infrastructuring which rests on – and is experienced as and criticised for – ad hoc categorisations of people. Moreover, these categorisations as much as the six categories of provisions listed above,

predominantly originate ‘from above’, from the general policy choices and discourses at national and EU level. They seem to be able to create an overall welcoming atmosphere in which large sections of the public partake. The same power/influence can be at work in creating a more negative atmosphere, and that seems to be relevant to understand the ‘closed borders’ discourse that is rapidly becoming the dominant rhetoric in which ReROOT researchers have been operating over the last two years.

The backlash consists in a general attitude of defensiveness when it comes to migration towards the EU: refugees are portrayed in terms of invading flows and their dehumanisation is accentuated by focussing on material and technological solutions of strengthening and policing borders, destroying temporary settlements in cities and border zones (the Alps, North Sea coast), and expanding detention facilities in order to reinforcing deportations. Discursively this EU policy is accompanied by the generalised, hence normalised use of the term ‘illegal migration’ in popular media and political rhetoric. Taken together, in ReROOT terms this approach is the opposite of infrastructuring – ‘ruination’ is what some site researchers call this rather systematic, intentional destruction of emerging, precarious and often very small-scale life-building endeavours. In the UK, ruination of migrant lives has been labelled as the creation of a ‘hostile environment’. The UK site researcher explains the latter as not just an umbrella term for various hostile policies, but a holistic policy strategy that operates through many independently operating components spread across sectors. It deputises a ‘sweeping range of public servants, agencies, companies, private organisations and members of the public’ to check people’s immigration status and enforce immigration-related restrictions.

In that process of ruination, many countries, also in the EU, appear to be prepared to go very far, to the extent of seeking the limits of the state of law. Here we see ruination not only affecting the life-chances of migrants and refugees but also undermining the rule of law and the emergence of politicians and ministers in office to take pride in

transgressing existing laws or human/basic rights. One of the most flagrant instances of this comes from the capital of Europe: Brussels. The ReROOT Brussels site researcher has observed closeup how the state secretary for asylum and migration has been convicted over 9000 times for failing to provide basic shelter and food to asylum seekers, amounting to at least 50 million Euro of penalties, which the minister takes pride in not paying. When, the bailiff proceeded to confiscate furniture at the ministry, the occupation collective bought back a number of sofa’s which they display in the different buildings they occupied subsequently in order to remind the minister of failing to respect (inter)national law. A similar unlawful action by the same minister more recently over the summer of 2023, consisted in declaring that single men in an asylum procedure would no longer be considered for free shelter and food. An idiosyncratic policy move which led to national and international outrage, but at the same time was observed by political analysts as music to many people’s ears, strengthening the mainstream consensus on cracking down on migration. As explained under 2.2. this general negative atmosphere around migration also transpires from or is informed by the trajectory of EU legislation towards the ‘New Pact on Migration and Asylum’ that has been initiated in 2020 and which is meant to be concluded in the spring of 2024.

### **1.3. Thinking migration and integration otherwise: thinking back from inclusion to migratio**

Very much in contrast to the hostile environment rhetoric and policy-making, the EU ‘Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027’ shapes the kind of environment within ReROOT situates migration from its earliest moments, more specifically, the arrival processes of newcomers.

Under the title ‘Maximising EU added value through multi-stakeholder partnerships’, the action plan stipulates as its 5<sup>th</sup> key principle:

**“Integration happens in every village city and region where migrants live, work and go**

to school or to a sports club. The **local** level plays a key role in **welcoming** and guiding **newcomers** when they first arrive in their new country. In addition, civil society organisations, educational institutions, employers and socio-economic partners, social economy organisations, churches, religious and other philosophical communities, youth and students' organisations, diaspora organisations **as well as migrants themselves** play a key role in **achieving** a truly effective and comprehensive integration **policy.**" (Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027, p7-8; bold is mine)

This excerpt could have been lifted from the ReROOT proposal, if the latter were not drafted before (in 2020) the adoption of the above action plan.

Without exaggeration most of the research conducted by ReROOT site researchers during the first year and a half, documents, substantiates and enriches the multi-stakeholder infrastructuring of arrival that has been reported in a 'Cross-site compilation report'.

"The focus on migrant-supporting civil society and grassroots organisations varied between the ReROOT research sites, but all sites offered a range of such organisations. Some of these are very established with long-term funding and institutionalised structures, while others are characterised by more instability, and might have emerged as a result of grassroots and activist movements and be primarily based on voluntary work [...] we can also find a range of online support structures via social media and other such platforms which can be very important in supporting newcomers." (Cross-site compilation report, 2023, p12)

With specific reference to three of the nine sites, the report specifies that:

"civil society often steps up to make up for lack of support by the state. Amongst the ReROOT sites, this is most pronounced in Thessaloniki and the transit areas of Brussels, Amsterdam and the North-Sea Coast, places where migrants have been almost completely

abandoned or marginalised by the state." (Cross-site compilation report, 2023, p14)

Concerning, the Westland site (the Netherlands), the report asks special attention to:

"'infrastructures of care' within the contexts of Westland and Haspengouw, the differences civil society organisations can make to individuals' lives is highlighted across the sites. For example, they enable migrant workers to break out of their isolation caused by long working hours and segregated housing situations. Over time, some of the labour migrants have become involved in setting up NGOs which regularly organise events and information sessions about different aspects of life in the Netherlands" (idem)

As we will see in the next section, later research in 2022-2023 surrounding the creation of interactive, inclusive platforms, confirms and expands on these findings.

## 2. Evidence and Analysis

Within the above ambivalent, if not deeply divided terrain of discourse, policy making, and research evidence concerning migration, integration and inclusion, the preliminary research findings after the initial year and a half, generated four thematic fields of findings (this section) to which policy recommendations (the next section) can be linked. The first two themes emerge mainly from the (desk) research on national regimes of mobility and diversity as well as discourses, policies and practices of integration. The two following themes transpire mainly from the action research conducted in the design, creation and reflection upon interactive, inclusive platforms of site-specific arrival infrastructuring actors (WP4).

### **2.1. Historical legacies of migrants' structural disenfranchisement**

Throughout their investigations, all ReROOT site researchers encountered legacies of structural

disenfranchisement, misrecognition, lack of agency, mistrust, and racism. These findings followed the specific task emanating from different sections of the research (WP2 and WP3 mainly) to look into a historical unfolding of diversity and mobility regimes and policies as well as the fact that categorisations of subsequent generations of migrants/newcomers required inspection in terms of continuities and discontinuities. The differential racialisation of refugees from Ukraine and the Middle-East (Syria, and Kurdish people from Iran, Iraq, and Türkiye) mentioned in the introduction is a case in point. But regimes also travel, so to speak. Our Istanbul researcher reported how ‘integration’ entered Turkish migration discourse but underwent important semantic transformations and reframings: avoiding the historically tainted term ‘integration’ and preferring the newfangled term ‘harmonization’ instead.

“While discourses of ‘hospitality’ and ‘guesthood’ accentuate the rich migration history and the noble features of Turkish people, terms like social harmony/ization and integration have not been used in relation to migrant populations up until 2000s under the influence of interactions with the EU.” (original report, p4)

“While Turkey avoids an official public rhetoric on “integration”, it cultivates a discourse on “harmonization”, very similar to “social cohesion.” The Harmonization Strategy Document and National Action Plan (2019-2023), which was adopted in 2018 [...] stipulated [...] the aim of uyum (“harmonization”) is to “facilitate mutual harmonization between foreigners, applicants and beneficiaries of international protection and the society”. [...] The notion of ‘integration’ in the Turkish imaginary was seen as carrying negative connotations” (D3.3., p13)

The report further explains that these negative connotations are related to the diasporic experience of many Turkish people in Europe where they felt ‘integration’ designated the unidirectional adaptation expected from them towards the host society. Harmonization was felt as having a more positive

meaning as referring to neither assimilation nor integration but to a voluntary harmonization resulting from mutual understanding.

When it comes to categorisations, the case of the wall houses of Thessaloniki is one of the most telling. Researching temporary settlements of newcomers in the city, the ReROOT researchers located some of them in old town of Thessaloniki, called Ano Poli (Άνω Πόλη), surrounded by medieval walls next to which the Christian refugees of 1922 from Minor Asia had built makeshift shelters, the so-called *kastroplikta* (wall houses). Many of these have been demolished but the remaining abandoned shelters have received newcomers who explicitly inscribe them in the history of migration and marginalisation that is associated with the *kastroplikta*.

It should be clear from the above instances that arrival processes and the way in which they are discursively and materially infrastructured by authorities, residents and migrants alike, come with a history which needs to be taken into account, not only in order to counter them (see 3.1), but also to overcome the stereotyping and typecasting the comes with it (see 3.4)

## 2.2. Contemporary asylumisation of migration

In the early post-war period, migration – in the form of ‘guestworkers’ – was directly linked to labour and the labour needs of the countries from western and northern Europe rebuilding their economies, not in the least their heavy industries. Seventy years later, such economic migration, fleeing unemployment in the global south and seeking employment in the ageing and slowly depopulating global north, is almost completely subsumed under ‘political asylum’. This asylumisation of migration has detrimental effects both for the migrants and the receiving European countries. The latter are looking at an increasing and often difficult to manage administrative workload, while the migrants’/refugees’ mobility is criminalised, their trajectory and asylum procedure one of social misery, uncertainty and precarity, all the more so if they end up with the status of undocumented – a



category counting millions of peoples across Europe. Contrarily, the example of the de-asylumisation of migration/refugees described in the introduction when highlighting the exemption rule for Ukrainian newcomers, shows the direct advantages for both administration and the labour activities of the refugees.

Discursively, the asylumisation of migration and the fact that many eventually are unsuccessful in obtaining protection, has been the source of the widespread ongoing problematisation of migration and integration. As said the EU policy of facilitating “legal migration” – in view of the increasing need to attract skilled labour to Europe – and the containment of “illegal entry/stay” has inspired the media and many a political entrepreneur to voice their concerns about “illegal migration”. Outside the UK, the ReROOT researcher in London reports the widespread damage the “Illegal Migration Act 2023” has done in delegitimising and criminalising migration among large sections of the population.

Although the EU ‘New Pact on Migration and Asylum’ (2020-2024) does not explicitly enter in such adverse discourse on migration, it is clear from the steps that have already been taken that the main focus so far has been on border control and policing, detainment and deportation, together with a single more positive accomplishment in the form of EU ‘Talent Partnerships’ with a range of countries in North Africa, that “will enhance legal pathways to the EU, while engaging partner countries strategically on migration management” launched in 2022.

Although reports from ReROOT researchers in Paris, Dunkirk, Brussels, Thessaloniki, and, already mentioned, London, substantiate how asylumisation on the national level harms migrants’ life chances and small-scale world-building endeavours, the cases of Budapest as well as Karditsa & Katerini help us to bring in some nuance. The case of Budapest and Hungary sheds new light on how national anti-migrant discourse and ruination (in the sense of de-infrastructuring), does not necessarily exclude meaningful integration work being done in the shadow of the local and particular institutions, such as education.

“in Budapest, where the contrast between national and local levels seems extreme

because the state does not discuss migration in the framework of integration at all, and mainly cultivate an ideology of anti-integration. Although there is an absence of any national, regional or municipal policy of integration, however, at the level regarding international students, universities are the key institutions of integration policies. In contrast to the macro level, universities are interested in integration as part of the internationalisation/marketisation efforts in higher education. For example, mentoring programs, culture clubs, psychological support, orientation days, housing, and representation are taking place within the university administration and social life.” (D3.3, p 18)

From the small town of Karditsa, the researchers report that, in spite of the very negative national discourse on migration in Greece, at the local level different actors coalesce to shape a more convivial space of encounter and exchange:

“The city of Karditsa highlights the intersections between place and the formation of publics, and the ‘minor spaces’ of conviviality in the city. For example, the cross-cultural center Stavrodromi which is located in a central part of Karditsa, is a daily gathering place for refugees and locals, who under appointed or random encounters renegotiate their relations, their dispositions, their habits and practices” (D 3.3., p21)

In sum, although it is important to keep monitoring how national or European anti-migrant, close-border, or hostile-environment discourse affect or not what is taking place on the more local levels in terms of arrival infrastructuring. Ideally, the national discourses could lend a more positive tone, by tuning into the local narratives of conviviality and enhancing life-chances. Some of these narratives emerged from the most recent so-called platform work of ReROOT researchers over the preceding year, as presented in the following two points.

### 2. 3. Co-voicing: navigating uncertainties, overcoming fragmentation, seeking publicity

The last phase of the interactive ethnographic research within ReROOT took place in the context of so-called 'platform' building (WP4). The latter was an open-ended process in which site researchers built on their familiarity with actors and stake-holders in their sites (WP2 and see 1.3 above) as well as on their awareness of both local and translocal discourses of migration and integration (see 2.1 and 2.2 above), in order to bring together ad hoc coalitions around a shared project that could meaningfully contribute to one or several aspects of the arrival situation deemed problematic but also potentially transformative for the people involved. The full overview of what this work led to, both in terms of the end product and the often long and arduous process leading to it, is reported in a document (D4.2) that until further notice is confidential because its 'data' will become part of the 'arrival infrastructure toolkit' under construction.

Overall, platforms and their participants were supposed to explore potential interventions to facilitate collaboration, empower new migrants, earlier arrivals and 'natives', and rework their interaction in arrival infrastructures. Against this backdrop, platforms were intended to be new combinations of ideas and distinct forms of collaboration facilitating newcomers' arrival going beyond established institutional contexts. In this section (2.3) will focus more on the delicate, often arduous process, while the next section (2.4.) briefly examines the potentially transformative outcomes, of the platform building.

Although the platforms can be categorised or ordered in many several ways, the six relevant for the present section, can be characterised as having the interactivity situated more in the process than in the outcome. Both the Paris and Thessaly (Karditsa/Katerini) researchers opted to co-author a website. In the case of Paris, this website is meant to act as living memory of a typical Parisian arrival infrastructure, the 'foyer', and more particularly the migrant foyer of Paris Boulogne, many residents of which found

themselves in danger of being evicted. The archival website (<https://foyer.tilda.ws/>) collected material from interviews and archives in order to empower the voices of the evictees in resisting their fate. Individually their voices were weak and could easily remain unheard, collectively and formalised in a website, this 'voice' was considerably stronger. Remedying a similar deficit was the raison d'être of the Thessaly website (<https://anka.gr/index.php/el/e-stavrodromi>), which was the outcome of an arduous process of engaging different stakeholders, including migrants, in addressing issues of labour and facilitating local employment.

A similar empowering finality animated the Thessaloniki platform, responding to the needs of the many 'transitmigrants' who arrived and left the city, in drawing a map. This map, collected, situated and recorded all available arrival infrastructures such as spaces of organizations and solidarity groups and, at the same time, the safe and dangerous areas and routes in Thessaloniki. This map was the end product of a series of participatory workshops in which it was a most delicate process to engage and listen to the ephemeral voices of the people on the move often living in very precarious circumstances.

Perhaps more stronger voices than in Thessaloniki but equally fragmented as in Thessaly, were brought together in a the 'Supporting Migrants Network' in Barking and Dagenham, facilitated by the ReROOT London researcher. This network consisted of 23 interested organisations providing support to migrant residents in one way or another and, thus, to help the support infrastructure become less fragmented. After all, many services and organisations were not connected or aware of the resources and opportunities provided by others.

Finally, in two very different sites and through very different trajectories, the ReROOT site researchers in Dortmund and Brussels, accompanied a specific group of stakeholders in having their voices heard by seeking public visibility. The Brussels' researcher joined a loose network of civic organisations, lawyers and individual citizens who actively supported a changing but numerous group of homeless new-comers in resisting and overcoming against their precarious situation – resulting in a series of occupations of buildings which presented as politicising interventions

against their humanitarian maltreatment. In contrast to the firmness with which these claims were brought into the Brussels and national public sphere, the ReROOT researcher reports on the delicate process of people, often the migrants themselves to find a voice (sometimes a language, sometimes a gender position) to make themselves heard in the 'back-office' of the otherwise 'loud' occupation movement.

Similarly, in Dortmund a stark contrast between the moment of collective public exposure of the issue (lack of places for migrant children in local schools) in Nordstadt and the reluctance of individual participants (parents and children) to expose themselves to the media. In a reflection on the ethical issues involved, the researcher reported the following:

“An important concern was to involve newcomers in the event but to prevent them from any harm that could be related with taking part. To give them a voice implied speaking in public, in front of the city mayor, possibly being filmed, and taking part in the video that stays remains on the internet. Newcomers might not be aware of the consequences of that and not be ready to do it. Similarly, journalists invited to report about the issue always asked to talk directly with affected families (thus, having a child not enrolled in a school) and making their stories visible. This means, at the same time, that an issue is only worth reporting about when someone directly affected is ready to talk about a possibly sensitive issue. The dimension of lacking school places might then be hidden behind the single story. It also put us in the dilemma of pushing a family into media spotlight.” (redacted Individual report, p 11)

This quote nicely summarizes what all the platforms presented so far struggled with. It documents how present-day newcomers – keeping in mind, the long-standing disenfranchisement (2.1) and sometimes their present-day 'problematization' as citizens (2.2.), cannot be straightforwardly find and express their voices, see their interest defended by sometimes fragmented networks of organisations, and seek public exposure.

#### **2.4. Becoming otherwise: transformav e action through infrastructuring**

In three of the nine platforms intensive interaction was part and parcel of the platform event itself. In that respect the platforms in Brussels and Dortmund were border cases because the public events were definitely interactive, but mainly towards the media and public space. The three remaining platforms were 'internally' interactive with the exception of the Haspengouw/Westland platform(s) that had an interactive internal and external side.

In line with the overall objective of ReROOT to work towards 'unblocking' or liberating migrants' life trajectories and world building endeavours, all platforms sought a degree of transformation. The six platforms presented above situated this transformation very much in line with expected or established aspirations: homeless asylum seekers to find shelter, school children to find a place in a local school, the Thessaly migrant work-force to find employment,, etc. The three platforms presently introduced, just went a little further in that ambition of what in ReROOT we name 'becoming otherwise'.

In Budapest the ReROOT researchers engaged Stipendium Hungaricum students who generally suffer from being/feeling enclaved within the overall university student population. The main goal of the platform-building process was to help students connect and enable them to articulate their challenges, find solutions, and actively generate changes. The community-building platform that emerged was designed where students learn how to implement cooperative activities in order to build 'other' connections than the system generally allows them while discovering new integrative activities and opportunities.

In the Fatih district in Istanbul, the ReROOT researcher, as part of her platform building organised Wendo self-defense trainings where participants acquired practical tools to empower themselves against different types of societal, physical and symbolic violence. Furthermore, the platform created a safe space to discuss taboo and sensitive topic as well as enable community bonding based on the shared experience of violence.

Finally, the platform-building process in Westland

and Haspengouw co-created an exhibition showcasing both new and traditional agricultural rituals and practices from farmers in Romania and Moldova, as well as from Central and Eastern European migrant workers in the Netherlands and Belgium. The exhibition Picking Fruits Sowing Stories – see <https://pickingfruitsowingstories.com> – was displayed at the yearly blossom blessing in Haspengouw and later at “thanksgiving” day in Westland. Its purpose was to facilitate conversations and dialogues about heritage, agriculture, and migration through performative and tangible means, thus challenging the various temporal dimensions at play in the seasonal workers’ arrival situation, including seasonality, the synchronous temporalities of agriculture elsewhere in Europe, the historical aspect of celebrating agricultural heritage and rituals versus the hyper-globalized agroindustry.

In all three cases the platforms explore narrow conceptions of integration, newcomers and migrants in general by opening up new ways of becoming part of society, transforming society in the process.

Importantly, beyond the ‘Talent Partnerships’ policies which seems to condition migration on the possession of certain skills, the three experiments in this section, seek to develop skills, address misrecognised or silenced societal issues and explore ways of expressing this in building new communities and alternative subjectivities.

### 3. Policy implications and recommendations

The four recommendations made here correspond to the four points of the previous section. Overall, the assumption underlying this policy brief ‘Infrastructuring migration is possible: building on local coalitions towards translocal, enabling policy environments with a future’, is that a more assertive, self-confident discourse on migration is the only way forward. The following can be read as a four-phase road map towards this possible future.

#### **3.1. Countering historical legacies of structural disenfranchisement**

Much like other parts of the world, Europe has a rich migration history into which it can delve to illustrate the transformative power of human mobility since the early days of the homo sapiens. As much as this is a history of new encounters and novel cultural and social forms, this is also a history of brutal violence, inequality and exploitation. Europe as an imperialist and colonial world power during most of the preceding centuries, provides an exemplary locus to narrate, reflect upon and learn lessons from the multi-sided history of global human mobility with special attention for the structural, racial, gender and class differences that have been reproduced if not increased in the process.

While education – formal or popular, school-based or adult – is indispensable in transmitting this history of persisting inequalities through global or European migration, ReROOT researchers found that much could be learned from focusing on the local histories of human (re)settlement; in material found in local documents or in the memories of residents. Through further documentation one can connect these local histories to larger-scale changes and realise in the process that unequal globalisation is made also in small places, in streets and urban neighbourhoods, in fruit plantations and cafés. Efforts should be made to stimulate such ‘glocal’ historical reconstructions, collectively and accessible through popular culture/education programmes. The EU may prove to be in a good position to encourage such endeavours among its member states.

#### **3.2. Countering the asylumisation of migration**

Building further on glocal migration histories whether deep or shallow, representing migration in a climate of fear and invasion, criminality and violence, can only be counteracted by gradually assembling a new narrative of migration. With a mere historical frame of reference, this narrative may be accused of being selective, demonising or romanticising as the case may be. The analysis above shows that the EU has certain resources to build on to compose a nuanced, multifaceted narrative. The 5<sup>th</sup> key term of the Action plan on Integration and Inclusion, cited above, shows an openness to envisage

multi-actor local coalitions of stake-holders-in-migration engaging in imagining new ways of collaboration and social cohesion. The ReROOT research of the last two years shows that, again, such collaborations can be found, elicited and recounted on the local level.

On a larger scale level, the ReROOT researchers and their interlocutors found the recent boom of infrastructuring interventions in the face of the Ukrainian refugee 'crisis', inspiring, to say the least. Without romanticizing what happened in that respect in the past two years – see the critiques and backlashes reported above – the infrastructuring of Ukrainian arrivals remains impressive and stretches from individual households over villages and cities, to multinational companies and EU institutions. There is a story to be told.

In sum, the EU is capable of stimulating the production of migration narratives both local and translocal, both 'home-made' and EU-made, in an overall endeavour to start building a broad repertoire of migration narratives that can resist or contradict the mainstream negative migration and integration discourses.

The two following recommendation respond to the same logic of 'the new narrative' as the two previous ones. Only, at this point in the ReROOT project, there has not been enough exposure of the material generated by the interactive, inclusive platforms to local and translocal policy makers, to be very precise about how to translate this into policy recommendations. Once the material and the lessons learnt from the platforms has been repackaged into the upcoming arrival infrastructure toolkit, tested and tried out with policy makers, will we be able to be more precise about methodologies, potentials and pitfalls. For the time being, it suffices to rephrase in terms of focus points what emerged from the analysis in 2.3 and 2.4 above.

### **3.3. Creating enabling spaces for local infrastructuring coalitions to flourish**

Although there are considerable differences, migrant voices are generally vulnerable, uncertain about how to address wider, mixed publics. This needs to be taken into account in any project or policy in which migrant voices

are needed and mobilised. At any time such projects or policies should be sensitive to these vulnerabilities and precarities, consider the creation of safe, enabling spaces and pay attention to all aspects of ethics – as exemplified by ReROOT site researchers

### **3.4. Empowering migrants' futuring imaginings and endeavours**

If Europe sees itself as ever transforming, it should accept – for good historical reasons – that migrants will not only be changing as well, but importantly contributing to these future transformations. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that migrants are not stereotyped or typecasted into the roles that have been historically reserved for them or, indeed, just called upon to fill the skill-gaps that the ageing Europe is struggling to fill. More than that, the EU must encourage its citizens, newcomers, latecomers and oldcomers, to 'become otherwise', to constitute the driving force of a continent in full transformation. The more creative and interactive platforms ReROOT researchers initiated in a few sites, indicate the potential for this 'becoming otherwise', however, small-scale and unassuming it can be (to start with).

## **4. Project identity**

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- Funding programme: Research and Innovation Action
- Duration: April 2021 – July 2025 (51 months).
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This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 101004704