Open Research Online

The Open University's repository of research publications
and other research outputs

Pastoral Power And The Integration of Migrants: An Exploratory Study Of Discourses And Practices Of Integration Within Italian Refugee Reception Centres

Thesis

oro.open.ac.uk

Pastoral power and the integration of migrants:
an exploratory study of discourses and practices of integration within Italian refugee reception centres

by

Marco Distinto

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the
Department of People and Organisations (DPO)
Open University Business School (OUBS)

Supervisors
Dr. Cinzia Priola
Dr. Alexandra Bristow
Prof. Peter Bloom

October 2020

I dedicate this to my father.

The world has changed completely since you left us. In this sea of uncertainties, your memory is a beacon that lights my way.

Acknowledgments

This thesis could not have been completed without the support that I received from so many people. I can't include everyone, but you are all in my heart. I would first like to thank my supervisors whose expertise was invaluable in developing the entire research. Thanks to Dr. Cinzia Priola, for being there from the first to the last word of this thesis. Your guidance has been invaluable for my growth both as a researcher and a person. Thank you for inspiring, listening, advising and helping me believe in myself. Thanks to Dr. Alexandra Bristow. You joined our team in the last year, perhaps the most difficult of the whole journey. Your comments, feedbacks, and encouragements were fundamental. Thanks to Prof. Peter Bloom for the help and the advice that you provided to me. Your words heavily impacted on the development of the theory of this research. Thanks to my examiners Prof. Jo Brewis and Prof. Martyna Sliwa. Thanks to the OU Business School. Thanks to Prof. Emma Bell, Dr. Tim Butcher, Dr. Charles Barthold, Dr. Caroline Clarke and all the academics from the DPO. Getting to know you was a pleasure and I benefited greatly from your feedback and advice. Thanks to Dr. Emanuela Girei, Dr. Lara Pecis, Dr. Barbara Barbieri, Prof. Alessia Contu, Dr. Amon Barros and all the academics I have met and who have directly and indirectly contributed to this work. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Diego Lasio, Jessica Lampis, Francesco Serri and Silvia De Simone from the University of Cagliari. You have always believed in me and without you I would not be here. You are more than a family to me, and I will always be grateful to you. Thanks to Carlos, Michela, Ida, Caroline, Nicola, all the OU PhD students and the Perivale Crew. You have been such wonderful travel companions. A heartfelt thanks to the research participants. This research could not exist without you. Thanks to all the SPRAR members for welcoming me into their lives. I did my best to honour your noble work. Thanks to all the migrants I met. You are forces of nature and meeting you has marked my life permanently. Thanks to all my friends and family. Your support was fundamental to get to the end. Finally, a special thank goes to the two most important women in my life. My mother for supporting me in all possible ways. I miss you so much and I hope you are proud of me. We are far, but you are always with me. Thank you for everything. And Alessandra, my love, my partner in crime, my better half. There are not enough words to express my love and gratitude. While the world around us was changing, you have always been by my side. You are my rock. You stood up with me during the PhD, during three years of long-distance relationship. In the last year, living together, we have also been through a global pandemic. I have no idea what the future holds for us. But whatever happens, together with you, any problem becomes surmountable.

4

Abstract

Following the 2014-15 'migration crisis', the European Union and national governments focused their efforts on the efficient management of migrants arriving in large numbers. Accordingly, migrant integration has become a key challenge for EU member states. This research focuses on the Italian context and investigate discourses and practices of integration within Italian refugee reception centres. It examines the organisations supporting migrants' resettlement and explores the link between how social workers talk about migrant integration (discourse level) and how they 'do' integration (practice level).

This study draws on a six months ethnographic research, conducted within two Reception Centres of the national refugee protection system (SPRAR), to understand their activities and the power/knowledge relations bonding migrants, social workers and local communities. The data produced consists of field notes and interviews with employees and migrants. Theoretically it adopts a Foucauldian-inspired framework, drawing from concepts of 'microphysics of power', 'governmentality' and 'pastoral power' to analyse the micro-processes of subjectification unfolding within the integration projects. The research addresses the following research questions: By which means are migrants and refugees constituted and constantly reformed as subjects suitable to live in Europe according to the Italian ways of being? How do pressures from the extra-organisational environment affect the discourses of integration and the activities carried out within the refugee reception centres?

Finding shows that the SPRAR centres can be seen as pastoral organisations on the threshold between various tensions characterising macro- and micro-politics of integration and inclusion. Integration is promoted through the professionalisation of the pastoral relationship aimed at constituting self-governing migrant subjects. Despite the will to promote multiculturalism, the conflicted relationship between centres and extra-organisational environment pushes employees towards discourses and practices of covert-assimilationism targeting migrants' everyday life. This thesis extends Foucault's pastoral power and offers an alternative perspective on integration focused on the micro-processes affecting migrants' subjectification.

Table of contents

Chapter 4

An autoethnographic account of the research method   **72**

Chapter 1

Introduction

An opening note on the research rationale

It was the first Wednesday of September 2015. I was attending a music festival in a lovely location in Italy, my homeland, trying to enjoy the last glimpses of summer just before coming back to normal life. I was having a great time. I cannot remember every detail of that week. Yet, there's one particular reminiscence about those days that has been carefully preserved by my mind. A moment recorded like a blurred picture, clashing with all that light-heartedness. I was in the kitchen of a small villa with two dear friends of mine and we were smoking cigarettes, drinking wine and staring at the TV screen in silence. We were watching the news and we could not take our eyes off that screen. The live footage of thousands of people walking on a remote field of dry grass, at the border between Greece and Macedonia.

It was happening exactly while we were sitting in that villa, smoking cigarettes and drinking wine. Women, men, children and old people forming an endless queue. While I'm writing these lines, I suddenly realized the reason why this thought came back to me. That day I asked myself: what is happening? We were witnessing something that would have changed the world as we knew it. At a later time, I had some kind of 'ethical' awakening about my interests as a psychology student. I wanted to understand more about that. What does it mean to live like that? For the very first time, the drama of those people entered in my life with such vehemence. Those images were stealing my attention, hurling against the contradictions and the precariousness of our times. It was one of the first times that the Italian television broadcast those images. Since that day, the topic of migration and the struggles of refugees entered into our lives, without knocking, willing to stay there for a long time.

During the autumn of 2015, I was working on my Master's thesis about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I became increasingly interested in political, social and cultural dimensions of the psychological experience of individuals. How does the construction of the sense of belonging to a community, established on the basis of political, ethnic and religious categories, affect the daily life of individuals? In 2016, when an increasing number of migrants tried to cross the borders of European states, the word integration became more and more contentious. Too many migrants! They steal our jobs! If they want to live with us, they must integrate and adapt to our culture! I have heard these discourses to the point of

nausea. But what does 'integration' mean? What does it mean to flee your country and settle in a new community? These are the questions I have asked myself for so long before deciding that, to find a partial answer, I had to spend three and a half years of my life conducting this research. And to do this I had to become a migrant too. I am a privileged migrant, yet my experience in England, in a completely different context, allowed me to get in touch with novel parts of my personality. I experienced the uncertainties of Brexit, I felt the nostalgia of home, of my friends, family and girlfriend. I have changed, I am a different person now and this experience still transforms me every day. The signifier 'integration' took a new nuance. Integration entails a subjective transformation, a process of becoming, and I wanted to understand how this transformation takes place.

Moreover, the increase in migratory flows in Italy determined the rise of discourses about a so-called 'migration business'. According to these discourses, social enterprises and cooperatives dealing with migrants were enriching themselves at migrants' expense. I was interested in understanding the role of these organisations, part of civil society, how they performed their role and supported migrants. My goal therefore was to delve into the life of the refugee reception centres to understand how they dealt with the challenges that the reception and integration of refugees entails. Within this research I employ an ethnographic approach to explore the role of the social workers and study the context in which they operate. With this thesis I would therefore like to contribute to the academic discussion on the topic of migrants' integration and understand how this process affects the lives of migrants and social workers. Moreover, by highlighting the problems inherent to the reception centres' organisational reality, I critically discuss their performances and provide new insights useful to develop more inclusive integration policies and practices.

This introductory chapter is organised as follows. The first part sets the scene by introducing the refugee crisis and the general socio-political context of this research. The second part introduces the topic of migrants' integration and presents a summary of my theoretical framework. The third part is dedicated to the research context, a summary of my methodological perspective, including the ethnographic and analytical methods adopted, the research questions and the general objectives of my work. The conclusion of this chapter offers an overview of the entire thesis and a description of each chapter's main theme and contents.

1.1 The "refugee crisis"

Despite human migration not being a new phenomenon, the recent mass displacement of people from war-affected countries and poorer nations has become a key topic, broadly debated in current European politics and attracting greater attention from international researchers (Korkut et al, 2013). During the last 10 years, the growth of migration flows has become increasingly salient within political agendas and public discourse of many European countries (Carvalho & Ruedin, 2016).

From 2010/2011, following the conflicts and uprisings that have destabilized the geopolitical balance of northern Africa and Middle East, the wave of individuals fleeing their countries has gradually increased (Mulack, 2016). During the 2015-16 biennium, more than four million Syrians abandoned their homes and other six million were internally displaced (Mulack, 2016). In 2016, as shown by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2017), 65.6 million people in the world were forced to leave their homelands and seek for shelter and protection elsewhere.

At that time, the countries adjoining Syria were hosting five million refugees (Achilli, 2016; Mulack, 2016; UNHCR, 2015). Lebanon, Bangladesh and Turkey, the world top three refugee hosting countries, have responded to the flow of people by gradually closing borders and limiting refugees' rights and opportunities (Achilli, 2016; Al-Qdah & Lacroix, 2011). Consequently, a million and a half people have requested protection in Europe, whose measures to manage the arrivals, identify asylum seekers and guarantee their protection proved to be inadequate (Bernhard & Kaufmann, 2018; Pries, 2019). Concurrently, in 2015, more than 500,000 migrants from Africa reached Southern Europe undertaking dangerous travels through the Mediterranean Sea (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016).

The Libya-Italy route slowly became established as one of the busiest and dangerous ways to reach the European continent's borders. Since the 2013 Lampedusa's migrants' shipwreck, more than 15,000 migrants have died in the Mediterranean Sea (IOM, 2017). The 2017 became a turning point with a significant decrease in the number of arrivals (UNHCR, 2017). Nonetheless, by the end of the same year the UNHCR estimated a number of 71.4 million forcibly displaced people worldwide (UNHCR, 2018a).

1.2 The outcomes of the crisis

The so-called "Refugee Crisis" of 2015-16 came to be a shocking phenomenon for European Countries, experienced as a concern for the suffering of thousands human beings, but also as a challenge regarding key policy areas including border security, international cooperation and migrant integration (Moore et al., 2018). The European Commission defined the mass migration flows toward the EU as the "largest global humanitarian crisis" of our time (Holmes & Castaneda, 2016: 2). In 2015, the German chancellor Angela Merkel publicly stated that "the contemporary crisis will define this decade" (Holmes & Castaneda 2016: 2), calling for mutual help by all European Union countries and proposing a quota system that would fairly distribute the refugees among all 28 EU States. Subsequently, in 2016, Germany has changed its position and moved on to harden its asylum policies following Finland and Sweden's plan to expel around 80,000 asylum seekers and reject new applications (Crouch, 2016). Moreover, the quota system insistently proposed has never been followed by member states. This has been interpreted by scholars as a case of unproductive EU policymaking. As Zaun (2018: 45) suggests, this "non-decision" has increased tensions within the EU as the southern European countries (e.g. Italy and Greece), which represent the preferred access points for migrants, were struggling to manage the arrivals (Colombo, 2018; Zaun, 2018).

These events caused major upheaval within the European Union, endangering its stability, internal agreements, values of solidarity and prompting a series of questionable actions: barbed-wire fences, closing of borders, resentment and hostility towards minority groups (Constant and Zimmermann, 2016). As claimed by Fassin (2016), "the so-called European refugee crisis is a moral issue before it is a demographic one" (cit. in Pries, 2019: 2). Consequently, this crisis has contributed to the reawakening of manifested forms of xenophobia and nationalism. The images of people leaving their countries on foot or by boat have been hijacked by right-wing movements and political parties across Europe, spreading a climate of fear and suspicion amongst population. Building upon doom-laden myths of 'invasion' and 'population replacement' (De Haas, 2008), asylum seekers, refugees and migrants[1] have been portrayed as a threat to national security and social stability (Constant & Zimmermann, 2016; Hatton, 2016; Sales, 2002, 2005; Stewart & Mulvey, 2014). The appellations commonly used in many European countries to describe asylum seekers were

---

[1] Refugees are subjects forced to leave their homeland because of war, famine, natural disaster or direct persecution for reasons of race, religion, or nationality. In this thesis I use the general term 'migrant' to define a person who has left the country of origin to live in another country including refugees and asylum seekers.

'clandestine', 'irregular', and 'illegal', all emphasising a misleading bond between refugeness, criminality and non-legal activities (Colombo, 2018). As a result, asylum request has been transformed by nationalist and populist forces into a security concern and the preferential way to infiltrate the 'Fortress Europe' (Sales, 2002).

While an efficient and shared strategy to manage the European situation seemed far from being reached, the political debate in Europe has polarized into a double-sided dilemma between two opposite factions: the left liberal side, advocating support and solidarity for refugees, and the right anti-immigration side, proposing a hard-line of border closure and repression (Zizek, 2016). The growth of migratory movements to Europe and the EU's failure to develop an integrated strategy to manage the arrivals, contributed to the spread of a collective mood of disquiet (Pries, 2019; Smith, 2016). This apparent state of emergency, commonly described through the pervasive employment of the word 'crisis' has dominated public discourse, legitimating a politics of fear and unease (Colombo, 2018; see also Bigo, 2002; Wodak, 2015). In their etymological analysis and historical reconstruction of the use of the word 'crisis', Koselleck and Richter (2006) suggest that its relevance derives from the intense emotions that it can evoke and its inherent metaphorical ambivalence. The authors suggest that, in modern times, mass media have made a strong and ambiguous use of the term, spreading feelings of anxiety and discontent. This happened recurrently during historical turning points, demanding for vital and immediate political actions. As Esser (2014; see also Colombo, 2018) argues, the media crucially contributed in building the climate of insecurity that characterised the refugee crisis.

According to Gjerde (2004), societies are built around a set of discourses established within public domains or institutions (e.g. science, religion, education, governments and the media). The ontological instability of these discourses allows interest groups to promote specific representations and versions of reality, constructing what we consider the 'real' to pursue their political agenda (Gjerde, 2004; Mol, 1999). As Bacchi (2017) explains, politics can be seen as an array of strategic relationships affecting the shaping of lives. These productive processes can protect the status quo or undermine hegemonic realities. Thus, the 'real' is conceivable as a political product. Within capitalist societies, as Althusser (1970, 2004) has theorized, the joint action of governmental and non-governmental actors can influence the construction of macro-discourses, meaningful in specific contexts. Accordingly, the formation of specific forms of knowledge about the refugee crisis has guided the construction of policies and the implementation of specific procedures of population's administration (Smith, 2016; Zetter, 2007).

This struggle for meaning has materialized in the dispute between liberal political forces and non-liberal conservative movements both manipulating the refugee crisis to increase consent among citizenship. Interestingly, the post-crisis political developments suggest that these two factions share some common ground, identifiable around the topic of migrants' integration (Larin, 2020). As Hindess (2001: 102) suggests, non-liberal means of government have always been deployed within liberal democracies, although concealed behind a declared "distaste for the dirty work of government". Likewise, Rose (1999) explains that, since the 19th century, non-liberal practices have been employed by Western liberal governments to safeguard population's freedom by restricting the liberty of targeted groups (Hindess, 2001; Walters, 2015). An example of these processes can be spotted within the 'domopolitics' (Walters, 2004), a rationality of government employing liberal and illiberal technologies of governance to protect the nation, conceived as a home, from outsiders' threats. Simultaneously, domopolitics points to the 'domestication' of foreigners, thus providing the basis for their integration. Accordingly, Joppke (2007: 14) sees migrants' integration as an example of "repressive liberalism". The organisation and outcomes of these techniques will be discussed more widely in the next chapter, in relation to the management of migrants and their integration. Below, I will introduce the concept of migrant integration and my perspective on approaching the issue.

1.3 Integration as a process of subjectification

In the aftermath of the refugee crisis, the topic of migrants' integration slowly became a key challenge for EU national governments, as they attempted to take care of migrants and simultaneously turn them into productive and active participants in the society (Larin, 2019; Vitale, 2005). Beside restrictions and policies aimed at controlling entrance and settlement within borders, various countries introduced programmes to integrate citizens and migrants, regardless of ethnic background, gender and religion (Joppke, 2017; Kymlicka, 2015). Modern migrant integration policies imply that selected individuals, "subjects of improvement", can develop the skills required for autonomous conduct within host communities (Hindess, 2001:104). Doors are thus open for these 'promising subjects', eager to be included within Western society after a period of education founded on modern ideas of nation, citizenship and democracy. As Loch (2014) explains, academic discussion about migrants' integration has benefitted from the analysis of national cases, expanding our understanding of the concept's innumerable facets. However, the literature on the topic do

not provide a comprehensive definition, theory or model describing the successful integration of migrants (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al, 2002). The polarization between multiculturalism and assimilationism is an enduring feature of the debate around integration (Ambrosini & Boccagni, 2015; Brubaker, 2001; Joppke, 2007).

A general mistrust towards assimilation and multiculturalism pushed the European Union to promote policies fostering a two-way 'mutual integration approach' involving both migrants and local communities (Ager & Strang, 2008; Joppke & Morawska, 2003; McPherson, 2010). Despite this approach promoted by EU institutions, there is no agreement regarding the general meaning of integration among EU States, a problem that caused a fragmentation of policies and practices. National, cultural and historical differences impact on the idea of integration, eventually affecting the activities that EU member states can implement and consequently our understanding of the topic (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017). However, as Paunova and Blasco (2017) state, macro approaches to integration focused on multiculturalism and assimilationism risk overvaluing the roles of migrants and the State as the main players of a multifaceted process, downplaying the actors' lived experiences. Accordingly, this study contributes to the debate on migrants' integration by focusing on the everyday lives of the individuals involved in the process (Lippert & Pikkonen, 2012).

To do so, I have investigated the work of organisations supporting migrants' integration, paying attention to the 'micro-level' of their daily lives. The policy shift to a 'mutual integration approach' calls for an analytical perspective able to grasp the micro-dimensions of 'power/knowledge' relations (Foucault, 1978) between migrants and organisations' employees, facilitating a bottom-up exploration of integration. Appropriately, this ethnographic research adopts a Foucault-inspired theoretical framework, drawing on the concepts of 'microphysics of power' and 'governmentality' as a conceptual umbrella (Foucault, 1977; 2005). Foucault defines the 'microphysics of power' as the analysis of the imperceptible power flowing in social relations between individuals, families and institutions, manipulating bodies and subjectivities. With the term 'governmentality', on the other hand, Foucault links his study of power to the modern methods of populations' administration that, privileging positive means, foster the active participation of individuals in their own governance.

These two concepts allow to understand the evolving manifestations of power, connecting the micro and macro levels of migrant integration: "both [concepts] are capable of attending to the little details, the molecularities, the subtle shifts in ways of caring, punishing,

administrating and so on" (Walters, 2017: 64). Therefore, they allow to explore the relations of power developing between migrants and social workers and the processes of subjectification unfolding within the integration programmes. Precisely, following Fleming and Spicer's (2014) work, subjectification is here understood as the expression of power that defines the sense of self of the subjects, affecting experiences, identities and emotions. Moreover, according to Walters (2015), there is a lack of governmentality ethnographic research, focused on the unpredictable character of governance within specific institutions or organisations. Below, I will introduce my central theoretical assumptions.

1.4 The role of the social workers and pastoral power

This thesis explores the paradoxical tenets of integration by focusing on the power relations between migrants and social workers within refugee reception centres. In order to do so, I adopted a micropolitics perspective (Lumby, 2015) that allowed me to analyse how social workers put into practice the government's policies regarding migrant integration. Accordingly, I analysed the display of power/knowledge affecting integration at a micro-level, observable within organisational everyday life, and reconnect it to the macro-level of governmentality. Foucault's theory has proved invaluable in analysing the technologies of discipline, normalisation and surveillance adopted within modern Western societies (Abbott & Wallace, 1998). Foucault's (1977, 2005) analytics of power allows scholars to understand how specific forms of knowledge are produced through discourses and practices framing the experiences, worldviews and subjectivities of both social workers and their clients (Gilbert & Powell, 2010). For Foucault, the production of knowledge establishes 'truths', which play a crucial role in the implementation of social control since power lies precisely in the "claim of truth" (Abbott & Wallace, 1998: 20). Among the many Foucauldian concepts, I focused on the 'pastoral power' (Foucault, 1982), useful in theorising the roles, responsibilities and performances of social workers. Foucault, theorised pastoral power as a historical antecedent of governmentality, developed from the religious function of the priests supervising their acolytes' journey towards salvation (Foucault, 1981; Rajas, 2012).

Within this picture, social workers employed in the reception centres personify the 'Foucauldian pastors', guiding the integration process according to the policies developed by nations within the perspective of the modern governmentality. As Martin and Waring (2018:1305) advocate, there is a lack of studies exploring in detail the activities of the social workers as "critical intermediaries of governmentality". In order to contextualise the

significance of pastoral power as a tool to analyse the management of migrants, it is important to mention one aspect related to the issue of integration. I am referring to the relationship between integration as a subjective development process and the exercise of freedom and self-determination rights of the migrants. The very notion of integration puts into play "the right to life, to one's body, to health, to happiness, to the satisfactions of needs, and beyond all the oppressions or alienations, the right to rediscover what one is, and all that one can be" (Foucault, 1978: 145).

In conceptualising pastoral power, my theoretical framework has also been influenced by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. By analysing the condition of refugees through his theory (Agamben, 1995), it is possible to understand how migrants and refugees are constructed as marginalized subjects requiring integration support (De Vos, 2013). Accordingly, the refugee reception systems reduce migrants to 'numbers' then re-integrated into society as "de-subjectivized objects of care" (De Vos, 2013: 100). In trying to explore the ways in which "human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982: 326), my argument is that through integration programmes, migrants are re-subjectified according to the cardinal principles of Western societies. Hence, as De Vos (2013:100) argues, "wherever we find the figure of the homo sacer, [the subject existing between exclusion and inclusion] we also find the psy-experts", namely the social workers, playing a fundamental role in the institutional process of integration as the personified 'bridge' between migrants and host society.

Moreover, as Abbott & Wallace (1998: 21) state, "the technologies of discipline, hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement rely increasingly on the patients/clients assessing themselves-monitoring their own lifestyle". Accordingly, pastoral power extends beyond a mere disciplining dimension (Foucault, 1982). Since this form of power works by "advising, counselling and facilitating", it conveys to individuals a range of information necessary to understand how to behave and self-govern themselves within the social world (Abbott & Wallace, 1998: 22). Furthermore, people are trained on how to achieve the specific objectives that the social workers/pastors deem right (Abbott & Wallace, 1998). In accepting the goals and advice offered to them, migrants are pushed to accept the 'truth' endorsed by these psy-experts. These versions of reality frame specific theories of the social world, influencing migrants' new subjectivities and affecting their experiences (Abbott & Wallace, 1998). Therefore, I wanted to understand how social workers, through pastoral power, can shape the subjectivities of migrants in a profound and dynamic way. To this end, I paid particular attention to the tension between coercive 'disciplinary practices' and non-coercive

'technologies of the self' that constitute this form of power (Foucault, 1988; Gilbert & Powell, 2010).

As a migrant myself, but aware of the huge differences between me and my research participants, I reflected several times on my condition. I slowly came to realise how different was my experience as no one ever requested me 'to integrate'. On the contrary, forced migrants accessing national protection systems are pushed towards an explicit integration objective, institutionalised and put into practice by reception centres with humanitarian commitment. When I started this research, little was known about how migrants (asylum seekers and refugees) are accompanied by the social workers along their integration path. I thus decided to explore these dimensions by taking on the role of the social worker and getting as close as possible to their daily life. I wanted to understand what it means to 'integrate' in a new society, with a special interest in what changes are encouraged within individuals and what techniques are used to support this process of '(re-)subjectification'. In the next sections I will describe the research context. This will be followed by the research questions and the methodology that I adopted to address them. Followingly, I articulate the objectives of this thesis.

1.5 The research context

This study focuses on Italy as a specific case and concentrates on the response of the Italian government to the large number of migrants arrived in the country during the refugee crisis. According to Allievi (2014), the chauvinist laws and procedures introduced by the Italian government has hindered the development of a coherent model of integration. Moreover, the Italian refugee reception system is characterised by an inconsistent national strategy to manage the arrivals, supported by a strong network of civil society organisations assisting asylum seekers and refugees' settlement (Biondi Dal Monte & Vrenna, 2013; Sigona, 2005a, 2005b). Italian civil society and religious organisations are strongly involved in the management of many reception centres for refugees. These structures generally provide primary care and services aimed at supporting the integration of migrants and refugees. Thus, it was my interest to shed light on the work of the Italian refugee reception centres part of the SPRAR [Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati - Protection system for asylum seekers and refugees], which I shall now introduce.

The SPRAR is a semi-public capillary network of organisations founded in 2002. and operating until late 2018, the year in which a series of ministerial decrees partially reformed its duties and changed its name into SIPROIMI (Protection System for Beneficiaries of International Protection and for Unaccompanied Foreign Minors). The SPRAR is composed of small dispersed autonomous structures directly supporting the integration of migrants with international protection. The main services provided are accommodation, destitution services, medical and psychological assistance, financial allowances, social guidance, legal, educational and linguistic support. Formally, migrants are provided with tools to foster their autonomy within the local community, supporting the *empowerment* of individuals (SPRAR, 2015). In liberal Western states the ethos of empowerment is closely linked with the project of the governmentality, aimed at managing individuals 'at a distance' (Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 2010; Rose, 2006).

1.6 Research questions, methodology, and objectives

As previously stated, the general aim of this study is to critically explore the work of the SPRAR centres, understand what type of integration they promote, how they implement it through daily practices, and analyse its effects on the subjectivities of migrants and social workers. By exploring the link between how organisational members talk about the integration of migrants (discourse level) and how they 'do' integration (practice level), the study addresses the following research questions:

• By which means are migrants and refugees constituted and constantly reformed as subjects suitable to live in Europe according to the Italian ways of being?

• How do pressures from the extra-organisational environment affect the discourses of integration and the activities carried out by the members of the refugee reception centres?

To answer these questions, I have analysed the findings of a six months-long ethnographic study conducted within two Italian SPRAR Refugees Reception Centres. During that time, I worked as a volunteer, assisting and shadowing the employees in carrying out their work, helping migrants with various daily tasks, or supporting the meetings between service users and staff members as an English/Italian interpreter. The data produced comprise transcripts of 25 semi-structured flexible interviews (Charmaz, 2006), conducted with all the centres' employees and 9 migrants hosted by the centres, my personal notes and the field diary

written during the participant-observation. The data were analysed according to a 'post-qualitative method' perspective guided by a post-structuralist Foucauldian power/knowledge analysis.

The post-qualitative research movement represents a response to the frustration of many scholars following the growing 'standardization' and 'positivisation' of qualitative research (Gerrard, et al, 2017). Accordingly, I embraced this methodology after I acknowledged that analytical coding approaches were unsatisfactory to portray the shape-shifting context of this study and my personal engagement with it. In order to develop a more dynamic and processual account of my research experience, I followed the guidelines provided by Jackson and Mazzei's (2011) (anti)methodology termed 'thinking with theory'. Such approach provides the means to creatively 'twist together' various sources of information such as data, theory, methods and the researcher's experiences to create knowledge from their encounter (Jackson & Mazzei 2013). I thus developed a very personal and unsystematic data analysis approach, in an open, unconventional and creative way, that allowed me to produce knowledge through the repetition of a series of operations: reading, writing, thinking and feeling (Augustine, 2014; St. Pierre, 2018).

Addressing the considerations expressed so far, this research project has the following objectives:

(a) to review, from a critical standpoint, the multi-disciplinary literature on immigration to offer a synthesis of knowledge about integration in the context of the refugee crisis, with a specific focus on the reception and administration of migrants;

(b) to offer an alternative understanding of integration, inspired by Foucault's work on governmentality and pastoral power, by adopting a micro-processual and relational perspective focused on the power/knowledge relations between migrants, organisations' employees and local community;

(c) to develop a critical and 'tailored' methodological and analytical approach which favours the embodied and emotional experiences of the researcher. Such approach should encourage the 'individual becoming' of the researcher and the development of a subjectivity free from rigid academic methodological formalisms inherited from the positivist tradition.

(d) to provide an ethnographic account of the work of the members of the two Italian SPRAR Refugee Reception Centres, and to investigate the organisational discourses and practices related to migrants' integration;

(e) to discuss the results emerged from the ethnographic data analysis in light of the theoretical considerations developed in the research and theorise the role of the SPRAR centres within the larger governmental matrix of power/knowledge in which they operate.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is composed of eight chapters. Within this first chapter I have briefly introduced the research, framing the general debate around migrants' integration in the aftermath of the 2015 'refugee crisis'. Then, I have presented a brief overview of my theoretical perspective as well as the research context, the general objectives, the research question and the methodology I adopted.

Chapter 2 addresses the objective (a) and offers a critical review of the literature on the management of migrants following the refugee crisis of 2015, with a specific focus on the topic of integration. By highlighting the tensions between liberal and illiberal means of government, I present the concepts of humanitarian government and domopolitics to analyse how they can affect the way migrants are integrated within European countries.

Chapter 3 spells out the relevant tenets of Foucauldian theory, linking together the micro and the macro level of his analytics of power. Precisely, it discusses the concept of pastoral power, in order to establish a nexus between the microphysics of power and governmentality and conceptualise integration as a subjectification process affected by power relations. Moreover, to contextualise the importance of pastoral power in analysing migrants' condition, and the role of social workers as Foucauldian pastors, the chapter discusses Agamben's theory of the "homo sacer" and its link to the Foucauldian ideal-typical forms of power. By reconnecting Foucault's theory to the topic of integration this chapter addresses the objective (b).

Chapter 4 addresses the objective (c) and explains the methodological approach used to conduct the research and address the research questions. In this (auto)ethnographic chapter I describe my experience as a doctoral student and how I developed an embodied and personal methodology to manage the research process. The first part is dedicated to the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the research methodology. In the second part, I discuss the post-qualitative methodologies and how these have influenced the progress of

my research, the choice of methods for data production and the analytical approach I employed.

Chapter 5 discusses the research context, offering an outline of the refugee reception centres that I visited to carry out my research. The aim is to provide a general description of the typology of reception centres that I studied and the Italian socio-political context in which they operate offering an introduction to Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 6 and 7 present the empirical analysis and address the objective (d). Here I recount my fieldwork experience and my reflections. I discuss my observations and the conversations held with the members of the two organisations in the light of the methodological and theoretical approach I adopted. Specifically, Chapter 6 focuses on the flows of power 'within' the organisations. I explore how power/knowledge relations dynamically influence the interactions between organisational members (employees and migrants), their actions and the descriptions of themselves affecting the processes of subjectivation. Chapter 7 analyses the effects of power that the external environment exerts 'upon' the organisations. In particular, I focus on the conflicted relationship between the staff and the local community, the challenges that this relationship entails and how it affects organisational life. I therefore analyse the migrant integration approach of the two organisations. By identifying a common thread between the two, I delve into the micro-dimensions of their practices and the forms of resistance enacted by migrants.

Chapter 8 discusses the ethnographic analysis in relation to the theoretical framework and highlights the contributions of the thesis. In the first part I summarize the research findings and address the research questions. In doing this, I discuss the findings from the empirical chapters in light of the theoretical arguments developed within the preceding chapters as articulated in the objective (e). The second part of this final chapter discusses the empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions of the study and the recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2

The management of immigration

Introduction

The history of human beings has been marked by the movements of groups and individuals searching for more advantageous life conditions. Within our era, characterised by globalisation, Third World consumerism and technological innovations developing at fast pace, people's desires and possibilities expand beyond physical limits and geographical borders (Williams & Graham, 2014). However, migrations and migrants are increasingly perceived as a threat to modern conceptions of nation-states, identity and culture and a challenge for liberal governments seeking to safeguard individuals' freedom and rights (Ambrosini 2017; Czajka 2014; Joppke & Morawska, 2003). This chapter offers a critical account of the academic knowledge around the topic of migrants' management, by highlighting the tension between liberal and illiberal means employed in such context. I will firstly discuss the establishment of the 'humanitarian government' and the 'domopolitics', to analyse their influence on the immigration policies implemented within European countries. Then, I will review the concept of migrants' integration, including some established frameworks, national approaches and more critical standpoints. Lastly, I will argue that integration has a vital role in sustaining the current system of migrants' management and its ambivalent logic based on care and control.

2.1 Mass migrations and the condition of refugees

Contemporary migrations are triggering wide social changes, questioning modern concepts of belonging, citizenship, national identity and the idea of migration itself (Joppke & Morawska, 2014). The debate regarding contemporary migrations should be contextualised within the broader framework of neoliberalism and post-Fordism (De Giorgi, 2010). According to Hardt and Negri (2000), in this late-capitalist, globalised post-Fordist era, political-economic transformations are accompanied by "the direct production of subjectivity and social relations" (De Vos, 2013: 100). The process of shaping new subjectivities, and consequently the establishment of power/knowledge relations between them, is central to understanding the way in which migrants are managed within modern

nation-states. In his genealogical reconstruction of the concept of 'refugeness', Lippert (1999) explains that oppression, wars, slavery and impoverishment are phenomena that characterized our societies long before our age. However, the condition of refugees and asylum seekers as we know it is a product of modern times (Lippert, 1999). As Lippert explains, refugeness would have been useless in a context in which mass migrations were not treated as humanitarian emergencies or security issues (Lippert, 1999; Marrus, 1985; Walters, 2004). Until the 20th century, when physical and symbolic distances were undoubtedly wider, no specific programme, status or policy was aimed at defining and protecting displaced migrants (Lippert, 1999).

The turning point occurred in 1950, after the World War II, when the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was founded to assist these disadvantaged groups (Reed et al., 2016). Refugees as special subjects, bearers of exceptional rights and needs, are born simultaneously with the creation of the category itself (Lippert, 1999). On the 28th of July 1951, the Refugee Convention (RC) was approved, acknowledging the right for anyone to seek asylum in other countries in specific situations of oppression and vulnerability. Article 1A of the convention define who can be legally considered a refugee:

> *[A refugee is a person who] owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UNHCR, 1951).*

Contemporary migration flows, however, are characterized by a complexity of factors not contemplated by the 1951 RC. Nowadays, it is extremely problematic to discriminate between individuals avoiding direct persecution from those abandoning disadvantaged political, social and economic environments (Hailbronner & Thym, 2016). As explained by Hailbronner and Thym (2016), many asylum seekers' travels are motivated by indiscriminate violence or extremely precarious economic and political situations. The EU have tried to overcome this problem with the Directive 2004/83/CE that introduced the subsidiary protection and the Directive 2011/95/EU that introduced the protection for humanitarian reasons. These different typologies of protection were established to accommodate the needs of those lacking the requirements for being considered refugees according to the 1951 RC (Ambrosini, 2017; Hailbronner & Thym, 2016). Its introduction caused uncertainty at theoretical and political levels of analysis, blurring the boundaries

between voluntary (commonly addressed as economic) and forced migration categories (Reed et al., 2016).

As Valtonen (2016) explains, the distinction between 'voluntary/economic' and 'forced' migrants has primarily administrative purposes, based on the motivations pushing people to expatriate and the circumstances of their travels. The term 'forced migration' indicates the coerced movement of people from their homeland, not motivated by socio-economic purposes. Forced migration is driven by the need to escape from a major force of political, economic, social or environmental nature compromising people's safety (Valtonen, 2016). Nonetheless, forced migration is listed by the UNHCR (2016a) as a concept without legal validity, open to different interpretations.

Accordingly, even voluntary migration could be seen as motivated by inequalities between poor and rich countries, indirectly pushing some people to leave unfavourable environments (Zetter, 2005). As a consequence, the identification of forced and economic migrants on the basis of the 1951 RC criteria is more complicated than ever, therefore emphasising its obsolescence (Hailbronner & Thym, 2016). The 1951 RC is a fundamental part of the current migration regime but, despite its apparent neutrality, it "creates hierarchical systems of rights" potentially producing unbalanced social relations and discriminations (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018: 51; Hinger & Schweitzer, 2020). In the next section I will discuss the consequence of the labelling processes, used by government to regulate the international protection.

2.2 Target populations and labelling processes

In the previous section I stated that the motivations pushing migrants to leave their countries are progressively becoming more heterogenous. As Zetter (2015) explains, the legal framework regulating international protection's statuses fails to account for alternative forms of migration. Moreover, the ways in which words like 'economic migrants' and 'refugees' have been commonly used has created confusion, undermining the condition and rights of those escaping from precarious life conditions, such as famine or territorial exploitation (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). The creation of seemingly neutral categories is closely related to "the political purpose(s) that they serve" (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018: 51; Zetter 2007). Within modern nation-states, as Schneider & Ingram (1993) advocate, the construction of target populations is tied with policy-making strategies affecting the inclusion/exclusion of specific social groups. Accordingly, this process produces "cultural characterizations or

popular images of the persons or groups whose behaviour and well-being are affected by public policy" (Schneider & Ingram, 1993: 334). Such images circulate through discourses, simplistically producing 'truths' about the targeted groups (Schneider & Ingram, 1993).

As Polzer (2008) discusses, grouping individuals into standardized categories and associating them with specific labels is a practice largely employed by governments to organise the social world and act within it. From a Foucauldian critical perspective (Stepputat & Nyberg Sorensen, 2014), labelling can be seen as a productive technique, conceivable as: (i) a process used to organise the world through "convenient images" (Zetter, 2007: 173) that, reflecting specific power/knowledge relations, affect identity formation and individuals' lived experiences (Zetter 2007; Polzer 2008); and (ii) a bureaucratic mechanism used by states to administer populations (Stepputat & Nyberg Sorensen, 2014). Although Stepputat & Nyberg Sorensen (2014) observe that individuals are relatively free to move from one label to another, they also explain that institutional labelling has the effect of disconnecting people from their individual stories. Migrants' lived experiences converted "into standardised cases", are re-connected "to the institutions that administer the labelling and the actions that depend on this process" (Stepputat & Nyberg Sorensen, 2014: 89).

Labelling acquires a political value through "bureaucratic fractioning, which reproduces itself in populist and largely pejorative labels […] by legitimising and presenting a wider political discourse of resistance to refugees and migrants as merely an apolitical set of bureaucratic categories" (Zetter, 2007: 174). Zetter (2007) suggests that this process cause a trivialisation of the refugee label, used by government institutions to reduce the complexity of migration phenomena and better control populations. Moreover, it disempowers a category with strong political rights, supporting the implementation of an array of techniques to govern weaker groups. In conclusion, it can be said that the current use of the categories of 'refugee' and 'economic migrant' is fairly ambiguous. According to various authors, this is part of a political strategy aiming to manage migrations through techniques of ordering, distribution and social control (Darling, 2011; Mavelli, 2017; Walters, 2002, 2015; Zetter, 2007). As I will explain below, this dynamic is understandable if we take into account the public and political discourses about immigration following the 2015 refugee crisis.

2.3. Governing migrants in time of crisis

During and after the refugee crisis, the European public discourse on immigration was marked by growing politicisation, influencing national and international political programs (Colombo, 2018). As various authors suggest, this was followed by an evolution in European states' rhetoric, characterised by contrasting discourses of 'securitisation' and 'humanitarian emergency' regarding immigration and migrants (Buonfino, 2004; Colombo 2018, Fassin, 2007; Moreno-Lax, 2017). The 'securitisation' discourse sees recent mass migrations as a threatening phenomenon, potentially compromising the social, economic and political balance of receiving countries. Differently, the 'humanitarian emergency' discourse focuses on the moral obligation of wealthier states to provide relief and care to migrants arriving from poor and war-torn countries. Normally, the tendency is to describe security and humanitarianism as dichotomous approaches addressing the same issues (Moreno-Lax, 2017). However, various academics see a balanced interconnection between the two (Bigo, 2002; Colombo, 2018; Darling, 2011, 2014; Walters, 2004). Their interconnection produces a twofold representation of migrants, described simultaneously as a 'security problem' and as 'victims' in need of salvation (Little & Vaughan-Williams, 2017; Moreno-Lax, 2017; Williams, 2014). The securitarian and humanitarian approaches have set in motion European governments' efforts to provide aid to migrants but also reassure public opinion.

By approaching the issue from a Foucauldian governmentality perspective (Foucault, 2005), it is possible to recognise the dynamics of power and governmental programs used to manage populations regarding the phenomenon of migrations. As I will explain extensively in the next chapter, with the term governmentality I indicate the Foucauldian concept describing a form of government that works by shaping and affecting the conduct of people through non-coercive means (Foucault, 2005). European nations' responses to the refugee crisis can be understood through two apparently opposed, but actually symbiotic, forms of governmentality. The first is the 'humanitarian government' theorised by Fassin (2011) and the other is Walter's (2004) 'domopolitics'. While Fassin's conception is more oriented towards the humanitarian side, the idea of domopolitics pays more attention to the securitarian aspects of the government of migrations. These two forms of governmentality are more convoluted than that and by drawing out the connections between them, I will try to delineate the complex and paradoxical rationality behind the contemporary migration governance.

2.3.1 Humanitarian government and domopolitics

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the European debate during the refugee crisis developed around the clash between two political blocs: a left-liberal side, claiming solidarity and openness towards refugees and a right-conservative anti-immigration side, proposing the closure of borders and a rigid control of immigration (Zizek, 2016). Apparently, the liberal side favours the reception of migrants requiring the help of the EU states. Promoting altruism and compassion towards disadvantaged groups, this discourse is characterized by an appeal to moral sentiments of European citizens. Fassin (2011:1) defines moral sentiments as "the emotions that direct our attention to the suffering of others and make us want to remedy them".

These feelings represent the foundation of what Fassin defines the 'humanitarian government': "the deployment of moral sentiments in contemporary politics" to organise and guide the lives of individuals according to principles of universality and equality (Fassin, 2011:1). However, Fassin explains that even the humanitarian government casts a shadow and its very existence rests on a contradiction. On the one hand, it promotes compassion and solidarity towards others. On the other, it requires inequality to exist. So, the "tension between inequality and solidarity, between a relation of domination and a relation of assistance, is constitutive of all humanitarian governments" (Fassin, 2011:3).

This tension recalls ambivalent Greek terms such as the '*pharmakon*', both poison and antidote, and the '*xenos*', the foreign guest and potential enemy (Giacomini & Curi, 2002). As Fassin (2011) explains, compassion, assistance and solidarity recall the concept of the gift, termed '*doron*' by ancient Greeks. As Curi (2005: 57) suggests, every gift implies "a subtle deception" since "it confers and at the same time subtracts, enriches but also weakens the one who receives, gives and at the same time obliges". In other words, it arranges social relations around the expectation that whoever gives a gift also requires something in return. In addition, as explained by Fassin (2011), despite the language of moral sentiments, the humanitarian government does not preclude the implementation of illiberal policies increasing social discrimination and restraining the rights of immigrant groups.

Accordingly, Mavelli (2017: 5) explains that the humanitarian government aspires to govern "disenfranchised subjects, such as refugees and undocumented/irregular migrants, through the simultaneous deployment of rationalities/practices of care and security". In contradiction with the strong politicization of the topic, the humanitarian government determines a "depoliticization" of migrants, discursively turning "domination into misfortune, injustice

into suffering, and violence into trauma" (Mavelli, 2017:2). In addition, it guides the creation of specific forms of "subjectification*"* (i.e. the suffering subject in need of care); it endorses the adoption of "self-immunization*"* policies to deter new arrivals; promotes the creation of social boundaries manifested in forms of "inclusion through abjection" or through a hardening of borders for "able-bodied migrants" (Mavelli, 2017:3). The manifestation of the humanitarian government's ambivalence emerges clearly within the border management. Borders appear as liminal places in which humanitarian and securitarian approaches overlap, creating a hybrid space in which inclusion and exclusion exist simultaneously but at the same time reject each other (Prasad, 2014).

As Walters (2011: 145) argues, the combination of "a politics of alienation with a politics of care, and a tactic of abjection and one of reception" creates the "humanitarian border" (Little and Vaughan-Williams, 2017). Walters (2011: 146) explains that humanitarian border materialises within "world's frontiers of poverty", tailing migrants' itineraries and encouraging strategies of border defence (Freudenstein, 2000). It contributes to the constitution of forms of knowledge that "problematise the border as a site of suffering, violence and death, and a political zone of injustice and oppression" necessitating governmental and non-governmental actors' intervention (Walters, 2011: 149). The humanitarian border, as explained by Walters, transforms selected areas into zones of emergency where specific organisations and experts redefine migrants as victims of extraordinary circumstances. Paraphrasing Frenkel (2008, cit. in Prasad, 2014: 236) it is precisely in "this metaphoric space [that identities/subjects] are constructed in relation to these varied and often contradictory systems of meanings". It is exactly in this ambivalence and contradictory attitude that humanitarian government and domopolitics meet each other (Walters, 2004).

Walters (2004) suggests that European nations adopted an approach "cloaked in the security rhetoric" (Mezzadra, 2008: 86), to counterbalance solidarity in response to the refugee crisis. In fact, domopolitics embraces "the rationality of the liberal political economy in the governance of mobility" to manage migrations without stopping them (Mezzadra, 2008: 86). As Colombo (2018) suggests, the recent establishment of domopolitics was buttressed by the blending of humanitarian and securitarian discourses. Through domopolitics, Walters (2004) theorises a process of re-configuration of ideas of citizenship, nation-state and territory supporting the implementation of a set of technologies to defend the social security of the nation*,* conceived as a *home*: "home as our place, where we belong naturally, and where, by definition, others do not" (Walters, 2004: 241). For Walters (2004), the

domopolitics' strength stems from a self-produced fear of external threats, embodied by the outsiders willing to ravage the contents of our home.

The establishment of a climate of unease is fundamental to justify the need for protection and increase security measures (Bigo, 2002). As a "performative politics", domopolitics fabricates this rhetoric to justify "exceptional measures, including the violent abjection of non-citizens" (Tyler, 2010: 65). However, a strong limit towards a hard politics of securitization originates from the humanitarian drive imposed by contemporary conceptions of human rights typical of Western social systems, representing what Ambrosini (2017) calls the liberal constraint. The European Union, as a liberal-democratic community, is eager to convey positive images of freedom, tolerance and benevolence. Here, domopolitics shows its Janus-like face: the "will to *domesticate* the forces which threaten the sanctity of [our] home" (Walters, 2004: 242, emphasis added). To achieve this objective, one of the main productive features of domopolitics is the constitution of particular categories of subjects to manage intranational and internal flows of movement.

The displaced migrant in search of shelter, the 1951 RC refugee or the third-country national worker represent bureaucratic categories manufactured by governments to predict intentions and future actions and develop responses based on an accurate evaluation of past experiences and possible risks (Darling, 2011; Manara & Piazza, 2018; Walters, 2004). The task is essentially to divide, classify and constitute subjectivities, allocate individuals within the society and outline "flows of mobility through which decisions on risk, security and future welfare are made" (Darling, 2011: 266). The ultimate goal is to identify those 'deserving' to be welcomed and those who are not worthy of being accepted within the host society (Hinger & Schweitzer, 2020; Sales, 2005). Thus, to understand the administration of migrants in time of crisis, we need to consider these two forms of government as an assemblage, a bureaucratic machinery of power/knowledge, making a balanced use of liberal and illiberal methods. Now that I have discussed these two forms of government, the next step will be to analyse how this assemblage informs the immigration policies implemented within the European Union, with a particular focus on migrants' integration.

2.4 Immigration policies: selecting and integrating?

During the refugee crisis, new immigration policies and asylum regimes have been introduced in the UK, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands and Scandinavian

Countries just to name a few (Hatton, 2016). These have established a stricter control and militarization of borders, alongside the introduction of harsher asylum policies offering protection only to most vulnerable individuals (Ambrosini & Van der Leun, 2015; Zetter, 2007). Besides, the integration and social inclusion of refugees and migrants has become central in international political agenda. Accordingly, many countries have introduced measures to promote integration between different communities within national borders (Neumayer, 2005; Kymlicka, 2015). Remarkably, despite the different attitudes towards migration management, the topic of integration seems to be a non-conflictive area reconciling left and right-wing European political forces (Carvalho & Ruedin, 2018). Turning into a key challenge for EU national governments, the main attempt is to manage migrants in a productive way, through more precise technologies of calculation and selection to increase host societies' wellbeing (Darling: 2014; Mavelli, 2017; Vitale, 2005). To provide a general overview about the need for implementing specific policies in the field of immigration, I will refer to the distinction proposed by Carvalho and Ruedin (2018). These authors suggest a division between immigration control policies, aiming to bring in or keep immigrants out of the country, and immigrant integration policies, focused mainly on the inclusion of migrants within host communities (see Geddes, 2003; Meyers, 2002; Hammar, 2010).

It can be argued that immigration control policies are closer to 'illiberal' approaches, while policies promoting integration and inclusion are related to 'liberal' positions. According to Hindess (2001: 102), the first type of policies can make use of authoritarian measures to govern "hopeless individuals" lacking the relevant capacities for autonomous conduct within Western societies. Conversely, the integration strategy implies that 'selected' individuals can develop the skills required for autonomous conduct through a period of 'training' where the states are responsible for that. The distribution of individuals into categories of "hopeless cases" and "subjects of improvement" is a competence of migration and border agencies evaluating asylum applications' genuineness and sorting out individual profiles (Hindess, 2001: 102; Walters, 2011). As Hindess (2001:102) explains, the "subjects of improvement", are considered victims of external contingencies (poor health, poverty, or inadequate education) that need social support to 'blossom'. Consequently, it is government's duty to facilitate the growth of these individuals by constructing a favourable social environment, a view typical of the "liberal ethos of welfare" (Hindess, 2001: 101). Later, I will dedicate a large section of this chapter to the topic of integration, but first I will briefly provide an overview of the immigration control policies.

2.4.1 Immigration policies to control migrations

The wide and complex topic of immigration policies is commonly portrayed as a highly divisive field, inflaming the competition between political forces around major social and political issues (Lehman et al, 2016). The design and application of these policies, guided by cultural values and economic interests, is "influenced by the power balance between different socio-economic interests" (Afonso, 2013: 22). As Afonso (2013) suggests, immigration policies represent a challenge for political actors trying to create political programs satisfying supporters and citizenry in general. Accordingly, the management of migrations involves the joint participation of various actors from any level of the society, with implications for economic and political stability, national and cultural identity (Esses et al., 2013; Lehman et al., 2016; Nash et al., 2016). Some widespread concerns, according to Esses and colleagues (2013: 519), are related to: (a) the appraisal of the advantages and drawbacks of allowing migrants to access the country and aspire to the residential or citizenship status; (b) the extent of support that host nations should offer to refugees and asylum seekers; (c) the number of immigrants that should be accepted; (d) the evaluation of any potential threat posed by migrants and refugees; and (e) whether asylum seekers truly need protection (Esses et al., 2013). These questions induced many European governments to introduce techniques of assessment and control to prevent illegal immigration and unmask fake applicants, eventually turning the refugee status into a 'reward' for few selected individuals (Stewart & Mulvey, 2014; Zetter, 2007).

To grasp the socio-economic objectives that immigration policies chase, Afonso (2013: 23) developed a "two-dimensional typology of immigration preferences" to outline four general governmental approaches. The two dimensions are (Afonso, 2013: 23): (a) the position towards the "admission of immigrants", linked to the regulation of access to the country and the labour market; (b) "rights granted to immigrants" once arrived in the new country, related to social welfare, labour market mobility, residency permits and citizenship. Accordingly, Afonso (2013: 23) outlines four attitudes towards immigration:

- The "*classic exclusionists*" favour tighter controls of inbound movements and limit the rights for foreigners to discourage the arrival of new immigrants within the country;
- The "*national egalitarians*" protect national workers' interests and discourage the creation of a low-payed migrant workforce. Encouraging a firm control of immigration, they oppose temporary migrant worker plans, monitor labour standards and support equal rights for immigrant and citizen workers;

- The "*free-market expansionists*" support open immigration policies but without extending immigrants' rights. This entails the endorsement of temporary work programmes, indirectly favouring irregular immigrant employment;

- The "*cosmopolitans*" encourage open door policies and the extension of immigrants' rights.

While no country or political group openly embraces full cosmopolitan or exclusionist attitudes, it appears that many European countries converge on national egalitarians and free-market expansionists positions. Indeed, as Afonso's categories show, the approach of these two groups is based on an organised balance between liberal and illiberal policies. As stated by Abou-Chadi (2016), several studies argue that transnationalism and globalization could have determined a liberalisation of immigration policies (Sassen 2008; Soysal 1994). However, this view has been challenged by scholars analysing the impact of internal factors such as political parties' strategies and public opinion's influence (Abou-Chadi, 2016; Howard, 2009; 2010). What Abou-Chadi suggests is that despite left wing governments being prone to introducing liberal policies, the shared suspicion towards immigrants, promoted by radical right parties, affected their agendas. Nonetheless, the literature focused on these policymaking dynamics is still undeveloped (Abou-Chadi, 2016).

According to Ambrosini and Van der Leun (2015) many governments tried to regulate the widespread phenomenon of immigration with increasing restrictions on migratory flows, either voluntary or forced. Since the 90s, until the recent refugee crisis, European governments have developed new policies protecting the labour market, cutting publicly funded social provisions and putting in place tighter mechanisms to expel undesired subjects and control the arrivals more selectively (Ambrosini and Van der Leun; Leerkes et. al, 2012). As highlighted by Walters (2015), the modern world, organised as a system of nation-states, requires increasingly complex and all-encompassing migration policies. Such policies represent an example of what Hindess (2000) termed the international management of populations, a set of procedures to govern populations by dividing, ordering and arranging subjects in sub-categories associated with specific national territories. Alongside restrictive policies, various European countries introduced specific programmes sustaining national solidarity and communal values to integrate citizens and migrants, regardless of cultural and ethnic background, gender and religion (Kymlicka, 2003, 2015; Stewart & Mulvey, 2014). I will discuss how these contribute to the international management of populations in the following section.

2.4.2 Migrant integration policies to preserve the nation

In the last decade, many European countries introduced several reforms related to immigration and citizenship. The UK for example launched the 2002 Nationality, Asylum and Immigration Act, the 2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act and the 2009 Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act (Darling, 2011; Ford et al, 2015; Stewart & Mulvey, 2014). These legislations incorporate migrants' integration "into an idea of [nation], codified through citizenship tests and ceremonies" that, tied with securitarian policies, "point to a desire to secure and contain the nation as a place of belonging by, and for, particular groups" (Darling, 2011: 263). But why it is so important to reinforce feelings of nationhood to foster integration? Firstly, integration is related to modern ideas of nation and citizenship, the pillars of a good relationship between individuals, society and politics (Ambrosini, 2017). Despite Loch (2014) suggesting that bygone national societies have been destabilised by globalisation, the recent migration crisis seems to have caused a return to a nationalistic protectionism (Carbone, 2017: 15). Hence, as Tyler states (2010: 62), "contemporary governmental accounts of citizenship, stress community cohesion, political participation, social responsibility, rights and pride in shared national belonging".

According to Anderson (2006), nations are socially constructed concepts of modernity, shaped by economic, social, cultural and political developments, open to revision and change (Caracciolo & Roccucci, 2017). A nation is an "imagined political community – […] both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006: 6). Anderson explains that nations are imagined because they are founded on a sense of belonging binding their members together, even without knowing each other directly. They are limited because are defined by borders, separating them from other communities: "no nation imagines itself coterminous with [the whole] mankind [sic]" (Anderson, 2006: 6). Lastly, nations are sovereign: "nations dream of being free […]. The device and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state" (ibidem). Moreover, nations are communities composed by members connected by a "deep, horizontal comradeship" that have pushed millions of people to sacrifice themselves "for such limited imaginings" (Anderson, 2006: 6).

Anderson's concept of 'nation' is partially developed through an analysis of colonial states' foundation and decolonisation processes. He offers two examples to explain this relation. The first is that of the Creoles, serving as administrative officials within the European colonies in America, who gradually vaunted their diversity towards European partners. As Salvati (2016: 4) explains, they represent "the first supporters of a nation in conflict with the

homeland" a nation that was just a mere "administrative unity, […] approved by a new emerging local social class". The second example is that of the colonial project of manufacturing a national spirit by constructing a shared history bonding coloniser and colonised (Anderson, 2006). Accordingly, censuses, maps and museums, were used to spread a certain vision of the colonial state and (re)define an emergent national community. The census, for example, supported the manufacture of identities, arbitrarily constituted and hierarchised on a racial basis. As Anderson (2006) describes, the final ambition was to manage and control the colonies' population by creating an orderly community located on a geographical map, with records and shared traditions. Furthermore, Anderson indicates that the genesis and expansion of every nation is facilitated by instilling feelings of belonging, persuading citizens to defend it in the face of external threats.

For Kimlicka (2015), nationhood is the foundation of every liberal democracy, preserving its inner diversity by connecting its members under a collective fate. This feeling ties the citizenry with the members of the administering governance (Kimlicka, 1995). This cohesion between members of a nation is fundamental to upholding vital institutions such as the welfare state (Bauböck & Scholten 2016; Kimlicka, 2015). In this regard, Canovan (1996), sees nationhood as an 'energy accumulator' that, depending on the energy stored, can boost specific policies (Kimlicka, 2015). The more the battery is charged, the more 'nationalistic energy' can be channelled to promote discriminatory policies or normative and exclusionary discourses (Bauböck & Scholten 2016). Consequently, immigration can be transformed into a threat to the national community, compromising the sense of belonging and its internal unity (Bauböck & Scholten 2016; Kimlicka, 2015). Indeed, immigration policies regarding citizenship and integration are often discussed in relation to migrants' access to welfare services or the labour market (Borevi et al, 2017). As affirmed by Kimlicka (2015), the extension of social rights to migrants can generate malcontent among poorest members of the citizenship.

But what does this have to do with the integration of migrants? The first thing that should be clarified is the logic behind integration and the policies that favour it. Within domopolitics, "citizenship, a legal sign of belonging to the nation-home, is integral to this refiguration of the nation and, indeed, of the international order as a space of homes" (Tyler, 2010: 65; Walters, 2004). This reorganisation is achievable by policing the territory, categorising and distributing subjects, controlling movements and flows of migrants (Darling, 2014; Manara & Piazza, 2018). As explained earlier, this form of governmentality pays particular attention to the domestication of the external forces potentially menacing the

nation's wellbeing. For Darling (2011: 267) "domopolitics is therefore, not simply productive of categorised subjects", but it also creates the need to integrate those categorised as "subjects of improvement" (Hindess, 2001).

Accordingly, modern integration policies seem to imply that selected individuals can acquire the skills essential for righteous conduct within host communities (Hindess, 2001). These individuals, whose subjectivity is moulded by the humanitarian government (that cares) and the domopolitics (that controls), are selected on the basis of their potential contribution to host nations. They must demonstrate their commitment to live productively within European societies, accepting the modern ideas of nation, citizenship and democracy. Integration is functional to the construction of a discursive frame according to which 'selected individuals' can be instructed on how to live as members of the national community, without taking advantage of its generosity. In this regard, integration policies contribute to the establishment of a sense of harmony to an otherwise disorderly society, preserving the image of a benevolent realm taking care of both citizens and migrants (Darling, 2011, 2014; Walters, 2002).

2.5 The integration of migrants

As highlighted above, immigration control and migrants' integration policies mirror respectively the illiberal and liberal logics of governmentality. However, the concept of integration itself is the locus within which these two logics are combined, reconciling the need for security with the moral and ethical obligations of liberal societies. To explain how this happens, it is necessary to introduce how integration is generally defined within social sciences and how its processes have been described. Followingly, I will try to clarify this contradictory dynamic and present some criticism raised toward the concept to set up the way to the theoretical approach of this thesis.

The intensification of the incoming flows of migrants into Europe and the integration of migrant groups has usually represented an important "driving force behind the contemporary political and policy-making discourse at both EU and member state levels" (Sigona, 2005a: 117). As argued by Joppke (2007), the problem of integration started to become relevant in Europe after the post-World War II migrations, when integration policies proved to be ineffective in the long term, failing to deliver on their inclusive promises. McPherson (2010) suggests that much later, following the 9/11 and other terrorist attacks in the US and Europe,

the topic of integration has regained its salience in relation to home-grown terrorism and concerns about Islamic fundamentalism and radicalization. However, according to Castles et al. (2002:12) "there is [still] no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration [and the] concept continues to be controversial and hotly debated".

Loch (2014: 623) suggests that, within academic research, integration has been generally used in two ways. The first refers to the macro-sociological concept, born with modern nation-states and industrialisation processes, used to describe how societies build their internal cohesion by balancing "collectivising and differentiating forces". The second denotes "the integration of individuals or groups into society", normally subaltern categories of subjects such as women, workers and migrants (Loch, 2014: 624). Ambrosini (2017) advises not to confuse integration policies with integration social processes since, despite their undoubted relationship, the former do not always directly affect the outcomes of the latter. Within this work I will try to show how these conceptions are deeply related, involving macro and micro levels of analysis. Accordingly, integration is here understood as a process encompassing individuals' experiences and the roles of societies and policies affecting its outcomes. However, as I will explain in the next chapter, my analytical focus will be more on the micro-processes of integration.

Valtonen (2016: 62) defines integration as the "the situation in which settling persons can participate fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of a society, while also being able to retain their own identity". Accordingly, integration is commonly explained as a process involving migrants, public institutions, the market, the civil society and citizenship (Valtonen, 2016). Scholars have explained the concept of integration through several models, trying to account for the innumerable variables involved. It is not my intention to sift through every proposed framework, as it would fall outside the objectives of this research (for a more extensive review see Lippert & Pyykkönen, 2012 or Paunova & Blasco, 2017). Instead, below I will review some key frameworks directly relevant to the focus of this study, as they were used by Valtonen to analyse migrants' integration in relation to social care organisations. These models are: Kallen's (1995) model of 'structural integration', Castles' (1995) 'integration policy models' and Valtonen's (2016) 'stakeholder integration' model.

Kallen (1995) conceives integration as a process taking place across cultural and structural levels. The cultural level is related to "the process of learning cultural ways of an ethnic collectivity to which one does not belong" (Valtonen, 2016: 63). The structural integration happens wherever "members of different ethnic collectivities [partake] in ethnocultural

institutions other than those of the ethnic community in which they raised" (Valtonen, 2016: 64). This model puts emphasis on the group level and the outcomes of the integration process, influenced by the power relations between dominant and subaltern communities cohabiting in the same society. Castles' (1995) 'policy models' are widely used to describe the approaches of different nations for managing migration flows and the social transformations they entail (Valtonen, 2016). Castles (1995: 294) identifies four main integration models, spanning from closure to openness: (a) "total exclusion" (preventing the entry of migrants) (b) "differential exclusion" (migrants are included in certain areas and excluded in others); (c) "assimilation" (migrants should adapt to host society); (d) "pluralist" (migrants are accepted with respect of their cultural, linguistic or religious differences). These are defined on the basis of the openness or closure of societies toward migrants, driving the implementation of inclusive or exclusive policies.

The third model is Valtonen's (2016:73) 'stakeholder integration model', built "around the idea of pragmatic solidarity in the citizenry, based on shared interests and perceptions of the common good". It tries to overcome the divisiveness in the analysis of integration by focusing only on the perspective of service providers and institutions or migrants and minority groups. Migrants and hosts are thus conceived as stakeholders in the integration process and within society, emphasizing their role as active subjects. Their effort is facilitated or impeded by structural conditions that should favour "equal citizenship [and] individuals' participation in different societal spheres" (Valtonen, 2016: 72). Generally speaking, the literature seems to agree that integration is a multidimensional process influenced by a complex combination of social, political-economic and individual factors. The relationship between these elements can produce numerous outcomes and social landscapes.

2.5.1 Assimilation and multiculturalism

Macro-approaches appear to be the most used by scholars to explain national integration models and their impact on migrants' settlement process. As Joppke (2007) states, the opposition between multiculturalism and assimilationism is an enduring feature in the academic literature on the topic (see also Ambrosini & Boccagni, 2015; Brubaker, 2001). This distinction can be used to trace a descriptive continuum, helpful to understand societal dispositions and the strategies adopted within EU states to manage migrants' integration.

The assimilationist model assumes that integration takes place at an intergenerational level through a gradual absorption of minority groups into the dominant groups (Carbone, 2007; SPRAR, 2010). Assimilation is defined as "the policy of incorporating migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation" (Castles, 1995: 298). Accordingly, all differences can be traced back to a common human structure and the encounter with the 'other' can be solved by erasing the disparities and adapting to a dominant regime (Ambrosini, 2008; Carbone, 2007). The classical example is the French model, founded on a nation-centred concept of equality influenced by essentialism, universalism and ethnocentrism (Noviello, 2010; Rossi, 2011). Recalling Kallens' (1995) model, this situation is likely to occur whenever the relationship of power between dominant and minority groups in a society are unequal. Consequently, migrants will be compelled to accept and absorb dominant values and norms in order to be considered integrated.

Multiculturalism stands on the opposite pole of the continuum. Within Castles' (1995: 301) framework, multiculturalism is a variation of the pluralist model of integration, entailing "the willingness of the majority group to accept cultural difference, and to change social behaviour and institutional structures accordingly". Conceived to overcome the normative character of assimilationism, it promotes a pluralism that "hypostasise[s] differences, categorising individuals within predetermined ethnic or cultural categories", potentially causing marginalisation and self-segregation (Carbone, 2007: 17; see also Colombo & Semi, 2007). Accordingly, it has been criticised for creating ghettoization, nurturing terrorism, anti-social and criminal behaviours (McPherson, 2010). As explained by Wieviorka (2014: 633), it was a successful model during the 1980s and 1990s but, more recently, leaders from European countries announced the "failure of multiculturalism" (Weaver, 2010). Accordingly, in the last twenty years, various governments have been accused of substituting multiculturalism (Cantle, 2005; Kymlicka 2003; Stewart & Mulvey, 2014; Wieviorka, 2014), with integration programmes based on a covert assimilationism (Heinemann, 2017; McPherson, 2010). As I will discuss below, European nations were thus required to rethink their approach to integration.

2.5.2 Mutual integration

A growing realisation that multiculturalism and assimilationism were not effective in the medium and long term, pushed Western Countries to promote policies of 'mutual integrationism' between migrants and local communities (Ager & Strang, 2008; Joppke &

Morawska, 2003; McPherson, 2010). According to McPherson (2010), this approach, a middle way between assimilationism and multiculturalism, recognizes migrants' rights and the benefits of cultural differences, favouring a 'two-way' process of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU, states that: "Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States" (Council of the European Union, 2004: 19). Mutual integration is presented as a more fruitful long-term strategy: migrants are supported by host societies that encourage cultural diversity and help them developing as a constituent part of the community (SPRAR, 2010, 2015). As it clearly appears, the accent is placed on the active and joint participation of local communities and migrants, working together for a greater good, the well-being and prosperity of the society. This paradigm implies that migrants should adapt but host societies are also expected to change to meet migrants' needs.

The mutual integration approach explicitly recalls Valtonen's model of 'stakeholder integration' (2016). Mutual integration is therefore based on a delicate equilibrium of rights and duties. Migrants have the right to be accepted and respected for their identity and culture, but concurrently they have the duty to contribute to the wellbeing of the host community. Although it appears as an ideal approach, it is not without criticism. As Sigona (2005a) explains, integration cannot be reduced to a two-way process between host societies and migrants. On the contrary, it involves cultural and societal dispositions, political forces and state policies influenced by social actors with different motivations and strategies (Sigona, 2005b). Great efforts have been made by the European community to promote this approach in recent years, but many studies have shown that integration is differently understood within EU States (Castles, 1995; Joppke, 2007; Joppke & Morawska, 2003).

Cultural and historical differences impact on national interpretations of integration as well as on the practices and policies implemented by EU states (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017). For example, as mentioned earlier, France has always been associated with the assimilationist model, while the Netherlands and the UK were the standard-bearers of the multiculturalist approach. However, as Joppke (2007: 1) explains, national models are now outdated and "Western European states' policies on immigrant integration are increasingly converging". Going beyond national differences, all European policies seem to recognise an essential canon: the need, on the part of the migrants, to respect Western principles of democracy, freedom, the rights of individuals and the law (Joppke, 2007). Once again, here surfaces the tension between a liberal attitude, the moral duty to welcome, support and integrate migrants, and the need to 'protect' Western and national values from external

threats. This trend appears clear if we observe the latest integration policies applied by many EU member states. Below, I will present the current integration approaches of some European countries (Bordignon & Moriconi, 2017; Jensen, Weibel & Vitus, 2017; Heinemann, 2017; SPRAR, 2010):

• In Norway, integration is formally defined as a process requiring collaboration between multiple parties and it relies on a high participation in the workforce. Knowledge of the Norwegian language and society is necessary. Norway guarantees 250 hours of language tuition to asylum seekers during their stay in the first reception centres to reduce the time to find the first occupation. The host nation is committed to supporting social inclusion and offering job opportunities to those who wish to contribute to Norwegian society;

• Denmark offers a personalised integration programme to refugees and migrants through an individual interview. If the commitment to pursue this plan is rejected, the refugee can be sanctioned. Migrants are introduced into employment via language training, familiarization with workplaces and internships, that should be combined with the acquisition of specific skills;

• In Sweden, integration programmes are mandatory since January 2018. Previously, participation was voluntary. Migrants are surveyed to define personal profiles including individual characteristics, education level and work experiences that are matched with local communities' needs. Migrants in need of help to find work are supported through education and training as part of their individual plans. The programme includes certification of educational and professional skills, complementary education, traineeships, language courses, civic education and professional training;

• Germany has created a scheme to assess the skills of asylum seekers. Integration is not defined by any specific law. The reciprocal nature of the process is deducible from the Ministry of the Interior's website. As far as possible, immigrants should have the chance to participate in many areas of society in a full and egalitarian way. They are obliged to learn German and respect the German constitution;

• France does not officially define integration. Refugees and the government sign an integration contract defining reciprocal expectations. The two-way nature of the process is discernible within this contract. Expectations are related to the type of support required within the individual profile. This educational support involves language learning, social autonomy and local cultural awareness.

• In the UK, within the "*Integrated Communities Strategy Green Paper*" (HM Gov., 2019: 7), integration is explicitly defined as a "two-way street" and not "as assimilation". Within the document titled "Our shared future" integration is defined as "the process that ensures new residents and existing residents adapt to one another" (COIC, 2017: 38). Migrants are expected to speak and understand English language and life in the UK before their settlement is formally recognised (Voicu, 2009).

• Italy does not have a stand-alone legislation on integration. Integration is believed to occur through the active participation in the labour market and the attainment of economic autonomy. Since 2012, immigrants with residence permit should sign the "Integration Agreement" and formalise a 2-years-commitment to achieve specific integration objectives (i.e. knowledge of Italian language, constitution, institutions and culture). In 2017 the government introduced the "National integration plan for persons entitled to international protection" following the EU Qualification Directive 2011/95/EU. The plan promotes intercultural exchange, inclusion to labour and education, language and vocational training. Local authorities and public services, supported by civil society organisations, are responsible for its implementation. However, at the end of 2019, the plan was partially introduced only in Piedmont, Emilia Romagna and Calabria (Caneva, 2014; EU, 2019).

Despite some national differences, almost every European liberal democracy has now generally aligned its strategy around the concept of mutual integration. However, these countries encourage integration through local language courses, individualized integration programs, introductory training courses to workforce and civic education in the Western way of life. These tools convey dominant values and norms to migrants and as Joppke (2007: 14) suggests, the common thread connecting these approaches to integration is the "focus to obligation". Despite the claim of impartiality and the desire to support the integration process, this trend conceals a logic according to which foreigners should conform to a "normative, universal and static" view of the national citizen subject (McPherson, 2010: 12).

Accordingly, the mutual integration approach has been criticised for its normativity and termed "neo-assimilationism" (Ambrosini & Boccagni, 2015; Carbone, 2007; McPherson, 2010). Despite the benevolent, moral and ethical smokescreen, this approach allows the establishment of skewed social relations based on indirect control and conformism to dominant norms. Thus, following Joppke's (2007: 14) claim, integration represents a case of "illiberal social policy in a liberal state", an example of "repressive liberalism". Accordingly, while promoting equality, freedom and cohesion, liberal states presuppose that some people are incapable of respecting the same values. Hence, these individuals can

potentially become target of illiberal policies aimed at safeguarding the liberal society and its citizens. Integration becomes the preferred and ideal means to rectify migrants, 'liberally obliged' to accept western modern values and adapt to Western ways of being.

2.5.3 The ambivalence of integration

Integration has been interpreted differently over time and, as Valtonen (2016) suggests, the current understanding of integration emphasises its mutual and participatory nature, respectful of cultural and identity differences. However, various authors have criticised this view by suggesting that, despite the premises, integration masks disciplinary and normative purposes (Joppke, 2007). According to McPherson (2010), integration policies' declared aim is to bring citizens and non-citizens closer. To favour this process, promising individuals eager to accept the chance of being included within host societies are asked to go through a period of 're-education', founded on Western ideas of citizenship, nationhood and belonging. Accordingly, as "forms of belonging, such as citizenship, are shaped in relation to [national dominant] norms", integration policies contribute to their reproduction (McPherson, 2010: 2). Moreover, integration programmes convey essentialist and normative representations of citizens and migrants, partitioning good from bad foreigners (McPherson, 2010). Citizenship tests or language-education classes appear as tools to socialize defective migrants and simultaneously reproduce and defend the national spirit of the imagined community (Gray, 2006; Heinemann, 2017; Tyler, 2010).

Works from Jensen et al. (2017) and Heinemann (2017), exploring migrants' integration in Denmark, Germany and Austria, offer a similar picture. According to the authors, Denmark, Germany and Austria, like many other European countries, addressed the arrival of migrants and refugees with an increasingly restrictive approach to manage migrations. Both studies see integration as an assemblage of illiberal technologies to conform migrants to Western citizenship and lifestyle. Based on the assumption that citizens from (poor) non-European countries are culturally and morally defective, these initiatives aim at the disciplining and manufacture of democratic, autonomous and responsible subjects (Heinemann, 2017; Jensen et. al, 2017). Recalling Hindess' (2001) words, migrants from many poor non-European countries are considered unprepared to live autonomously and exercise their freedom as every virtuous Western citizen should. Accordingly, migrants need to be 'trained' in modern citizenship, constantly supervised and assessed. Standard benchmarks are: good educational performances, proficiency in local languages, propensity to enter the labour market,

economic self-sufficiency and active involvement in the local communities' life (Heinemann, 2017; Jensen et. al, 2017). Those showing commitment and good margins of improvement will have a better chance of settling, obtaining a permanent residence or accessing state subsidies, while those who fails risk marginalisation and social abjection (Tyler, 2013).

For Gray (2006), integration ensures that migrants are "domesticated, shaped, and harnessed to the yoke of the dominant sociocultural order and economy" (Dijkstra, et al., 2001, cit. in Gray, 2006:134). For Heinemann (2017: 178), integration contributes to the functioning of the "authoritarian migration regimes that resemble the civilising mission [of] colonialism". Moreover, it preserves the fantasy of a stable and uniform nation that welcomes and provides shelter to the needy, but also legitimating an exclusionary Eurocentric-oriented national spirit (Heinemann, 2017; Jensen et. al, 2017). Thus, integration partakes in a regime defending modern nation-states and existing power relations, by creating valuable migrants that are "documented, surveyed, subject to needs analyses [and] a target of service provision" (Gray, 2006: 134; Heinemann, 2017; Jensen et. al, 2017).

For Wieviorka (2014), integration is a potentially dangerous concept, especially if understood through conventional theories originating from conservative political and scientific discourses neglecting socio-historical changes, individuals' lived experiences, relationships and identities. Politically speaking, integration maintains the internal homeostasis of a society allegedly threatened by external forces and flawed internal communities. Accordingly, classic sociological interpretations of integration have been directed at children, women and colonial subjects, deemed to be fragile, immature and "easily tempted by forms of conduct which would exclude them or marginalise them from the social system" (Wieviorka, 2014: 637). Nowadays, integration is used in reference to migrants and their experiences of re-settlement within host societies. However, it essentialises migrants "to a single paradigm and a sort of sociological invisibility which only disappears once they seem to pose problems" (ibidem). This has resulted in exclusionary and racist nationalisms, contesting cultural diversity and promoting an unnatural homogeneity where 'others' should be corrected or rejected (Wieviorka, 2014).

Concluding remarks

Within this chapter I have explored the multidisciplinary literature on immigration policy and integration to understand the broad effects of the '2015 refugee crisis' and the challenges it posed for European governments. In many European countries, such as Italy and the UK (Colombo, 2018, Walters, 2004), we witnessed the establishment of a particular governmental assemblage. On the one hand, the humanitarian government, which saves the needy and leverages moral sentiments, and on the other, the domopolitics, which controls and protects the nation from external threats. These apparently opposed rationalities of government compensate and reinforce each other to constitute a peculiar and ambivalent migration management regime. This regime, that on the one hand assists and on the other controls, is epitomised by the growing momentum reached by the topic of integration in the aftermath of the refugee crisis.

As discussed, the concept of integration is multifaceted and characterized by ambivalences but represents a perfect synthesis of the humanitarian and securitarian modes of government. It points to migrant's inclusion while simultaneously defends the national spirit and culture of the dominant groups. Thus, integration works through a 'coercive persuasion' aimed at defective but promising individuals, shaping involved actors' subjectivities and affecting the power/knowledge relations existing between them. As I showed within this chapter, macro approaches to integration are the most used by scholars, however they risk undervaluing individuals' experiences. Accordingly, I will contribute to the debate on migrants' integration by concentrating on its micro-dimensions. In the next chapter I will outline my theoretical framework. Inspired by Foucauldian theory, I will reconnect the macro and micro level of analysis to explore the power relations and the subjectification processes affecting the everyday life of organisations supporting migrants' settlement and the experiences of those who inhabit them.

Chapter 3

A Foucauldian framework to understand refugee reception centres' work

Introduction

This study contributes to the debate on the concept of migrants' integration by exploring its ambivalent nature and the micropolitics of the process, analytically focusing on the social workers employed within the reception centres supporting migrants. Fittingly, this research utilises a Foucauldian inspired theoretical framework that I will outline below. Accordingly, I will draw from concepts such as 'microphysics of power' and 'governmentality', constituting the conceptual umbrella presented in the first half of this chapter (Foucault, 1977; 2005). In the second part, I will discuss the concepts of pastoral power (Foucault, 2005; 1982) and Agamben's homo sacer (1995), helping me to frame integration as a process and a technology of power targeting the migrant subjects. I will therefore conceptualize migrant integration as *a technology of subjectification, mediated by pastoral instructors adopting micro-disciplinary and self-examination practices, within organisations embedded in a larger governmental matrix of power/knowledge relationships.*

3.1 The conceptual umbrella

This research adopts a theoretical framework influenced by Foucault' late genealogical phase, precisely by the work titled *"Security, Territory, Population"* (Foucault, 2005). Here, Foucault's analysis is focused on the transformations of power relations and the ascent of institutions and practices favouring the establishment of advanced liberal governments. Foucault developed the concept of 'governmentality' as a form of power anticipating the themes of *"The Birth of Biopolitics"* (2008). *"Security, Territory, Population"* is a typical Foucauldian genealogical analysis but, as Golder (2008: 161) suggests, it represents a step towards his late works aimed at understanding the processes of subjects' constitution, ethics and the relationship with the self (Crane, Knights & Starkey, 2008). In this regard, Raffnsøe et al. (2017:13) state: "if his earlier work on the microphysics of power had emphasized the primacy of practices over institutions (and organisations), the analysis of governmental practices and their associated rationalities offered a way of linking up such analyses with the macrophysics of power"

As my research focuses on the relations of power and processes of subjectification taking place within the organisational context of refugee reception centres, this study draws on both Foucauldian 'microphysics of power' and 'governmentality' (Fleming & Spicer 2007, 2014; Foucault, 1982, 1997, 2005). These concepts, which I will discuss in the next sections, represent two helpful tools to grasp the manifestations of power connecting both micro and macro levels of migrant's experience. Rabinow and Rose (2003) suggest adopting a bottom-up approach to connect the micro-processes of subjectivation to the macro-dynamics of power and unveil how they affect social relationships and subjectivities. Moreover, it permits to analyse the regimes of truth framing the management of individuals as objects of knowledge within the sites where such processes are exerted and can be resisted. I will explore the mutable nature of integration following Lippert and Pyykkönen's perspective (2012: 1), arguing that integration is an assemblage of different elements such as "state discourses on multiculturalism, but also [...] less visible and micro level forms and elements of integration operating in civil society, on its boundaries, and in myriad local programs".

3.1.1 Governmentality

As I have discussed in Chapter 2, a relevant aspect emerged from the literature is the contradictory relationship existing between liberal and illiberal modes of government. According to Nadesan (2008), modern governments employ social and scientific engineering technologies, and bureaucratic and decision-making processes of administration targeting the lives of individuals and organisations. As Rajas (2012) explains, the analysis of migration from the point of view of governmentality have mainly focused on strategies and rationalities of government aimed at managing the movements of people across national borders. Other studies have used governmentality to analyse integration through a macrosocial perspective (Rajas, 2012; see also Lippert & Pyykkönen, 2012).

The integration of migrants can be included into the array of governmental technologies developed "to make of the [migrant] individual a significant element for the state" (Foucault, 2000: 410). To some extent, these technologies recall the reason of state's pre-liberal police (Foucault, 2005). In Foucault's (2000: 412) words, the pre-liberal police supervised "men's [sic] coexistence in a territory, their relationships to property, what they produce, what is exchanged in the market, and so on [...]. In a word, what the police see to is a live, active, and productive man". The analysis of this political technology led Foucault (2005) to

develop the concept of *governmentality,* to explain how modern liberal governments manage the life of populations.

Foucault (2005: 122) defines the concept of "governmentality" as the "range of forms of action and fields of practice aimed in a complex way at steering individuals and collectives". Foucault developed this concept to explain how advanced liberal governments could govern and control individuals' behaviour "at a distance", employing rationalities and technologies going beyond the state (Rose, 2006: 146). This modern art of government is realised through the constitution of autonomous self-governing subjects actively participating in their own governance (Foucault, 2005). Their liberty is carefully safeguarded through a wide assortment of dispositifs allowing the implementation of an efficient governance (Agamben, 2006; Raco, 2003; Waring & Latif, 2017). Through this concept, several scholars were able to connect micro and macro levels of analysis, explore the performance of historically contextualized forms of government and the technologies of power moulding interpersonal, organisational and institutional life (Gordon, 1991; Nadesan, 2008; Raffnsøe et al, 2017; Walters, 2017). In Nadesan's (2008: 1) words, "governmentality addresses how society's pressing problems, expert authorities, explanations, and technologies are organised in relation to particular kinds of action/policy orientations, problem-solution frameworks, subjectivities, and activities" (see also Rose, 1999).

From Rose's (2006) perspective, governmentality should be understood in two different but connected ways. On the one hand, governmentality is a set of "technologies of government", an intricate ensemble of "forces, techniques, devices that promise to regulate decisions and actions of individuals, groups, organisations in relation to authoritative criteria" (Rose & Miller 1992, cit. in Rose, 2006: 148). According to Raco (2003: 77), an effective governance "requires the active definition, mobilization and directed institutionalization of particular groups or populations, possessing the required forms of knowledge or expertise to facilitate policy agendas". On the other, governmentality represents a set of "political rationalities" guiding the representation and adjustment of reality (Rose, 2006: 147). These rationalities have a moral and epistemological nature, constituting an "intellectual machinery or apparatus for rendering reality thinkable in such a way that it is amenable to political programming" (Rose, 2006: 147). They define the 'truth' and any tasks or ideals that governments should target to convey specific forms of knowledge about groups, subjects and objects (Rose, 2006).

For Asad (2006), governmentality instruct "subjects in its care about what counts as real, and what they themselves really are, in order to better govern them by letting them govern themselves" (cit. in Mavelli, 2017: 4). As a form of decentralised power, it operates through governmental and non-governmental actors, employing "technologies and discourses" to safeguard individuals' freedom and wellbeing (Martin & Waring, 2018: 3; Dean, 2003; Rose & Miller, 1992). It is also defined as the conduct of conduct, meaning that governments influence individuals' behaviour through specific discourses and strategies (Dean, 1999; Raco, 2003). The role of discourses of truth is pivotal, as they represent an effective instrument to foster the government of individuals through their own freedom and convey specific subjectivities (Martin & Waring, 2018). A governmentality approach helps to understand how privileged individuals are constructed as autonomous self-regulating subjects while others as defective subjects needing discipline and authoritative methods of control (Hindess, 2001; Nadesan, 2008). This appears particularly relevant regarding the management of marginalised groups such as migrants and refugees.

In the last stages of Foucault's work, the theme of governmentality started to intersect with his interest on the (self-)constitution of subjectivities, linking "the technologies of domination of others [with] those of the self" (Foucault, 1988: 19). With the term "technologies of the self", Foucault refers to the means by which individuals constitute themselves as subjects, within a given system of truth perceived as 'natural' (Foucault, 1988: 18; Heikkinen et al., 1999; Nadesan, 2008). Foucault (1988: 18) describes them as technologies allowing "individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality". These permit individuals to "experience, understand, judge and conduct themselves" (Rose, 1996: 135). As Rose (1996: 135) explains, these techniques guide the relationship with oneself through three "registers": epistemological ("know yourself"), despotic ("master yourself") and caring ("take care of yourself"). They are epitomised by "confession, diaries writing, group discussions and the twelve-step program of Alcoholics Anonymous", always taking place within an "actual or imagined authority of some system of truth and of some authoritative individual, whether these be theological and priestly, psychological and therapeutic or disciplinary and tutelary" (Rose, 1996: 135).

For Foucault, governmentality was inextricably linked to the problem of how individuals are governed through an ethos of empowerment so they can govern themselves acting on their own subjectivity (Cruickshank, 1993, 1999). The functioning of this machinery can be revealed by analysing the work of social workers, psychologists and spiritual guides, whose main task is to support and lead individuals towards prescribed forms of life and subjectivities (Rajas, 2012). Among these psy-experts (Rose, 1990; 1999), we can include the social workers from migrants' reception and integration centres. I suggest that, to understand the role of the social workers providing care to disenfranchised subjects, it is advantageous to surpass conventional views of power. Accordingly, below I will discuss Foucault's innovative view of power, conceived as a relational force connecting different governmental technologies to the processes of subject's constitution.

3.2 The microphysics of power

I will now discuss Foucault's re-development of the concept of power to understand its productive facets. Foucault's general theory offers a terrain on which to base critical considerations about migrants' integration and their relationships with social workers. This aspect is also relevant from a methodological and analytical point of view as I will explain in Chapter 4. Throughout his career, Foucault (1977: 10; 1982, 2003) has explained that he wanted to surpass the traditional conceptions of power by grasping its elusive "techniques and tactics" (Gallagher, 2008; Fendler, 2010). As Foucault (1977) explains, conventional theories of power could not describe the social transformations that Western societies have undergone over the centuries (Revel, 2014). When Foucault started theorising his concept of power, right-wing and Marxists theorists were explaining power uniquely in relation to state apparatuses and economic systems (Foucault, 1977). The social movements of 1968 have been a turning point in this respect. As Foucault clarifies, the criticisms against Marxism and capitalism, plus the civil struggles tampering with the smallest gears of the machinery of power, opened up new avenues to critically discuss the 'concrete' and 'practical' dimensions of power (Foucault, 1977; Jessop, 2007).

3.2.1 Power in relations

Within the book "*Society must be defended*" (2003), Foucault points out that power should be observed through non-economic lenses. Rejecting Marxist conceptions, Foucault states

that power is not a commodity possessed by individuals, something explainable in terms of contractual exchanges that, mimicking the relations of production, reiterates class domination. He was openly opposed to comprehensive state-centric theorizations and the tendency to locate the centre of power within the State. Conversely, Foucault (2008: 5) offers an attempt to surpass "universals like [power] madness, crime, and sexuality with the analysis of experiences which constitute singular historical forms". According to his view, power is "something that is exercised and that […] exists only in action" (Foucault, 2003: 14). Despite his general reluctance to offer a definition of power, Foucault declared his view in another work:

> *'[power is] a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on existing actions or on those which may arise in the present or the future…it incites, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely' (Foucault: 1982, cit. in Gallagher, 2008: 397).*

Thus, power "is not founded on itself or generated by itself" but operates through the actions of individuals connected by any kind of relationship (Foucault, 2005: 13). Power is theorised in relational terms and not as a monadic, stable and coherent entity (Jessop, 2007; Revel, 2014). Foucault invites his readers to unravel a dense relational fabric, constituted by different materialisations of power and the actions exercised by individuals within a dynamic social context (Revel, 2014). Power materialises as a boundless process, that needs to be analysed historically and "outside what previous philosophical analysis identified […] as the field of power" (Revel, 2014: 377). To this end, it is fundamental to recognise the multitude of shapes and effects of power, subtly unfolding within mundane life (Foucault 1977; Gallagher, 2008). Foucault (1977) develops a 'microphysics of power', an attentive investigation of this elusive force, of which individuals are unaware, transiting through human relations, shaping bodies, families, organisations, institutions and subjectivities. To grasp its essence, and understand its logics, purposes and effects, Foucault suggests ascending from the quantum realm of power up to the macro-level (Walters, 2017). Therefore, researchers must start their search by taking the role of a gold-digger, or a dowser in search of almost invisible events, starting from the unpredictable and shambolic field of mundane life.

3.2.2 Power, subjects & knowledges

After considering that power is performative and can be analysed by exploring the relationships between subjects, it follows that its historical and microscopic account necessarily regards the history of subjects' constitution. Accordingly, Foucault's (1982) main research theme was not power but the subject. It is essential to analyse how practices, knowledges and institutions intersect each other, according to historical and social contexts, sharing a *telos* that is not barely domination or subjugation (Revel, 2014). As Revel (2014: 377) states, "the relations of power fashion and traverse our lives, making us be what we are at the intersection of the multiple determinations that the relations imply". This analysis should take into account the interplay between the "dividing [disciplinary] practices" and "technologies of the self", transforming human beings into objects of knowledge (i.e. migrants) that can turn themselves into 'real' subjects (Foucault, 1982: 778).

Foucault's (1977; 1982), theoretical shift towards a microphysics of power is tied with a specific view of the subject: "[…] the individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, […] it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle" (Foucault, 1980a, cit. in Mansfield, 2000: 55). Hence, for Foucault, the subject is immanent in power, it is both product and effect, tool and medium. As Mansfield (2000) suggests, Foucault considers the subject not as an entity that exist in itself, but as the product of the social relationships and the historical context in which it is embedded. This conception distances Foucault from conventional psychological and psychoanalytic accounts of subjectivity, bringing him closer to postmodern and anti-humanist theorizations (Papadopoulos, 2008).

Another element connecting Foucault to postmodern theorizations is the centrality of language, producing discourses of knowledge and truth (Mader, 2014). Foucault (1978: 100) sees power relations as inherently interconnected to the field of knowledge: "it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together". The subject, rather than existing naturally or spontaneously, is an entity taking shape through the operation of the 'power/knowledge' dyad (Foucault, 1978). Power and knowledge mutually support and constitute each other, merging together until is impossible to consider the one without the other: "systems of power require some truth to be derived to justify what they seek to do" (Mansfield, 2000: 59).

Thus, power is everywhere, not possessed by anything or anyone. It flows and it is dispersed. Power makes us what we believe we are, without coercing but circulating through discourses, practices, and knowledges (Foucault, 1975). These are organised around

"regimes of truth", the "general politics of truth" which defines the types of discourses accepted and potentially true within a society (Foucault, 1980b: 131). In this regard, Foucault considers the so-called disciplines of knowledge, such as psychology or psychiatry, as totalitarian theories cooperating with power instead of contesting it (Mansfield, 2000; Switzer, 2010). These knowledges institute a 'neutral' scientific truth, allocating "human population into distinct categories that are one of the prime instruments of power"' (Mansfield, 2000: 59). Foucault's vision of a power/knowledge dyad is inherited from Nietzsche's though, according to which knowledge-making is never a neutral process but conversely "must be understood in terms of power" (Mader, 2014: 232).

3.2.3 Power trough freedom

Another element of Foucault's vision of power lies around the criticism of repression and repressive power. The concept of repression appears to be problematic for Foucault despite he adopted this notion to develop his early works: the history of psychiatry, the discourse on mental health, the exclusion of the mentally ill or the description of the Parisian "*Hospital General*" as the "third state of repression" (Foucault, 1973: 32). He later acknowledged that the notion of repression recalls a juridical understanding of power, "a law that says no", that should to surpassed (Foucault, 1977: 13). This conceptual move is clear in the following statement:

> *If it were nothing but repressive, if it never did nothing but say no, do you really believe we would come to obey it? What makes power [...] accepted, well, is simply that it does not weigh as a power that says no, but that in fact traverses bodies, produces things, induces pleasure, creates knowledge, produces discourses; we must consider it as a productive network that passes through the whole social body, much more than a negative instance that would have the function of repressing* (Foucault, 1977: 13).

Consequently, following "*Discipline and Punish*" (1975), the author presents ideology and repression as just the 'negative' facets of power. He recommends getting over these notions opening up a way towards its 'positive' manifestations (Foucault, 1977). Foucault suggests approaching power as a productive force creating knowledges, truths, techniques, subjects, objects and rationalities (Foucault, 1977; Sawicki, 2014). As scholars such as Dean (1999) and Rose (2010) explain, freedom and autonomy are not antithetical to power and domination (Eleveld, 2009). Power shapes subjects through daily practices, channelling desires of ordinariness, health, safety, belonging and framing the spaces within which they

constitute themselves through the illusion of free will (Sawicki, 2014). However, as Foucault advocates, if power is everywhere and power relations are ubiquitous, freedom is everywhere as well. Power relations develop not because of external obligations, but because subjects perceive themselves as autonomous, in control of their existence (Sawicki, 2014). Thus, the existence of power inevitably implies a certain degree of freedom. As suggested by Revel (2014: 382), if individuals were not partially free, any "action on human action" would be impossible.

But if power is everywhere and works through freedom, are there any escape routes? As Kreps (2015) states, Foucault's view has been criticized by several scholars (McCarthy 1990; Schrag 1999; Taylor 1984) for he created a subject without agency in a world where resistance appears impossible. However, according to Foucault (1982), since power permeates everyday life, people have infinite spaces to battle for their freedom. This awareness is the starting point of his analytics. Foucault (1982: 780) suggests using "resistance as a chemical catalyst [to] bring to light power relations". Accordingly, the forms of resistance recognisable in the context I studied were manifested within everyday interactions between migrants and social workers. It suggests that the predominant struggles between employees and migrants were enacted within the sphere of interpersonal relations and the mundane in organisational life. Such considerations helped me to uncover the effects of the power relations existing in that specific organisational context. Accordingly, as I will explain in the next sections, I will focus on the subjectification power within organisations enacted by the social workers (Fleming & Spicer, 2014).

3.3 Beyond disciplinary power in organisations

Within the field of organisational and management studies, Foucault's theory has met a considerable success, influencing the work of many scholars (see Burrell, 1988; Knights & Collinson, 1987; McKinlay & Starkey, 1998; Miller & Rose, 2008; Rose, 1989; Townley, 1993). In particular, it has contributed to the development of critical approaches to studying organisations and management practices as tools of domination, embedded in a social field of power relations (Raffnsøe, et al, 2017; Townley, 1993). Accordingly, several works have focused on the exercise of power through organisational discourses (Bergström & Knights, 2006); others have analysed how socially legitimated institutions influence individuals' lives in various sites, viz schools, homes or workplaces (Miller & Rose, 1995, 2008). Another stream of work theorises accounting methods as mechanisms for framing the governable

subject (Miller & O'Leary's, 1987; Townley, 1993). The impact of Foucault's *"Discipline and Punish"* (1975) on Management and Organisation Studies (MOS) was profound. As Crane and colleagues (2008) suggest, this resulted in scholars focusing their research mainly on the disciplinary features of management and organisations (Ek, et al., 2007; Raffnsøe et al, 2017).

Organisations have been largely described as totalitarian and disciplinary institutions, manufacturing docile subjects through numerous technologies of domination and surveillance (Burrel, 1988; Clegg et al., 2006; Fleming & Spicer, 2014; McKinlay & Starkey, 1998; Townley, 1993). Starkey and McKinlay (1998) suggest that, without ignoring the punitive and disciplinary façade of organisations, scholars should consider the productive power of organisations, the internal processes of subjectification and the impact of technologies of the self. As Bergstrom and Knights (2006) suggest, the theorisation on subjectification in organisations is still underdeveloped and needs to progress to reach a deeper understanding of its productive character. Accordingly, this study aims to address this gap in MOS literature by discussing subjectivity and subjectification within the organisations supporting refugees and migrants' integration.

3.3.1 Subjectification and power within organisations

Within the book *"Microphysics of power"* (1977), Foucault states that power is the process that manufactures subjects. Later, in *"The Subject and Power"*, Foucault (1982: 781) explains that "there are two meanings of the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to". Correspondingly, subjectivity is "the condition of being subjected to, or a target of, power through power/knowledge relations" (Bergstrom & Knights, 2006: 353; cf. Foucault, 1982). Accordingly, as Fleming & Spicer (2007) explains, subjectification is a form of power that frames the sense of self of any person. By intensely affecting the life of individuals, subjectification moulds lived experiences, bodies and emotions.

Bergström & Knights (2006: 353) state that "individuals are transformed into subjects that secure a sense of their own meaning, purpose, and reality through participating in the discursive practices that are a condition and consequence of power/knowledge relations" (Knights & Morgan, 1991). Hollway (1991) describe subjectification as a transformative power that never imposes itself: "how do you ensure change without imposing it? You

convince the individual who is the object of change that they are choosing it. This is what I mean by subjectification" (Hollway, 1991, cit. in Bergström & Knights, 2006:355). This definition highlights how this form of power operates differently if compared to coercion and domination (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Despite apparent similarities, domination is connected to the constitution of what is "worthy of political attention" while subjectification is related to the constitution of the person itself, acting upon individuals that are unaware or even accomplices of the existing power/knowledge relations (Fleming & Spicer, 2014: 244). Therefore, Fleming and Spicer (2007: 23) state that:

> *the focus is not on decision-making or non-decision making, or the ideological suppression of conflict, but the constitution of the very person who makes decisions. According to Foucault, power is achieved through defining the conditions of possibility underlying how we experience ourselves as people. Power, therefore, produces the kind of people we feel we naturally are.*

Fleming and Spicer's (2014) mapping of the literature on subjectification within MOS, shows that many scholars have focused on the techniques and practices used within organisations to constitute individuals as subjects of power (Barker, 1993; Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992; Townley, 1993). Another recurrent theme, according to their work, is organisations' capacity to create and reproduce specific regimes of truth and power/knowledge relations through organisational discourses (Fleming and Spicer, 2014; see also Bergström & Knights, 2006; Knights & Morgan, 1991; Phillips & Oswick, 2012).

Lorenzini & Tazzioli (2018: 75-76) explain that, depending on the methods used to manage individuals, different forms of subjectification may emerge. The authors speak of "subjection" when individuals are pushed to produce a certain truth about themselves in order to allow the technologies of power to act upon them. "Objectification" occurs when personal truths are imposed externally (i.e. through psychological interviews, psychiatric assessments or scientific categorisations). Finally, they define a two-stage "subjectivation" process. A first stage of resistance to the mechanisms of power determines a "de-subjection or/and de-objectification". Followingly, by performing the so-called "practices of freedom", individuals can "(re)build their subjectivity towards the inauguration of new ways of living" (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018: 76).

Moreover, Agamben (2006) imply that "de-subjectification" is inevitable within any process of subjectification as it implies the abandonment of fragments of subjectivity, opening new productive spaces of domination but also liberation. These possible forms of subjectification

recall the tensions, previously mentioned, between what Foucault (1982) termed 'dividing/disciplinary practices' and 'technologies of the self'. In the next section, I will introduce the concept of pastoral power to describe the role of the individuals operating at the core of this tension to steer the subjectification processes within organisations.

3.4 Pastoral power: between governmentality and the microphysics of power

As stated earlier, this study applies governmentality and microphysics of power as key theoretical concepts to analyse the work of the refugee reception centres promoting migrant's integration. Despite being employed to account for "phenomena of a completely different scale", these concepts overlap, allowing for an exploration of "the conduct of mad people, patients, delinquents, and children" on both macro and micro level (Walters, 2017: 64). This indicates that a theoretical choice between the two is not indispensable but, on the contrary, they can be used to complement each other. According to Bröckling et al. (2010), Foucault introduced governmentality to compensate two weaknesses of the microphysics of power. Firstly, Foucault wanted to restore the role of the State in creating largescale configurations of power. Secondly, the microphysics' emphasis on the disciplinary formations of the body was likely to underestimate the process of subjectivation, overlooking "the double character of this process as a practice of subjugation and a form of self-constitution" (Bröckling et al., 2010: 2).

However, as Martin and Waring (2018) point out, the concept of governmentality indirectly conceives subjectification as a straightforward process, overshadowing the means by which governmental power and macro-discourses are transposed to the micro-level. Accordingly, Martin & Waring (2018) conceptualize Foucault's pastoral power as a technology of governmentality and a form of power fashioned around the intimate and continuous relationship between pastors and their flock. This approach to pastoral power can be useful for reconnecting the macro-conceptual level of governmentality with the microphysics of power. In addition to offering the possibility to avoid a simplistic and linear view of the subjectivation process, this concept has an empirical value. Accordingly, I will use this concept to describe and analyse the labour of the reception centres' employees. These social workers, assuming a go-between position, occupy a critical in role in reconnecting the macro-level of the government of migration and the micro-level of the migrants' integration.

3.4.1 Pastoral power and the role of pastors

Foucault (2005) theorised pastoral power as the early form of the contemporary governmental regime, placing the basis for the rise of the (neo)liberal governmentality. This form of power originates within the tradition of the Judeo-Christian pastorate and the metaphor of the shepherds guiding their flock to salvation. Its conventional religious conception evokes the image "of a leader whose relationship with his followers is ultimate, trustworthy, self-sacrificing, guiding, protecting and nurturing" (Atkinson et al., 2013: 79). The mission of each pastor is to concretely implement the mission of the Church to take care of and satisfy the everyday needs of its members (Atkinson et al., 2013). In modern times, however, a process of political secularization stirred pastoral power away from the religious tradition, re-emerging as a technology of power for the management of subjects (Bell & Taylor, 2003).

Rose (1996: 132) provides a broader definition of pastoral power as a "multivalent and mobile" technology, encompassing every "relation of spiritual guidance between an authority and each member of their flock, embodying techniques such as confession and self-disclosure […] enfolded into the person through a variety of schemas of self-inspection, self-suspicion, self-disclosure, self-decipherment and self-nurturing". Rose establishes also a relation with disciplinary power: "Like discipline, this pastoral technology is capable of articulation in a range of different forms, in the relation of priest and parishioner, therapist and patient, social worker and client and in the relation of the *educated* subject to itself" (1996: 132). According to Sanders (2012), pastoral power allows scholars to describe the flows of productive micro-powers between individuals in a neoliberal context, where individuals are increasingly responsible for their own living, wellbeing and happiness. As Bell and Taylor (2003: 340) indicate, Foucault (1981) highlights four key features that have contributed to the conversion of pastoral power into a secular technology of power:

- **Responsibility**: as pastors are directly responsible for the flock and its members, they should sacrifice themselves for the flock's good. Foucault (1981: 236), states that by "helping the flock to find salvation, the shepherd will also find his own [salvation]" and that "the sheep's sin is imputable to the shepherd".
- **Obedience**: according to Christian pastorship the relationship between shepherd and sheep is individual and based on dependence and submission. Every shepherd's order must be followed as the shepherd's will. In Foucault's words (1981: 37) "obedience is a virtue" representing "an end in itself". The final objective of every sheep is to live without a will, abandoning all passions and blindly following their pastors' instructions.

- **Knowledge**: pastors supervise the condition of every single member of the flock establishing a knowledge that concerns three spheres. The pastors must know the material needs of each sheep and satisfy them; pastors must know everything happening in the life of every sheep; the pastors must know the inner life of each sheep, their soul, and their secrets (Foucault, 1981).

- **Salvation**: the pastors lead the flock to mortification, a symbolic death and a renunciation of the material world that is "supposed to provide life in another world" (Foucault, 1981: 239). This spiritual 'rebirth' is achievable "by getting to know an individual's innermost thoughts" (Bell & Taylor, 2003: 340) through a series of confessional techniques for the examination and correction of the self (Foucault, 1981).

Moreover, Foucault (2005: 127) points out that the pastor leads to salvation (rebirth) by prescribing the law (the norm) and transmitting (teaching) the 'truth'. Foucault (2005: 140) suggests that the central element of pastoral power is its paradoxical nature, being an "individualising", yet "totalizing", form of power aimed at sustaining the wellbeing of a community, guiding its members and looking after them for their entire life (Bell & Taylor, 2003). Accordingly, it targets "the moral behaviours of individuals in relation to the expectations of the community" (Waring & Latif, 2017: 5) by insinuating in their private life. For example, on a concrete level, it means that pastors guide their followers on how to enter into a new community and to attain specific habits and customs, ways of presenting themselves to others, modes of interacting in formal and informal situations, the respect of specific conceptions of time and so on.

In modern western societies, represents a strong "matrix of individualisation" (Bell & Taylor, 2003: 341) whose ultimate goal is not the spiritual salvation but the salvation of individuals in their earthly life. Accordingly, salvation is now related to the achievement of "worldly rewards" such as health, wellbeing, protection and pleasure (McCuaig et al., 2013: 791). As McCuaig and colleagues (2013) suggest, pastoral power is linked with the "knowledge and strategies of power that aim at governing a population's life forces" (Nadesan, 2008: 8). These strategies are enacted through "techniques, technologies, experts and apparatuses for the care and administration of the life of each and all" (Rose, 2001, cit. in McCuaig et al., 2013:791). This task is made possible by a combination of disciplinary and self-subjectifying forms of power. Generally speaking, we can trace manifestation of pastoral power within every organisation committed to offer sustenance to individuals and the wider society, exercising an emancipating role towards both clients and members.

Pastors employ surveillance and disciplinary tactics to craft self-governing subjects and promote self-reflexive behaviours (Martin & Waring, 2018). McNay (1994) suggests that the pastoral process of subjectification implies the subjection to an external group and the internalization of the social norms specific to that group and context. Moreover, pastors should contain any 'counter-conduct' or every form of (de-)subjectification related to resistance (Foucault, 2005; Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018). To do so, modern institutions make use of psychological and medical knowledges and disciplines to develop confessional strategies to 'extract' information from the governed subjects (McCuaig et al., 2013; McNay, 1994; Rose, 2001). Waring & Martin (2016) model of modern pastoral power suggests that the work of the pastors can cover the following four main categories of practices (Martin & Waring, 2018: 1298):

- **Constructive practices**: pastors channel information to their flock, reproducing specific discourses valid in a specific regime of truth;
- **Inscription practices**: interacting with their community, pastors explain, legitimize and normalise a specific regime of truth to assure its acceptance;
- **Collective practices:** acting as part of the community pastors reproduce values and behaviours promoted by the discourse of government. They should also ban, and then reintegrate the deviants;
- **Inspection practices**: pastors adopt a disciplinary approach to promote specific subjectivities and behaviours functional to the well-being of the community and for themselves.

In this section I have outlined the evolution of pastoral power, both as a theoretical concept and as a technology of power, identifying its key features and its manifestations. Below I will reconnect the concept to the context of organisations and specifically I will discuss its suitability for the exploration and analysis of the performances of reception centres' employees.

3.4.2 Pastoral power inside organisations

As mentioned earlier and drawing on Kelly and colleagues (2007), many critical scholars in management and organisational studies have been inspired by Foucault's (1975) work on disciplinary power. This has led to the tendency to identify and analyse a wide range of institutions as disciplinary organisations (McKinlay & Starkey, 2000). To go beyond this paradigm, Kelly and colleagues (2007) suggest giving new strength to Foucault's later works

and explore the relationship between governmentality, pastoral power and the technologies of the self. This approach allows the inclusion of disciplinary power within a more complex and dynamic matrix of power and as Rose (1996: 132) states: "We should not see the disciplinary and pastoral relations of subjectification as opposed historically or ethically - the regimes enacted in schools, asylums and prisons embody both".

Although the concept of pastoral power has been largely employed within the field of pedagogical and education studies, there have been a few studies in organisation and management studies that have employed it to analyse a wide range of different issues in various contexts. For example, some scholars have explored its relations with disciplinary practices related with discourses of workplace spirituality (Bell & Taylor, 2003; Kondo, 1987); issues of identity, gender and power in organisations (Foldy, 2003; Kondo, 1990); health promotion in and outside organisations (Maravelias, 2009; Martin & Waring, 2018); the transmission of organisation culture (Beckett & Myers, 2018; Chan & Clegg, 2002); its analytical potential to understand power relationships in religious organisations (Dixon, 2007); and the everyday construction and renegotiation of power/knowledge within the workplace (Välikangas & Seeck, 2011). However, what emerges from the literature is a marginal use in comparison to other classical Foucauldian concepts and it is often introduced as a tool for the investigation of symbolic and spiritual aspects within organisational contexts (i.e. McKinlay & Pezet, 2017).

For the scope of this research, the concept of pastoral power is particularly useful. It allows to understand the responsibility of reception centres actively supporting migrants' integration and provide insight into the moral and ethical work conducted by their employees (McCuaig et al., 2013). Following Martin & Waring (2018) suggestion, it is important to understand the role of the intermediary agents guiding migrants during their settlement and their role in conveying macro-discourses about integration in the host societies. As "experts of community" (Rose, 1999: 189), their duty is to accompany migrant individuals throughout their settlement within a new community, understood as a both physical and symbolic space. By implementing a specific set of practices and discourses, migrants are supported in learning how to behave, what is accepted and what is not, and about host society's expectations and how they can meet these. During this process, migrants are disciplined but also empowered in order to be responsible for their own choices and govern themselves autonomously according to Western society's ways of being.

Therefore, it is my intention to analyse the everyday practices and processes of subjectification within refugee centres from the perspective of the "pastors", the social workers employed in the organisation supporting migrants. To shed light on the work of these experts, I believe in the theoretical usefulness of pastoral power as recently re-elaborated by Martin and Waring (2018; see also Waring & Martin, 2016). It represents a concept through which explore the missing link between the macro-discourse level and the micro-process of subjectivities' constitution within organisations' everyday life. Moreover, it offers the possibility to explore "the embodied, empirically visible agency of pastoral actors in concrete relationships of power with one another, not through some neglected, invisible, yet apparently all-encompassing discursive power" (Martin & Waring, 2018: 7). As Blake (1999: 85) suggests, "the anatomy of governmentality, with its skeletal modalities of sovereign, disciplinary and biopower, must, I think, evoke pastoral power as well, for it also lies at the intersection of these forms of power".

3.5 Power and the government of subjects

What I will discuss now is the means by which individuals belonging to 'exceptional' categories are constructed according to specific relations of power/knowledge. Integration as a technology of subjectification represents a unique assemblage of rationalities and technologies of power such as sovereign power, discipline and biopolitics. All these techniques and strategies constitute specific knowledges concerning organisations, groups, families and individuals, establishing the parameters guiding their management (Rajas, 2012). To understand how governmental power has refined its techniques to manage the population, it is useful to retrace the historical manifestations of power and their connection with the management of people. Starting from the problem of sovereignty, the analysis of their transformation led Foucault to deal with issues related to the constitution of specific typologies of subjects.

Sovereignty, discipline, and governmentality are considered the main constituents of Foucault's formulation in matter of power. Foucault explicate and describe them throughout most of his studies and especially within works such as *"Discipline and Punish"* (1975), *"Society must be defended"* (2003) and *"Security, Territory, Population"* (2005). As explained by Dean (2017), these concepts constitute a triangular structure "which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of [biopolitical] security" (Foucault, 2003:87; Dean, 2010; Nadesan, 2008; see Fig. 2.1 below). Foucault

(1977) suggest that, to overcome any conventional understanding of power, it is necessary to embrace a processual perspective focused on its manifestations along with the different technologies employed to manage and constitute subjects.
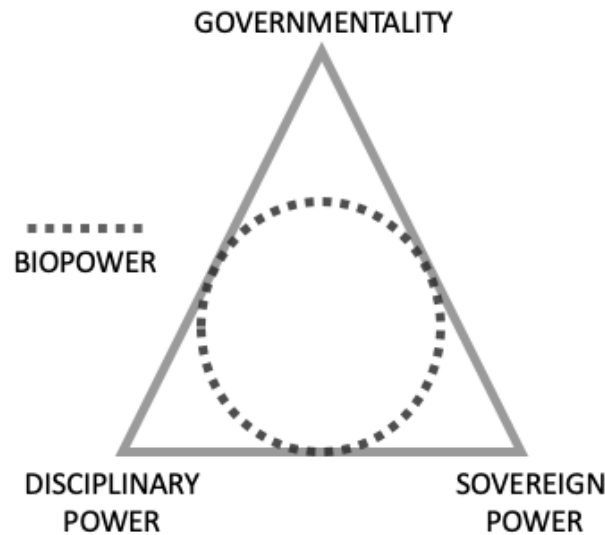
Fig. 2.1 – The Foucauldian triangular structure of power
(re-adapted from Nadesan, 2008)

3.5.1 Sovereign power and disciplinary power

Sovereignty occupies the 'negative' pole of Foucault's analysis of power, whose historical transformations have been "introduced as counterpoints to sovereignty" (Bargu, 2014: 456; Nadesan, 2008; Singer & Weir, 2006). Foucault (2003) presents sovereignty as the "right to take life or let live", exerted through the Queen's "right to kill" (cit. in Bargu, 2014: 456). As Redaelli (2010) explains, sovereign power is embodied by the monarch who acts by imposing rigorous rules, the violation of which determines severe and outstanding penalties. The law is the queen's personal instrument, the direct expression of her power and any violation of it represents a direct offense to herself. According to this logic, sovereign power shows its strength through punishment and torture, a personal and public revenge aimed at the queen's enemies (Foucault, 1975: 48). As Foucault (2003) states, during the Middle Ages the main relationship of power is that existing between the monarch who orders and the abstract subjects who obey.

As Bargu (2014: 458) explains, monarchical sovereignty was replaced between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by disciplinary power, spreading "beyond and under the state" through capillary networks. As Singer and Weir (2006) explain, disciplinary power expresses itself antithetically with respect to sovereignty, acting on people's lives through surveillance and normalisation techniques founded on scientific and technical norms. Discipline seizes people's time and work, operating in a regime of perceptibility but concealing its core (Singer & Weir, 2006). Foucault (1975: 126) grounds its origins in the Classical age, when the body of subjects turned into the "object and target of power" within institutions such as barracks, abbeys, schools and factories, trialling the implementation of techniques to standardise bodies and behaviours: "a training of the body functional to the domestication of souls", says Redaelli (2010: 3; Nadesan, 2008). This reformation of power was accompanied by a reorganisation of the penal system, characterized by a 'softening' of the punishment and the establishment of a new subject, 'the culprit' (Foucault, 2005). The prison became the sole institution for a punishment that turns into surveillance, displacing the castigation from the public square to the underground dungeon, where detention moulds the defective subjects and corrects their behaviour (Redaelli, 2010).

The aim is to control the individuals' bodies and manipulate their souls through a meticulous work entailing a series of daily practices devised for the subjects (Foucault, 1975; Redaelli, 2010). To do this, it necessitates a certain degree of knowledge about subjects and their bodies. Within disciplinary power, the subject is no longer an abstract entity but an individual endowed with a body, the vehicle of any power relationship (Bargu, 2014). Individuals are classified, distributed, normalized and constantly examined to establish specific subjectivities, allowing for "the internalization of obedience and control by the same individual" (Bargu: 2014: 458). These processes instituted a link between disciplinary power and biopower called anatomo-politics, the embryonic form of the biopolitics that I will discuss below (Foucault, 1978; Nadesan; 2008).

3.5.2 Biopower and biopolitics

Foucault introduced biopower in *"The History of Sexuality: Volume 1"* (1978) and extended in his later works (2003, 2005, 2008). Again, Foucault (2003: 240) discusses it in contrast to sovereignty, when the "right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death". The body targeted by biopower is not the individual body, but "a manifold body, a body with a quantity, though not infinite, however

innumerable of heads" (Foucault, 2003: 211). As Nadesan (2008) explains, Foucault (1978) developed this concept to describe the means by which the new biopolitical logic manages modern life and secures progress, health and wellbeing of the population. Biopolitics penetrates social life in an all-encompassing way furthering the productive potential of the whole social body, from individuals to organisations and the state, acting through systemic regularities, natural cycles and the flows of population's development (Nadesan, 2008; Taylor, 2011). Through calculation logics, scientific technologies and experts' evaluation, it provides the tools for the establishment of governmentality and the management of a society constituted by self-regulating subjects (Nadesan, 2008). But how does it operate?

Within *"Security, Territory, Population"* (2005), Foucault renames the concept of biopower 'security apparatus' connecting it to modern liberal governmentality and capitalist societies. Foucault employs the example of the rule 'do not steal' to highlight the differences between biopower, sovereignty and disciplinary power (Foucault, 2005; Taylor, 2011). Accordingly, during the Middle-Age anyone accused of a crime would have been exposed to exemplary punishment. This penalty was directly exercised on the body of the offender and the rule was produced along with the punishment. Later, with the advent of disciplinary power, the rule was incorporated into a set of strategies of surveillance, classification and correction, anticipating the actions of a potential thief. Besides, the solemn punishment was replaced by imprisonment, to correct both behaviour and morality of the deviants.

Biopower, differently from sovereignty and disciplinary apparatuses, introduced the phenomenon of theft into a series of possible events with security purposes. By assessing costs and benefits, it does not suppress nor repress but regulates phenomena while they happen. Departing from the disciplinary "interventionist regulation", biopower adopts a "laissez-faire and technocratic management of phenomena at the level of population itself" (Golder, 2009: 164). Through statistical estimation of risks, it determines a midpoint below which a phenomenon is considered acceptable. In Foucault's (2005: 16) words, the target is to determine "how to keep a type of criminality […] within socially and economically acceptable limits and around an average that will be considered as optimal for a given social functioning".

Foucault points out how these different forms of power do not substitute each other but evolved together, improving and modernising their functioning. Both disciplinary and sovereign power are deeply linked to biopower (Nadesan, 2008). For example, even if biopower is generally defined as non-disciplinary it does not mean that the use of disciplines is excluded (Foucault, 2003). Instead, they are combined and adjusted to be applied on

different targets. Similarly, within the nineteenth century, discipline and sovereignty have survived despite their dissimilarities, transforming and reinforcing each other. Subsequently, in modern times, power manifests itself through a specialised "system of correlation between juridical-legal mechanisms, disciplinary mechanisms, and mechanisms of security [biopower]" (Foucault, 2005: 19; 2003).

3.5.3 Biopolitics and freedom

Within his works, Foucault (2003; 2005; 2008) elucidates the relationship between liberalism, economy and modern governments along with the technologies of power, especially biopower. Foucault links the practices of government with the regimes of truth, observing how within Western societies the market becomes the space in which truth and reality are created. After the World War II, economics and liberalism became the predominant paradigms driving governmental practices (Foucault, 2008). The governmentality of population became organised according to a logic of calculation of costs and benefits where the political subject becomes the economic subject. This system promotes a never-ending pursuit of freedom supporting the development of modern forms of capitalism (Agamben, 1995). The idea according to which political techniques are inseparable from the games of reality, leads to the fundamental principle of liberalism: "not interfering, allowing free movement, letting things follow their course; […] acting so that reality develops, goes its way, and follows its own course according to the laws, principles, and mechanisms of reality itself" (Foucault, 2005: 70).

However, freedom should be understood along with the transformations of power. As Foucault states, "freedom is nothing else but the correlative of the deployment of dispositifs of [biopolitical] security" (2005: 48). In fact, the functioning of the biopolitical security apparatus depends on a modern conception of freedom, linked to the possibility of free movement and circulation of both goods and people (Foucault, 2005). Agamben revises the concept of biopolitics criticising its relationship with liberalism to unveil a paradoxical system securing the freedom of the privileged by marginalising unprivileged sections of the population. According to Nadesan's (2008: 5) standpoint, biopolitics represents a productive technology of "marginalization, exclusion and discipline that supplements liberal technologies of the self, implicated in the production of self-regulating agents […] that both privileges and marginalizes, empowers and disciplines".

3.6 The biopolitics for Agamben

According to Foucault (2003: 239), the fact that power targeted the "men-as-species" and no longer the legal subject led to a politicization of life representing the revolution introduced by biopolitics. Foucault explains this transformation by stating that "for millennia man [sic] remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places in question his existence as a living being" (Foucault 1978, cit. in Agamben, 1995: 5). Starting from this idea, Agamben develops his own theory of biopower (Agamben, 1995; Heron, 2011). In fact, while Foucault sees biopolitics as a revolutionary moment in the modes of governing, Agamben (1995) considers it the pillar of Western world's politics (Zembylas, 2010).

Agamben (1995: 3) investigates the concept of life by recalling the Ancient Greek distinction between *zoè,* "the simple fact of living common to all living beings" and *bíos,* the good life designating "the form or way of living of an individual or group" (cf. De Boever, 2011). Drawing from Aristotle, Agamben (1995: 4) explains that the *polis* was defined around both concepts: "born with regard to [*zoè*] but existing primarily for the [*bíos*]". However, as Agamben (1995: 4) states, Ancient Greek politics was directed specifically towards a "qualified life, a particular way of life". Hence, biological life was recognised but ultimately excluded from the *polis* (De Boever, 2011). Agamben (1995) was interested in this process of exclusion/inclusion of *zoè* within the political sphere and, starting from this issue, tried to build a connection between the sovereign and the biopolitical forms of power (De Boever, 2011; Heron, 2011).

As previously discussed, Foucault conceptually separates and opposes biopower and sovereignty. Disregarding this antagonism, Agamben (1995: 6) finds politics' origins exactly in their bond, advocating that the inclusion of *zoè* into *bíos* is anticipated by a partition of the two, operated by sovereignty, producing "bare life", a middle ground between political and biological life (cf. De Boever, 2011; Murray, 2011). This separation of *zoè* from *bíos* is also inclusive, as *zoè* exists in the legal system only as a consequence of its exclusion, establishing a unique condition of "inclusive exclusion" (Heron, 2011: 37; Zembylas, 2010). Hence, *zoè*'s exclusion paradoxically allows its politicisation and subsequent conversion into good life (Heron, 2011). Bare life and sovereignty are circularly linked to each other. In fact, sovereignty creates bare life which, in turn, represents its primary political constituent (Agamben, 1995; De Boever, 2011).

Thus, Agamben (1995: 20) describes sovereignty through a paradox: "The sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the legal system". Therefore, the Queen is endowed with the power to suspend the law and declare "the state of exception" (Agamben, 1995: 15). Existing both outside and within the law simultaneously, the Queen preserves "[her] natural right to do anything to anyone" (Agamben, 1995: 118). According to Agamben vision, modern biopolitics does not start with the inclusion of biological life in the political space, but with the establishment of the state of exception, the suspension of law, a "concentration of sovereignty" turning into normality and generating bare life (ibidem). As Zembylas explains (2010: 36), any form of power is inherently biopolitical for "its ability to suspend itself in a state of exception and determine who lives and who dies". Agamben (1995) explains this process through the logic of the *abandonment* (or *ban*). Characterising the history of Western democracy, the ban exemplifies the main attribute of modern power and democracy. Its organisational transposition is the "concentration camp" (De Boever, 2011). Here individuals are abandoned and reduced to the bare life, human beings at the mercy of governments disposing of their biological bodies without incurring any legal consequence (Zembylas, 2010). Therefore Agamben (1995: 135) suggests that:

> *the camp, as pure, absolute and unsurpassed biopolitical space (as based solely on the state of exception), will appear as the hidden paradigm of the modern political space of which we will have to learn to recognize the metamorphosis and disguises.*

The same dynamic can be observed within refugee camps, political organisations working through illiberal policies where individuals are constantly exposed to abandonment and death threat by the governmental entities managing their existence (Ek, 2006; Williams, 2014; Zembylas, 2010;). It is precisely in this space of exception that we can observe the coexistence of liberal and non-liberal methods of government: in their ability to create bare life through biopolitical mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion. In times of crisis, as Agamben (1995) suggests, governments have the power to suspend the civil rights and basic freedom of individuals, determining who can be excluded and who can be included in the community, who is free and who is not (Zembylas, 2010; Manna et al., 2009). The logic of the camp is now extended into a general condition of impending exception, legitimized by specific social and political environments (Agamben, 1995; Zembylas, 2010).

Ek (2006) describes the modern state as an assemblage of subjects on the brink of exclusion, never completely 'in' or 'out' and constantly potentially exposed to abandonment and bare life. When bare life penetrates the political sphere, affecting the constitution of citizenship, it can establish a bond between citizens and nations enabling exclusionary practices (Ziarek,

2008; Zembylas, 2010). Zembylas (2010) suggests that this link can be legitimated by modern sovereign states and conveyed through citizenship education and integration programmes safeguarding its integrity and homogeneity. As I will explain below, Agamben's biopolitical exception allows us to explain the condition of refugees and migrants, the unfortunate protagonists of the 2015 crisis, personifying the prototypical 'not-yet/not-fully-subject' produced by this regime of power.

3.6.1 The homo sacer

The biopolitical logic of exception described by Agamben helps us to explain the European migration systems and the management of refugees and migrants. The outcast subjects of these regimes, appearing as ghosts at the borders, classified and converted into chunks of biometric data and exposed to social abjection inside refugee camps: "it is through the state of exception […] that Western states have become involved in the differentiation and categorization of people where one form of life [migrant] is perceived as a threat to another form of life [citizen]" (Zembylas, 2010: 37; Ek, 2006). In this sense migrants embody the crucial figure of Agamben's biopolitics: the *homo sacer* (Agamben, 1995; Zembylas, 2010). This figure of ancient Rome's law is the person "who has been excluded from the world of men and who, even though he cannot be sacrificed, can be killed without committing homicide" (Agamben, 1990: 59). Possessing only their own bare life, migrants are included in the community as excluded "de-subjectivized objects of care" (De Vos, 2013: 100) that can be potentially embraced or banished.

For Agamben, the homo sacer represents the alter-ego of the sovereign. Both share the "same structure and are related, in the sense that sovereign is one with respect to which all men are potentially homines sacri and homo sacer is the one with respect to which all men act as sovereigns" (Agamben, 1995: 93-94). Hence, refugees and migrants stand in opposition to the sovereign state. The homo sacer's existence allows biopower's existence, a control over bare life that implies a subjectification of the *zoè*: "bare life is taken in the form of the exception that is something that is included only through exclusion" (Agamben, 1995: 14-15). Agamben's theorization unveil the obscure nature of biopower, according to which all lives should be protected but some can be marginalized.

Through the asylum process, European countries convert migrants into de-subjectified humanitarian cases, exercising power over their life, saving their 'suffering bodies' whose fate will depend on the benevolence of the host country (Fassin, 2011). Through labelling

processes, asylum seekers are constructed as "vulnerable with the border control agencies presented as their benefactors" (McLaughlin, 2010: 72). Followingly, the 'promising migrants', traumatized victims 'truthfully' in need of protection, transit throughout the reception system (McLaughlin, 2010). The reception system moulds migrants as needy individuals, seeking care and aid. They are represented as subjects lacking capacity of self-determination exposing them to a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion (Hooijer & Picot, 2015). This system aids migrants, distributes them within the territories and defines their experiences by setting boundaries to their freedom often producing deleterious outcomes (Manocchi, 2014).

According to Joppke and Morawska (2014: 3), migrants "are always excluded and included at the same time, excluded as whole persons and included as sectoral players or agents with specific assets and habitual dispositions within specific fields or systems". Once they obtain the protection status, migrants are allocated within "zones of indistinction" existing simultaneously inside and outside the society (Agamben, 1995: 23). It is therefore through the inclusion/exclusion of the migrant homo sacer that the community's balance, existence and identity can be preserved. Within this framework, integration emerges as a process of unmaking the migrants' homo sacer status. Through a biopolitical assemblage of multiple technologies of power, migrants can be re-subjected as members of the local community and supported to enjoy a novel social and political life. Within this assemblage, pastoral power operates as a mechanism of relay between the different technologies of power and connects the micro and macro levels of governmentality.

Concluding remarks

Within this chapter I have identified the main pillars of my conceptual perspective of integration. I will now return to the definition presented in this chapter's introduction. Accordingly, I see integration as a process but also as a technology *of subjectification, mediated by pastoral instructors adopting micro-disciplinary and self-examination practices, within organisations embedded in a larger governmental matrix of power/knowledge relationships.* This conceptualization goes beyond the formulation of general theories about integration, trying instead to focus on its effects on the "micro-level of the self" (Lippert & Pyykkönen, 2012:2).

Accordingly, my theoretical framework lays on governmentality, the ability of states to govern population at a distance through several technologies of power going beyond the

state itself (Foucault, 2005). Governmentality connects "the technologies of domination of others [with] those of the self" (Foucault, 1988: 19) to manage individuals by fostering their participation in their own governance. Such conceptualisation necessarily rests on a vision of power that goes beyond traditional accounts. Hence, I have embraced Foucault's microphysics of power (1977) according to which power operates like a liquescent entity, flowing through every kind of social relations. As a productive force, power circulates through the bodies of individuals, constituting subjectivities and knowledges about what they perceive as real. It can dominate or repress but mainly guides and, however pervasive it may be, power always leaves room for resistance.

I have defined integration as a technology of subjectification (Foucault, 1982), the manifestation of power contributing to the definition of the individuals' subjectivity, affecting their emotions, experiences and identities (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). Thus, rather than focusing my analysis on the macro elements of integration, my research explores the power/knowledge relations between social workers and migrants within the organisations. Exploring the life of the social workers and their relations with migrants, allows to understand the exertion of power, its developments and its effects on the constitution of migrants as Western self-governing subjects. I adopted the concept of pastoral power (Foucault, 1982) to understand how social workers make use of disciplinary techniques and technologies of the self, to shape forms of subjectivity suitable to live within specific social contexts.

Moreover, pastoral power permits to reconnect the micro level of power/knowledge relations and the macro level of governmentality programmes, a theoretical link that according to Lippert and Pyykkönen (2012) is still lacking in the field of research on integration. Being a subjectifying technology of power, integration requires the employment of different forms of power, materialising in the disciplinary and auto-disciplinary practices implemented within the reception centres. Through their activities, the reception centres' workers contribute to the creation of specific knowledges about migrants and also themselves, affecting practices, discourses and the exercise of power. Accordingly, such organisations occupy a relevant position within a wider network of power/knowledge, connecting local communities, other organisations, the State and its subjects. In the following chapter, I will describe the research methodology that I have adopted to analyse the reception centres' work.

Chapter 4

An autoethnographic account of the research methods

Introduction

"Strangers are made; strangers are unmade". This catchphrase from Sara Ahmed's (2014) blog "feministkilljoys" perfectly depicts my worldview, affecting the boundaries of my inquiry, connecting theories, methods and research criteria (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Kuhn, 1962). If strangers are constantly made and unmade, it means that there is nothing like a stable true 'stranger'. As explained by Bonham & Bacchi (2017: 688), this recalls Butler's (1990) standpoint according to which "the subject of law does not exist prior to the law but is produced within juridical processes". So, who are the strangers? Do strangers really exist? Sometimes one can be a stranger, other times not. These questions, apparently trivial, may no longer be so if we think about how the social processes of othering are affected by the upsurge of nationalist movements, identifying 'strangers' as the reason for many social issues. Within this historical context, day after day, fundamental principles of solidarity and equality are progressively replaced by fear and hate towards 'strangers' and 'others' in general. My research probes into these processes and issues by asking the following research questions:

• By which means are migrants and refugees constituted and constantly reformed as subjects suitable to live in Europe according to the Italian ways of being?

• How do pressures from the extra-organisational environment affect the discourses of integration and the activities carried out within the refugee reception centres?

In this chapter I will present my research methodology in an auto-ethnographic fashion, to highlight how it has evolved with me during the years of the doctorate. Specifically, it is my intention to describe the process of personal maturation that led me to use a non-standardized methodology to interpret the phenomenon I investigated and the research process. The first part is dedicated to the ontological and epistemological assumptions of my research and how they have slowly but constantly transformed, affecting the choice of methodologies. In the second part, I will discuss the main tenets of the post-qualitative methods of inquiry, explaining how they have influenced the development of my research and analytical approach.

4.1 Ontological and epistemological foundations

The first idea that motivated my research was the will to understand the processes of integration of migrants and refugees. During the very early stages my focus was on migrants, but I slowly realized that I was much more interested in the point of view of the workers inside organisations and the power/knowledge dynamics underlying the process of integration. I realized quite early that to understand that, I needed to explore the relationship between organisational members' discourses of integration and the practices implemented within the centres. Consequently, the ontological and epistemological positions underpinning my research was influenced by subjectivism and socio-constructionism (Gergen, 1985). It is important to highlight that the choice of an ontological and epistemological position is not something that I would describe through the metaphor of the 'spectacles worn to observe the world' (Wittgeinstein, 1972). I did not feel like putting on a pair of glasses (that implies also the chance of changing them easily). It was more than choosing to stand on the non-positivist side. My ontology, my epistemology and my theories are part of me. It would be more precise to say that my philosophical position lives through my eyes and my senses, deeply intertwined within my body and the past, present and possible futures of my subjectivities. For a subject in evolution, however, such positions can change or be refined across time and space. As I will emphasise, my research and life experience slowly brought me somewhere else through endless philosophical and methodological adjustments.

Accordingly, due to my previous research experiences and since the beginning of my PhD, I was convinced that my study would assume a social constructionist onto-epistemology which is normally categorised under the umbrella of interpretivism. As O'Gorman and Macintosh (2015) explain interpretivism focuses on subjectivity, individual experience and interpersonal relations. Moreover, interpretivist scholars privilege an inductive approach and the adoption of multiple methods to grasp alternative views of the same phenomenon. The socio-constructionist perspective finds its origins in the pivotal work by Berger and Luckman "*The Social Construction of Reality*" (1966), according to which 'reality' is not an objective fact existing independently from the subject that examines it (Burr, 2004; Danziger, 1997; Gergen, 1985).

Social constructionists argue that reality, history, cultures, social structures, concepts, memories and identities are products originating within social interactions and mediated by language, providing them with concreteness and materiality (Gergen, 1985; Hoffman, 1992).

This implies that, rather than speaking of 'Knowledge', we should consider the existence of multiple 'knowledges' accounting for different possible versions of any particular experience (Willig, 2013). The 'social world' is a cultural construct resulting from historically situated social processes and built within patterns of social interaction (Pearce, 1992). Such assumptions involve the dismissal of the principle of representation and the impossibility of a certain foundation of theories (Pearce, 1992). From this point of view, knowledges are not possessed by people but dynamically created through various media and within daily interactions and social practices (Gergen, 1985). Language, in its pragmatic, performative and rhetorical aspects assumes a central role in the constitution of social phenomena, representing the main object of study and the ideal tool to convey any form of social change (Castiglioni, 2001). Within this framework, socio-constructionists see researchers not as witnesses of social phenomena but as active participants in the creation of the world they seek to investigate (Fruggeri, 1998).

4.1.1 The problem of relativism and the 'real'

Although social constructionism has radically influenced the way I see the world, the objects that constitute it and how to investigate them, various authors warn scholars to experience and embrace this onto-epistemology 'responsibly' (see Mazzara, 2008; Parker, 1998). Accordingly, one of the main critiques of socio-constructionism is around logocentrism and the consequences of linguistic determinism[2] that could lead towards a radical relativism potentially hampering any scholarly enterprise (Castiglioni, 2001). The radical relativism that denies any form of objective and universal reality is considered an obstacle for the process of knowledge creation, questioning theoretical and methodological validity (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014; Mazzara 2008). According to Houston (2004: 28), "if everything is relative, then it makes no sense to prescribe any direction, no matter whether we consider it temporary or not". Mantovani (2003) argues that scholars would be unable to say anything valid about the world, and knowledge risks becoming a self-referential phenomenon. Furthermore, from an ethical/political point of view, the lack of objective truth would legitimize all the different possible explanations of reality and all the aberrant behaviours that may follow (see Barad, 2003; Hekman, 2010).

---

[2] Linguistic determinism implies that knowledge, human thought and cognitive processes are bound by the structures of language

While making the first steps with this research, I found a viable solution to this theoretical/empirical issue by embracing a more moderate constructionist position that could account for simultaneously existing forms of knowledge and their connection with power relations (Alcoff, 2013). This decision affected the choice of methodology and methods and my approach to research in the field. As Mazzara (2008) explains, various authors have developed alternative approaches (critical realism, mediated realism, non-essentialist realism, critical naturalism) to integrate the constructionist paradigm with limited and specific forms of realism (Cruickshank, 2003; Niiniluoto, 2002; Parker, 1998). Recently, Hekman (2010) argued against the idea of linguistic determinism by easing the tension between the 'epistemological level' (of language) with the 'ontological level' (of the material), putting back reality into the political discussion avoiding naïve realism and "modernist conceptions of the real" (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014: 175). These ontologies take distance from positivism by restraining the relativist stance of radical constructionist or postmodernist approaches (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014).

The movement renamed the 'ontological turn' (Pickering, 2017), offers interesting approaches to reconcile the epistemological and the ontological levels of 'reality' (see Barad, 2003; Mol, 1999; Pickering, 2017). Among these, I found the most convincing position in Mol's 'ontological politics' (see below), as it appears coherent with the Foucauldian conceptual framework I adopted (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). According to Bacchi and Bonham (2014:176), Foucault's "history of the present" shows how politics influences the rise and the effects of the establishment of certain discourses framing what is commonly understood as 'true' or 'real'. Accordingly, every society has its own 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1975) guiding the exercise of power through discourses of truth (Taylor, 1984).

Mol's (1999) concept of 'ontological politics' encompasses the existence of multiple realities and how politics plays a fundamental role in legitimising specific hegemonic realities. Thus, reality is "performed within a variety of practices" (Mol, 1999: 74). Bacchi and Bonham (2014: 176) explain how the concept of discursive practices used by Foucault "combines materiality and language in a single configuration" without inferring what is "reality" but highlighting the involvement of politics in the construction of "the real". Recalling Ahmed's sentence, used to open this chapter, if strangers are made [and] strangers are unmade it follows that there are no 'real' or 'true' strangers. Conversely, multiple versions of the idea of being a 'stranger' are continuously created. Some of them become apparently 'truer' within specific 'regimes of truth'. The researcher's task is therefore to explore and unpack these 'regimes of truth' and put into question the 'discourses of truth'

that shape power relations leading to social discrimination, suffering, exclusion and marginalization.

4.2 Post-qualitative methods

The choice of the methodology refers to the tools by which researchers approach the objects of their investigation. Mantovani (2008:13), suggests following two corollaries: (i) "methodologies are related to theory" and they (ii) "are not just sets of abstract rules to apply". These statements guided me in the choice of a coherent methodology within the context of a specific research. Keeping in mind Mantovani's (2008) suggestion, the best choice for my investigation would have been to conduct research in the field, delve into organisations supporting immigrants' integration and explore in-depth organisational life and cultural practices through the collection of data about discourses and practices. Precisely, I was confident that an ethnographic approach, from the tradition of the classical qualitative methods, would have been suitable to my purpose. At an initial stage, all the pieces of the puzzle were fitting together. My analysis would have been grounded in the data stemming from the notes of my participant-observation and the interviews conducted with staff members and beneficiaries of the organisations' services. However, as Deleuze and Parnet (2007, cit. in Jackson & Mazzei, 2012: viii) write:

> *it is rather when everything is going well [...] that the crack happens on this new line – secret, imperceptible, marking a threshold of lowered resistance, or the rise of a threshold of exigency: you can longer stand what you put up with before, even yesterday.*

The time spent in the field has proven to be both enlightening and destabilising at the same time, as unforeseeable events challenged my initial plans. I found myself wedged in unimaginable situations, both positive and negative, and no book could have helped me or prepared me to deal with them. When I started my preliminary analysis, I felt that something was deeply unsettling me. This experience pushed me to reconsider my theories and methodological approach, but also to re-think my role and responsibilities as a researcher and individual. Accordingly, a series of reflections arose after the fieldwork, pushed me towards the discovery of the post-qualitative research methods of inquiry (Benozzo, 2018; Gherardi, 2018; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; St. Pierre, 2013a; 2013b).

Classically, the field of qualitative research has been characterized by a shared rejection of the so-called 'mainstream' quantitative research methods (Schwandt, 2000). As Le Grange (2018) explains, the quantitative/qualitative antinomy is rooted in the positivist/interpretivist onto-epistemological dichotomy. However, various scholars inspired by the ideas of the post-theories have attempted to create new ways to approach research, motivated by the fact that qualitative research failed in distancing itself completely from the positivist convention it tried to challenge (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; Le Grange, 2018; St Pierre, 2013). The 'post-theories' mentioned above should be understood both chronologically – thus, coming after structuralism and humanist qualitative research– and in a deconstructive, critical way (St. Pierre, 2013).

For St. Pierre (2013), qualitative research has gradually become hegemonic and monolithic and its radical spirit, aimed at "produc[ing] different knowledge and produc[ing] knowledge differently", has gone almost missing (St. Pierre 1997: 175). Recently, the broad and slightly ambiguous term 'post-qualitative research' has been introduced in this debate, acquiring popularity as it could pave the way towards new and alternative methodological horizons. According to Benozzo (2018) post-qualitative methodologies remain surprisingly underrated in management and organisation studies. The post-qualitative movement formally started in the United States, within the field of educational studies, as a response against the rising institutionalisation, standardisation and "scientification" of qualitative research (Gerrard et al., 2017: 385).

As St. Pierre (2013) explains, in 2002, the National Research Council (NRC) published a report titled: "*Scientific Research in Education*" that established the principles describing what should be considered high-quality research in the United States. Despite the declared openness towards non-mainstream methodologies, these guidelines favoured positivist research approaches, setting serious restrictions on the applicability of qualitative methods, not considered capable of satisfying high-quality research standards of replicability, validity and so on (St Pierre, 2013). Gerrard and colleagues (2017) state that these principles pushed qualitative research towards more acceptable and positivist-influenced research methods (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013, St. Pierre, 2014).

Moreover, according to Lather (2013), the transition towards a neoliberal governmentality has bolstered the project of normalising qualitative research and re-adapting scientific standards (see also Le Grange 2018): "methodological developments made by feminist qualitative researchers in the 1990s [...] have become co-opted within problematic science-based research governance measurement mechanisms" (Gerrard et al., 2017: 385). One of

the principal criticisms advanced by post-qualitative scholars is directed towards the reification of the concept of the 'human' carried out within modern humanistic research (Gerrard et al., 2017). Classically, as Benozzo (2018) explains, humanism has contributed meaningfully to the development of qualitative research, including the field of management and organisation studies. Consequently, several researchers from the 'post-theories' movement' began to reconstruct the field of qualitative investigation by challenging the basic assumptions of the humanist tradition and raising a fundamental question: "what might a different science look like?" (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000, cit. in Benozzo, 2018:97). According to Johansson (2016:457) post-qualitative research's aim is "to restore the values from which the qualitative research came from and […] as a quest for bringing back the qualitative dimensions in qualitative research".

Drawing from Spivak (1993) and Derrida (1972), St. Pierre (2013b: 646) proposes how to deconstruct what she calls the "conventional humanist qualitative methodology". The first approach is to untangle the main concepts and structure of qualitative research such as interviews (Scheurich, 1995), validity (Lather, 1993), data (Brinkmann, 2014; St. Pierre, 1997), coding (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014), reflexivity (Pillow, 2003) and voice/silence (Jackson and Mazzei, 2009). As these authors advocate, the aim is to establish a methodological approach that cannot be defined permanently because it is always in a process of change and continuous becoming (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988). Hence, post-qualitative researchers appear particularly reticent to the idea of providing precise guidelines to develop a structured methodology, as it would nullify the ongoing project of development/creation (Le Grange, 2018). However, this endeavour appears particularly arduous, especially for those who began their training within the tradition of quantitative research and later found a space for resistance in the conventional qualitative research. As explained by Lather and St. Pierre, such conventional trainings, although promoting a critical spirit, "normalise our way of thinking and doing" (2013; 630).

Lather and St. Pierre, (2013) state that from the planning of the research to the data gathering phase, and from the analysis to the writing, our categories of thought become meaningful through a series of disjunctions: Me/Others; Subjects/Objects; Human/non-Human. At the core of these separations lays the human 'knowing subject', placed at the centre of the world and antecedent to everything that we put into question. Lather and St. Pierre (2013) argue that concepts such that of 'entanglement' (understood either as a natural phenomenon or a symbolic concept) can question the qualitative humanistic research reasoning. The authors wonder how will it be possible to understand the nature of our research objects, and our

relationship with them, after accepting such a concept? And what consequences will this have for face-to-face research methods such as interviews or ethnographic observations? Does it still make sense to speak about data collection? These and other questions are triggered by the post-qualitative ontologies and we should ask ourselves: "what comes next for qualitative research?" (Lather and St. Pierre 2013: 290).

This venture is even more complex for us students, aspiring qualitative researchers, required to plan our investigation well before starting it, a legacy of the predominance of rational positivist/humanist thinking, still informing the academic system in its entirety. We are reminded and required to be rational and organised, to be 'good students' and establish in advance a beginning, a course and an end to our research. But the truth is that the phenomena we analyse are rarely linear or even predictable; they are not separated from us and as we change, they transform with us towards unpredictable scenarios. So, why should we represent the 'realities' of our research objects in a structured and organised way if these are complex and unstructured? Do we have to do it only to please the expectations of our readers (publishers, reviewers, supervisors, examiners, etc.) or the University regulations imposed by research degrees? The post-qualitative methods of inquiry offer a creative space to resist any methodological conformism. Below, before describing how I put the post-qualitative methods into practice, I will explore the theoretical assumptions of such approaches and define my research method.

4.3 Theoretical assumptions of post-qualitative methods

Generally speaking, post-qualitative methodologies are deeply influenced by various theoretical approaches related to the 'posts' (post-structuralism, post-modernism, post-colonialism, post-humanism, etc.) and critical theoretical standpoints such as new materialism, new empiricism and the ontological turn (Gerrard et al., 2017; St. Pierre, 2013b). Therefore, post-qualitative methods include a series of approaches, which may be more or less in agreement with each other, bonded by the belief in the "impossibility of an intersection between conventional humanist qualitative methodology and the posts" (St. Pierre, 2014: 3). In addition, with the lack of a clear definition of what is meant by post-qualitative methods, there is a fair amount of freedom and possibilities for developing different critical approaches, still respecting the ethico-onto-epistemological principles of theories (Barad, 2007).

Scholars (e.g. Le Grange, 2018; Jackson & Mazzei 2013, St, Pierre, 2014) suggest two possible directions for researchers who want to embark on the project of developing a methodology consistent with the premises of the post-qualitative. Firstly, according to Le Grange (2018: 5), in our society, the boundaries between humans and machines are blurring, and the old philosophies - phenomenology, critical theory and post-structuralism - are no longer able to face the challenges that the social world poses to researchers. A series of new ontologies inspired by the late works of Deleuze and Guattari (1988) and shaped by a community of feminist scholars (above all, Braidotti, 2014 and Barad, 2007) who believe that everything (including organic matter) has agentic capabilities, have emerged. These approaches can be helpful if researcher want to eradicate the centrality of the "knowing subject" (Le Grange, 2018: 6).

A second way, suggested by St. Pierre (2014: 12), would be to rely on post-structuralist and postmodern analyses and theories, provided by authors such as Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard or Deleuze and Guattari, and "put them to work to think about what puzzles us" (see also Jackson & Mazzei, 2013). Accordingly, these theories provide indispensable onto-epistemological tools to critique the humanistic view acknowledged within conventional qualitative methods. Again, the ambition remains to expose the fictionality of the human subject. Foucault for example, in his more markedly methodological works, declares his complete disinterest in "the speaking subject" (St. Pierre, 2014: 3). Moreover, as St. Pierre (2014) points out, the crucial thing is to maintain a strong onto-epistemological coherence between theories and the methodologies we chose. Hence, given that this research focuses on 'power relations' and given that such relations maintain a certain conceptual stability despite their empirical volatility - be they between humans and other human beings, humans and machines (intelligent and otherwise) and between (intelligent) machines - Foucauldian theories are perfectly valid and functional. However, since there's no step-by-step guide on how to do a Foucauldian power-knowledge analysis, it is necessary to dive into his theory and think creatively with it (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013).

4.3.1 Postmodernism and post-structuralism

In general, post-qualitative approaches share a critical orientation towards the tradition of modern sciences and the foundation of humanism. The cultural period of modernity began with the Renaissance and developed with the Enlightenment (between 1687 and 1789). During this period, the modern forms of democracy, colonialism, capitalism,

industrialisation, science and urbanisation emerged (Barrett, 1997). The crisis of modernity started between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the growing mistrust towards humans' rationality and the emancipatory power of science (Toulmin, 1990). This crisis was followed by the rise of a new conceptual movement stimulated by a critical reflection on the economic, social, political and cultural models of the new societies that were taking shape (Benozzo, 2018; Crotty, 1998): postmodernism. The symbolic birth of postmodernism occurred during the protests and riots that took place in Paris in May 1968, while formally postmodernism starts with Lyotard's book "*La condition postmoderne*" (1979), representing its philosophical manifesto.

Post-structuralism emerged at the end of the 20th century and can be understood as the theoretical and academic side of postmodernism (Fox, 2014; St. Pierre, 2012). Both post-structuralism and postmodernism are classically associated with the works of Derrida, Deleuze and Guattari, Foucault (despite his attempts to distance himself from post-structuralism), Kristeva and Lyotard (Benozzo, 2018; Fox, 2014**).** In continuity with postmodern criticism, post-structuralism intends to supersede the stability of structural theories, according to which human actions are constrained by social, cultural, economic and psychological structures. Within structuralism, the revelation of these structures would lead to the discovery of truth (Davis, 1997). Conversely, post-structuralists suggest giving up the goal of finding the truth and work to understand and deconstruct the structures and power relations underpinning our societies (Davis, 1997; St. Pierre, 2012).

Post-structuralist writers were able to further dismantle the pillars of modern thought by displacing the knowing subject from the centre of the universe. As Benozzo (2018) explains, the centrality of the human being is questioned by the analysis of the philosophical and scientific practices that shaped the Western culture's subject. The Western subject is universal and ahistorical, rational, stable, coherent and capable of making choices (Benozzo, 2018). This rational human being endowed with rights, duties and responsibilities materialises in bureaucracies, organisations and juridical systems epitomised by the "citizen subject to forms of normalisation, discipline and punishment" (Benozzo, 2018: 91). On the contrary, as Davies (1997: 271) explains, the subject of post-structuralism "can only engage in apparent acts of choosing or positioning or experiencing the self as an agent."

Davies (1997: 272) adds that post-structuralist theory is not trying to create an "anti-humanist subject", but to reveal its illusive nature and the processes that constitute what we consider real. Consequently, post-structuralism "implies a passage from the self as a noun

(and thus stable and relatively fixed) to the self as a verb, always in progress, taking its shape in and through the discursive possibilities through which selves are made" (Davis, 1997:274). In this poststructuralist interpretation, the individual is understood as the result of power relations and processes of subjectification (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017; Flynn, 2005). Therefore, the subjects of post-structuralism exist only processually, and their existence can only be grasped in a given moment in time and space through descriptions, metaphors, narratives and other products of language (Benozzo, 2018).

The will to explore and participate in these 'subjects moulding processes' influenced the development of my methodology, but especially the way I approached the field-work. Furthermore, it affected my awareness about my narrative function and how I re-constructed that social 'reality' through my writing. Accordingly, the deconstruction of the subject runs alongside the dynamic deconstruction and re-construction of me, the 'supposed author' of the ethnographic account (Jackson & Mazzei, 2008). So, I can be found everywhere all along the text, but also nowhere, always ethically sceptical about my presence and the authenticity of my experiences. Thus, I prefer to consider myself not as the author of this research, but as a co-author as I have never been alone in this project. This research is the result of my work in conjunction with the authors I read, the people that helped me and, above all, the research participants populating the context analysed.

4.4 Methods for 'producing' data: ethnographic approach and interviews

As I explained earlier in this chapter, my methodological approach, while remaining quite coherent with my initial plans, has undergone a series of small changes and adjustments determined by my experiences in the field. These changes have obviously concerned the research methods and in particular my ethnographic approach which, although I started it in a conventional manner, gave rise to a series of reflections about my role and subject position as a field-researcher. Consequently, before explaining how fieldwork actually developed, I consider it necessary to outline the basic concepts of the 'conventional' organisational ethnography and how it helps to study the everyday organisational life. Classically, organisational ethnographic approaches are understood as a series of methods that help to "uncover and explicate the ways in which people in particular work settings come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day situation" (Van Maanen, 1979: 540). These approaches allow to capture the 'thought' of the organisation and the processes of its construction, the perceptions of its members, the knowledge created

and shared symbols from the inside (Berlingieri, 2015; Jones, 1996; Romitelli, 2009). The aim is to study, observe and participate in the organisational processes and practices and understand how the actions and discourses of the characters 'living' in the organisation are rooted in the macro-social context (Copland & Creese, 2015; Ybema et al., 2009).

According to Erickson (1990: 92), ethnographic approaches can reveal the "invisibility of everyday life" and are useful in "making the strange familiar". This is essential if one wants to shed light on the social processes of the construction of reality and subjectivities, unfold the intricacy of organisational life and the implicit paradigms used to give sense to daily life (de Jong et al., 2013; Ybema, et al, 2009). Ybema and colleagues (2009: 5-8) describe the key features of these methods. According to the authors, ethnographic approaches combine different fieldwork tools, to understand and explain the complexity of organisational life. These can be summarised in "active tools" like talking, laughing, working, doing and "proactive perceptions" such observing, listening, reading, smelling. They require the direct involvement of the researcher in organisational activities to appreciate the complexities of organisational life and the investigation of the "hidden and harsh dimensions" of meaning-making process such as politics, power relations and emotions. Researchers should pay attention to individual and collective experiences, enriched by the consideration of the social, historical and institutional context in which these are rooted, avoiding any a-political and a-historical vision of the organisation. Ethnographic researchers should understand organisational members' "culture, identity, scripts and schemas, values, feeling, and beliefs, interpretive models of and prescriptive models for reality" (ibidem). Last but not least, researcher's reflexivity is important to recognise his/her own positionality and understand how this contributes to meaning-making processes, either inside or outside the organisations (Yanow, 2000).

Accordingly, my methodological/theoretical preparation for entering the field was concentrated on conventional ethnographic approaches influenced by constructionist and critical epistemologies with a strong focus on the discursive level (Wetherell, 2007). To avoid an excessively logocentric take on ethnography, I tried to integrate my approach through the work of scholars giving back centrality to the embodied levels of experience (Gherardi, 2018; Mol, 2002). This was my starting point. However, despite scholars' attempts to standardise ethnographic methodology, there is still nothing that can be exactly framed as a "technique attached to ethnography" (Van Maanen, 2010: 251). Accordingly, as Gherardi (2018: 2) points out, it is important to acknowledge the usefulness of ethnography to study "what people actually do while working, organising, innovating and learning and

for representing the situatedness – in time and space – of the ethnographers' working practice". However, it is also important to challenge the "narrative of a linear methodology for doing it" (Gherardi, 2018: 2). I will do so by describing my (first) experience into the field guided by the post-theories that I have studied.

Following what Van Maanen (2010: 251) calls a logic of "pluck-and-luck discovery", I decided to enter the fieldwork without a precise theoretical framework in mind and, in an abductive fashion, I was open to (almost) everything (Brinkmann, 2014). The readings were following me, shifting together with the events unfolding inside the organisations. However, despite my (naïve) confidence, stemming from the long time spent studying what it means to do an ethnography, the actual problems surfaced later. I was already in the first organisation when I realised that everything was less linear than I thought. Despite being prepared for this occurrence (Alivernini et al, 2008), as Italians say, 'between what is said and what is done there is the sea'[3]. Finding a way to avoid the data overload has been a rather difficult task. Abruptly, I was swept away by an unmanageable flood of information.

How can I take field-notes without losing attention or 'remember' everything that happened in the field? I was concerned that the data that I was producing would have been nonsensical. I was not worried about the validity or reliability of my research, but my bond with the conventional qualitative methodologies was still strong (Alivernini et al, 2008; Bryman, 2015). In the early stages of the research I was deeply concerned about behaving in a methodologically impeccable way. This was pushing me toward a detached attitude, and I was losing sight of my research objectives. Later, I realized that I had to stop trying to embody the 'perfect researcher' and start living intensely the fieldwork experience.

I had to abandon myself to that erratic stream of events and follow my feelings, guided by the theories, my notes and the relationships with the participants. Nothing was essential or less important to remember. Everything, and at the same time nothing, was inherently significant. I was re-constructing and narrating what had happened respecting the research participants. Initially, I was exercising a continuous control over my work according to the regimes of truth shaping methodological praxes and the conceptions of social research. By rebelling against the dominant systems of thought underlying the practice of social sciences,

---

[3] In Italian: 'tra il dire e il fare c'è di mezzo il mare'. It corresponds to the English proverb: 'there's many a slip 'twixt cup and lip'

I could pave the way towards new creative ways of research and 'becoming' a researcher (Hammersley & Traianou, 2014).

A fundamental step of this phase concerned the relationship with my field-notes. They were not a 'mirror' of the reality, but a 'filter' that could be used to organise what I considered relevant. I slowly started transcribing the field-notes more spontaneously, without thinking too much about what was 'important or not'. If I was writing about it, it meant that something had caught my attention. Later, everything would become clearer. I had to accept that, at the beginning, organisational ethnography can be threateningly chaotic and less structured than some methodological books try to describe (Moeran, 2009). I ended up performing something that I would call a 'power/knowledge ethnography' of organisational members' daily practices and interactions. Plunging myself into their lives, I realised the richness of everyday life, the productivity of our interactions, those little gestures, talks and embodied practices connecting everyone participating in organisational processes. An almost imperceptible world had become increasingly clear to me. But I did not unearth anything new, I just became aware of the elusive micro-dynamics of power that shape our daily life and ourselves (Walters, 2017). Accordingly, I have observed, mapped and analysed everyday organisational life, practices and members' interactions from the perspective of the social workers. Then I have reflected on the effects of their power in producing knowledge about the organisational life, the wider social context and the self of the actors involved in the context.

The embodied participation and real-time analysis of organisational life was necessary to reflect on the power of the 'Foucauldian pastors' in producing the "everyday knowledges" shaping the subjectivities of those involved in the research context (Gardiner, 2006: 205). Gradually, I began to realise that even the migrants, more or less willingly, were undertaking a series of subtle misbehaviours in order to resist the same power/knowledge relations in which they took part (Mumby et al, 2017). Hence, rather than going in search of 'hidden meanings' I looked at the micro-manifestations of power and processes of knowledge creation within organisational practices and relations, focusing on their productive capacity (Foucault, 1980; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). The interplay between practical and symbolical dimensions of social integration emerged within discourses and daily conversations, as well as the influence of the macro-level, impacting the organisational life. The focus on daily life was also motivated by the intention to explore the "messy scenography of numberless power-laden confrontations" characterizing individuals' experiences within organisations (Philo, 2012, cit. in Bailey et al, 2018: 98). Following Bailey and colleagues (2018: 98), the

focus on the mundane allowed me to grasp how power operates in intersectional and unpredictable ways. In Rose's (1996: 131) words, it is within the daily practices of power that "conduct has become problematic to others or the self, and in the mundane texts and programmes [...] seeking to render these problems intelligible and, at the same time, manageable".

4.4.1 Producing ethnographic data in practice

This explorative ethnographic study has been conducted over six months in the spring and summer of 2017 and 2018 at two SPRAR centres based in the south of Italy. During the time in the field, I worked as a volunteer, supporting employees in routine activities or helping migrants in carrying out various daily tasks (for example, sorting out applications for various documents, medical visits, buying medicine at the pharmacy). I have also contributed to their work acting as an English/Italian translator to support formal and informal meetings between service users, staff members and hosts. These experiences were the source of my observation of the organisational daily life and the interactions between workers and refugees. Field-notes were transcribed every evening, after observations and conversations took place, and organised in a Word document structured following the Creswell's Observation Protocol (2007). According to this protocol, the observations should be recorded by comparing a descriptive and a reflexive account of the events in which the researcher takes part (see Appendix A1).

During the time spent within the organisations I also kept a hand-written fieldwork journal (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Berlingieri, 2015) to keep track of the themes arising during conversations, my own descriptions, opinions and self-reflections about practices, discourses, formal events and more informal situations that have occurred. Accordingly, the data produced consists of personal reflections and notes about my experience, regularly reviewed during the participant-observation period. These were complemented by a series of semi-structured and flexible interviews (Charmaz, 2006) conducted with all employees and some migrants benefitting from their services. (more details about the interviews in the 'Post-structuralist interviews' sub-section below).

Despite my participation to organisational life, I have never felt as a true member of the organisation by both staff and service users as I was excluded, or rather non-invited, to the formal staff meetings and I was never involved in significant tasks. Moreover, I was often

addressed as the researcher, the psychologist, the observer or the intern. As Neyland (2007) points out, one of the biggest challenges in the management of field relations is to find a balanced position between being too close to organisational members (emic perspective) and taking too much distance from them (etic perspective) to produce the ethnographic analysis. Junker (1960), describes four ethnographic positions to balance the involvement within the organisation. These positions span from complete participation, through participant as observer, observer as participant, to complete observer. My role has been that of an 'observer as participant' as I have never managed to be fully involved in the job duties, forcing myself to maintain a certain detachment (see also Moeran, 2009).

One tricky scenario, concerning this research, could have occurred if the organisation pushed me too much into the role of the 'volunteer'. Positioning myself as a complete participant, I could have been involved in their activities as an asset, exploiting my presence in a convenient way. On the other side, I did not want to take too much distance from the organisation to protect my role as a researcher as it could have created distrust, preventing me from gaining important information. To avoid this, I assumed a balanced position and, during the initial meeting with the members of the organisations, I openly discussed the objectives of the research, my role as both researcher and volunteer, the number of hours that I intended to spend inside the organisation and the boundaries between my work as a volunteer and my responsibilities and duties as a researcher.

As Bryman (2015) suggest, one of the most important stages in ethnographic research is gaining and keeping access to the field. To plan how to gain access, Bryman stresses the importance of considering the nature of the organisational setting, that can be open or closed (see also Bell, 1969). The organisations I contacted for my research were closed and non-public organisations. To approach them, I employed a series of strategies that Bryman (2015: 435) considers "unsystematic in tone" but have proved fruitful. Accordingly, I took advantage of networks of personal and professional contacts to gain access; achieved sponsorship through senior members of the organisations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007); established reciprocity by offering something in return (my voluntary labour and a preliminary report about my observations to be discussed during a staff meeting as well as a copy of my thesis); and provided a clear summary of aims and methods of the research and a clear explanation to participants about the amount of time requested.

I have secured access to the first Refugee Reception Centre after a meeting with the project manager, with whom I had a professional and academic contact in common. While

conducting my research within the first centre, I have gained access to the second SPRAR Centre through another academic contact. In 2017 I have spent around three months at the first centre (May to August) and in 2018 (from April to June) I conducted the research at the second centre. The time span between the two research phases has given me the opportunity to review some of my assumptions and focus my observations and interviews according to the preliminary data analysis. I have been introduced to the members of the organisations through informal meetings held before the actual start of both research phases. There, I provided an extensive summary of my research and explained what my presence would involve. Specifically, staff members, refugees and migrants have been informed that I would have supported their activities, that I was a researcher interested in the exploration of their work and that my observation and our conversations would be part of my research project. Observations have occurred mainly inside the organisations' facilities and I was able to directly ask for consent from the organisations (via the project managers) and from all members of the organisations.

4.4.2. Ethical issues

During the entire research, the OU ethical guidelines were followed and the Open University Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the research project. From an ethical point of view, my main concern was the protection of the identity of the people and the organisations hosting me (Humphreys & Watson, 2009). Appropriately, no personal information was recorded, pseudonyms were assigned to participants in notes, interview transcripts, analysis and the final writing. Additionally, although I was aware of the loss in terms of narrative and analytical depth, I decided to omit the detailed location of my research. The reason for this is that, as Humphreys and Watson (2009) note, securing anonymity sometimes is particularly challenging, especially when research is conducted in small contexts in which just a few organisations can correspond to the case studied. In that circumstance, readers might try to pinpoint the organisations or recognise the identity of the research subjects.

Consequently, I chose to blur the boundaries between the two centres in order to make them less recognizable to readers, giving greater emphasis to organisational processes rather than to the organisations as concrete sites. In doing this, I was influenced by the post-structuralist ethnography described by Van Maanen (2010) and the semi-fictionalized ethnography outlined by Humphreys and Watson (2009), especially regarding the sense of vagueness,

disorder and openness that my writing tries to convey. Accordingly, "post-structural tales are inevitably inconclusive [...] all works are unfinished without considering the critical and differently positioned responses to text by specific readers" (Van Maanen, 2010: 249). According to Van Maanen (2010), three features characterize post-structuralist ethnographies. First of all, stable notions of time, place and identity vanish to give space to fluidity and instability. Second, the sense of reality is expanded, replaced by a sort of hyperreality in which no one seem to live; and lastly, a sense of precariousness defined by Van Maanen (2010: 249) "an apocalyptic flair [...] representing newness, novelty, and an end-to-the-world-as-we-know-it sensibility".

4.4.3 Post-structuralist interviews

Within the fieldwork, I had the opportunity to meet many migrants and talk with them. However, most of my time was spent in the company of social workers employed within the centres. As suggested by Corbetta (1999), ordinary, informal interactions and everyday behaviours are the starting point for participant-observation. I predominantly followed and shadowed staff members and, when I could, offered my help when performing daily tasks. I was able to confront them, listen to their stories and little secrets and discuss our perspectives both through structured tools such as discursive face-to-face ethnographic interviews, and more fluid and discontinuous techniques such as the 'back-talk' (see Cardano 2011; Manocchi, 2014). As explained by Cardano (2011), the 'back-talk' can be understood as the agglomeration of observations and informal conversations between researcher and participants. Among these are included both the spontaneous conversations and the interactions guided by researchers' curiosity. These interactions offered me the chance to overcome the boundaries between observations, interviews and notes, enriching my ideas and providing feedback regarding my theories and the pertinence of my impressions about the studied social context (Cardano, 2011).

However, one of the most important instruments and sources of information were face-to-face interviews, generally considered a core feature of the ethnographic approach and defined by Burgess (1984: 102) as *"conversations with a purpose"* (see also Brewer, 2000; Berlingieri, 2015). There were some points I had to take into consideration when adopting face-to-face interviews within a post-qualitative, Foucault-informed research (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017; St. Pierre, 2014). First of all, the interviewee is represented within conventional qualitative approach as a coherent, stable, and autonomous subject able to

constitute meanings (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017). On the other hand, and as seen earlier, the subject theorised by post-qualitative and post-structuralist scholars is multiple, unstable and evolving, the result of processes of subjectification and power/knowledge relations (Benozzo, 2018).

In line with St. Pierre's (2013a) arguments, the tendency to identify a humanist pre-discursive "individual located outside of power/knowledge relations" should be avoided (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017: 689). As Bonham and Bacchi (2017) argue, many Foucauldian interview-based studies seem to refer to this kind of subject (see Doughty & Murray, 2014; Hacking, 2004). Hence, within my research, even if I speak about what *organisational members* say, my analytical focus lays in *what* they say and *how* their discourses affect the organisational power/knowledge matrix of relations. Therefore, it is necessary to avoid considering interviewees' words as expression of individuals' "truth" and shift the focus on "*what* is said" instead of "what *people* say" (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017: 688). According to the post-structural interviews as theorized by Bonham and Bacchi, the dimension of "*what* is said" highlights the processes of knowledge construction and the effects of such knowledge. Thus, it is essential to recall the analytical concept of 'discursive practice' as articulated by Foucault (1969) and applied by Bacchi and Bonham (2014, 2017) in the perspective of the post-qualitative interview drawing on Mol's 'ontological politics' (1999). This move also implies to re-consider discourses' role in constituting social and organisational realities.

Hardy (2001:26) defines discourses as "the practices of talking and writing, which bring objects into being through the production, dissemination and consumption of texts" (see also Woodilla, 1998; Parker, 1992). Accordingly, the notion of texts is central, seen as 'discursive units', materializations of discourses including linguistic and non-linguistic material (Chalaby, 1996). However, discourses, the 'things said', must be understood as relations within symbolic and materials elements, attributing legitimacy and significance to those 'things said' (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). '*What* people say', is organised around multiple and fortuitous processes contributing to the construction of what can be considered 'true' (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017). These processes are contained within Foucault's notion of discursive practice:

> *A set of anonymous, historical rules always determined in time and space that have defined a given epoch, and for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions of exercise of the enunciative function* (Foucault, 1969: 157-158).

According to Foucault (1969/2017) these rules should be understood as historical relations between elements constituting knowledge and conditions of existence (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014). Discursive practices include the 'things said' and the instructions to give meaning to everything that can be said or known at a given moment in time and space. Recalling Mol's (1999) 'ontological politics', interviews become unstable locations within these discursive practices, where multiple and flexible versions of reality are produced by unstable subjects in becoming (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017).

4.4.4 Ethnographic interviews in practice

I organised my interviews respecting the two main characteristics of the ethnographic interview: embeddedness and openness (Barker, 2012). Accordingly, after establishing a certain amount of trust with the research participants and understanding "what was going on" in the field (Roulston, 2019: 3), I was able to select the topics to discuss. I chose to conduct the interviews in an open-ended way, and I prepared a flexible interview guide (see Appendix A2) covering the relevant topics and some starting questions (Charmaz, 2006; Roulston, 2019). I started the interviews with general questions to put the participants at ease, allowing them to discuss the issues they considered most relevant, provide more in-depth responses and raise unexpected viewpoints (Legard, Keegan, & Ward, 2003). Furthermore, I let the interviewees feel free to ask me questions and I avoided hiding my feelings or points of view.

My aim was not to appear as a cold, distant and controlled interviewer (Fontana & Frey, 2005). This helped me to weaken the barriers with the interviewees and help them feel more comfortable through the establishment of a welcoming environment. However, the building of a friendly relationship was not seen as a way to moderate the subjectification effects related to the interviewer's and interviewee's positions within the power relations (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Conversely, I was participating with them in the processes of construction of subjects, objects and concepts. As a participating subject, I contributed to those processes in an equal measure with the interviewees and '*what* was said' was also co-built by me (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017). During these conversations, I tried to explore the construction of knowledge, subjects and objects around the following main topics of interest:

- **Staff members** – Experiences of work within the field, representations of refugees/migrants, visions and ideas of integration, what it means working in the SPRAR and being a SPRAR worker;

- **Migrants** – Experiences as refugees/migrants, challenges within the host country and support received from the organisation.

I hold the interviews inside the centres' premises to safeguard both me and the participants from any possible inconvenience that could occur. However, for reasons of space and work duties, some interviews were conducted in different places but still in the areas surrounding the organisations. These were often accidental places, chosen at the time based on availability. I conducted interviews in the offices, inside my car and during coffee or cigarette breaks in the courtyard. Two migrants invited me to interview them inside their rooms as one centre's offices were located in a flat hosting the migrants and those were the only private spaces available. The interviews became much more like informal conversations (see Appendix A3). Before starting every interview, all participants were briefed again about the research aims and asked to sign the consent form. During the interviews, the confidentiality and anonymity of participants were ensured by avoiding, where possible, to pronounce names and assigning codes to the participants when transcribing the interviews. Once interviews had taken place, every participant was reminded that before anonymisation they had the right to withdraw any or all data if they wish to (see Appendix A4 and A5).

All interviews were audio recorded and I have personally transcribed them verbatim. Everything said or recorded as part of my research was treated as confidential and not directly accessible to anyone apart from me and my supervisors. I conducted a total of 25 interviews lasting an average of one hour and ranging between 45 and 90 minutes. Of the total, 16 were conducted with all the members of the organisations (social workers, project managers, cultural mediators and one psychologist), aged between 25 and 55. The employees were mostly female. All except the cultural mediators were Italian and all spoke Italian. The remaining 9 interviews were conducted with migrants hosted by the two centres. Migrants were mostly male, aged between 18 and 50 (see Appendix A6). Recruiting them was very difficult as most of them did not want to be interviewed and most spoke neither English nor Italian. I was therefore able to interview only the English speakers and some migrants who wanted to practice the Italian language. Only one migrant refused to be recorded, and a summary of our conversation has been included into the field-notes. After having described the methods for producing data, below I will discuss my analytical approach.

4.5 Data analysis beyond coding

The data were analysed according to a post-qualitative perspective that, as explained above, represents a response to the rising 'standardisation' and 'positivisation' of qualitative research (Gerrard et al., 2017). Qualitative analysis can be unsettling, both because of the amount of unstructured data normally used and because of the wide variety of methods available to researchers. As Lather (1991: 149) states, analysis in qualitative research method appears more and more as a "black hole" and the struggle in explaining its procedures has produced a belief according to which qualitative analysis can be reduced to coding (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). To move beyond this conception, according to St. Pierre (2013; see also Jackson & Mazzei, 2012), it is necessary to re-discuss the principal concepts of conventional qualitative research such as data, coding and analysis.

Hence, post-qualitative research rejects any form of analysis where data, such words or texts, are treated as "brute data" just "waiting to be coded, [and then] labelled with other brute words" (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014: 715). Accordingly, post-qualitative scholars see coding as a fetish technique, admissible only within a positivist scientism that sees data as pre-existing the researcher and just waiting to be discovered, collected and analysed (Brinkmann, 2014; St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). The critique raised by St. Pierre and Jackson regarding coding techniques is not related just to the way data are concretely analysed. Rather, it is necessary to re-conceive ideas about what counts as data, the relationship we establish with them and how theories' onto-epistemologies can clash with atheoretical analytical procedures (Augustine, 2014: Brinkmann, 2014; Jackson, 2017).

In my case, I moved towards these methodologies after I had recognised that traditional analytical approaches based on coding and analysis of themes were unsatisfactory to describe the contradictory reality of the context. The process-oriented analysis I adopted, developed in a non-structured, visceral and sometimes unclear way. Borrowing Jackson and Mazzei's (2011: 2) words, I should summarise my analysis as a process of "production of knowledge that [emerged] as a creation out of chaos".

Thus, more than a description, I will offer a retrospective reflection on what happened. To proceed with the explanation of my approach, it is necessary to dive back to the first year of my doctorate. I was principally interested in the critical analysis of the discursive construction of the 'meanings' related to integration (Alvesson & Karreman, 2011; Grant et al, 2004; Wodak & Myers, 2001). After completing the first phase of my fieldwork, I started transcribing the interviews and reading them together with the field-notes. During these

initial stages I organised the data in a way that could help "the data speak for themselves/itself" (Bryant, 2014: 125). According to Charmaz (2005, cit. in Augustine, 2014: 3) this represents the "first step in taking an analytic stance toward the data".

Thus, I processed the interviews through NVivo to code the data. From this initial phase, I identified a total of 19 categories that I grouped in wider themes to find recurring patterns and connect interviews and field-notes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Afterwards, I identified five main themes: 'integration', 'representation of migrants', 'work and employment', 'relationships between staff members and beneficiaries', 'institutional changes'. However, I felt deeply unsatisfied about my relationship with the data and I could not really write anything interesting. The themes emerging were too rigid and I was feeling emotionally distant from the experiences in the field. At that time, I was nearly starting the second phase of my fieldwork, flying back to Italy to spend another 3/4 months at the second reception centre.

Meanwhile, I realised that my initial analytical approach was incompatible with the epistemological principles of the theories that I was studying (Jackson & Mazzei, 2011). As I wanted to look at the concept of integration from alternative perspectives, I integrated post-modern and post-structural writings, with post-colonialism, queer and decolonization theories (see Girei, 2015; Mignolo, 2007; Prasad, 2003; Taylor et al, 2017; Tudor, 2017). Still, the ideas I was developing were too focused on macro-perspectives of integration. I felt the need to adjust my theoretical approach as, towards the end of my fieldwork, I needed to find a way to theorise the micro-level of migrants' integration (Paunova & Blasco, 2017).

I came back to Foucault's work about the microphysics of power, the relationship between governmentality and subjectification, pastoral power and biopolitics (1982, 2003, 2005). His theory provided me with a large set of concepts to analyse the organisational life in which I took part. In addition, it helped me to theorize integration as the result of the organisational processes of subjects' constitution, enacted through micro-disciplinary and self-examination practices. The more I engaged with the epistemology of the Foucauldian (post-)theories' assumptions, the more I became aware that the adoption of a conventional qualitative methodological approach was preventing me from establishing a deeper connection with data and with my 'emotional experiences'.

During the winter of 2018, during a 'stalemate' in my research, my supervisor Dr. Cinzia Priola invited me to read an article written by Silvia Gherardi, entitled *"Theorizing affective ethnography for organisation studies"* (2019). Although I have not explicitly followed the

methodology expounded within it, reading that article was a turning point, my first encounter with post-qualitative methods. After the initial uncertainty and hesitation, I enthusiastically started to look for the sources cited by Gherardi. I wanted to know more, and I instinctively felt that it was the right path to follow. Soon after, I started reading authors such as St. Pierre (2013a), Lather (2013) and Jackson and Mazzei's (2012). My doctoral research could finally enter its second stage of life.

4.5.1 Reading, writing, thinking and 'feeling' to analyse data

In order to escape the 'golden cage of analytical procedures' and develop a process-oriented analysis, I decided to follow Jackson and Mazzei (2011, 2012) (anti)methodological approach of 'thinking with theory'. This approach represents a "challenge [to] qualitative researchers to use theory to think *with* their data (or use data to think *with* theory) in order to accomplish a reading of the data that is both *within and against interpretivism"* (Jackson & Mazzei 2013: 261). Accordingly, thinking with theory allows to plug-in multiple sources of information, usually considered distinct fields (i.e. data and theory), to create knowledge through their interweaving. Through the connection of these fields of knowledge, data and theories dynamically confer centrality to each other and transform in a continuous exchange of information. The product of such exchange is always just a partial depiction of the studied phenomenon, never steadfast and always in continuous becoming.

As explained by Jackson and Mazzei (2012), this approach pushes post-structuralist concepts to their limits through data and, vice versa, opens up data in unanticipated ways through theory. The objective is to produce knowledge by plugging together the "field of reality" (data, theory and methods), the "field of representation" (the knowledge produced) and the "field of subjectivity" (the researcher) (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012: 2). Consequently, although I started this research by following conventional methods (see Braun & Clarke, 2013), I developed my own data analysis methodology in a more flexible and creative way. It is important to underline that although my analytical approach has changed throughout my work, the first stage of coding proved to be useful to acquiring familiarity with the data. Gradually therefore, I entirely abandoned the use of NVivo, going back to classic and 'less technological' approaches such as highlighters and hand-written notes in the margin of my printed transcripts, paper journals and books. My approach to research therefore developed into a prolonged process allowing me to reach the results through repetitive rounds of reading, writing, thinking and feeling (Augustine, 2014; St. Pierre, 2018).

As a starting point, I read and re-read the transcripts of the interviews, initially only highlighting the parts that I considered interesting until I could select those that would have later included in the final writing. In this phase, I also started to write down spontaneously, in the margins of the pages, anything that could have had an analytical value: my thoughts, references to other interviews, free interpretations and links to theoretical concepts helping me to give sense to participants' words. During this phase I was mainly involved with the interviews and I decided to put temporarily aside the field-notes. As I never considered field-notes and transcripts as different typologies of data, I preferred to use them later, when my thoughts had reached a higher degree of structuration and orient myself in the huge amount of material available. My writing in this stage was very elementary, concise and almost chaotic, rhizomatically progressing in every direction alongside the study of theory (St. Pierre, 1997).

Simultaneously, I started to compile a diary, a grey notepad given to me by my partner. Inside it, I sketched diagrams, wrote down more complex thoughts, sentences from other books and personal impressions offering possible understandings that might connect the interviews to the theories I was reading. These connections were free, fluid and unpredictable. They could knock at the gates of my mind at any time: during a walk, at the bus stop, during a shower, a meal or while watching a movie or reading a novel. To avoid losing any valuable idea I also relied on my smartphone – if I did not have the diary on me – through which I could take note of my thoughts anywhere. As soon as possible, I would rephrase everything in my hand-written diary. That diary was an abstract photograph of my moving thoughts, connected by an obscure plot that slowly burgeoned into an intelligible and (dis)ordered narrative structure. My thinking was free from methodological constraints and emancipating my practice from the "conventional dependency on procedural method" helped me to find my own approach "*outside* of method" (Jackson, 2017: 666).

At a later stage, I grouped the most significant interview extracts within five Word files to organise them into categories established on the basis of my knowledge of the topic, the data and the theory. I did not organise them as 'themes' but they composed the 'skeleton' of the story I wanted to narrate. These categories, emerging and evolving through the study of theory, data and from the scrutiny of my reflections and embodied experiences, developed as follows: *'speaking of integration', 'doing integration', 'power/knowledge relations between organisation and the external world', 'being a SPRAR pastor'* and *'representation of migrants'*. Each file was more or less twenty pages long including a large number of interview fragments. While I was proceeding with this method and, in my mind, an

increasingly coherent logic was being constituted, I gradually started to integrate the reading of the interviews with the notes taken in the field. Pages and pages of notes that, although exhaustive and detailed, were still not complete. Slowly, while I was drafting my chapters, my writing was improving, expanding and getting more articulated. My thoughts became more complex, and I could transform those initially disconnected sentences into what finally composed the ethnographic chapters of my findings. During this stage, the iterative process of reading, writing and thinking was repeated over and over. From this point of view, writing was the most important part of my work, representing a method of inquiry in all effects, offering me a way for 'becoming' and conducting the development of my thoughts (Deleuze, 1990; St. Pierre, 2018).

Elbow (1998, cit. in Augustine, 2014: 3) suggests that "writing is a way to end up thinking something you couldn't have started out thinking". These iterative processes of writing, thinking and reading brought back memories, contextual elements, conversations and situations not previously considered during attempts at coding. St. Pierre (1997) calls these elements 'transgressive data', materialising in the form of 'emotional data', 'dream data', 'sensual data' or 'response data'. What should I have done with all this heap of thoughts? The memories of my experience were turning into meaningful data, and they deserved to be treated as such. When they unexpectedly arose, I wrote down everything, trying to superimpose them on the previous, still undeveloped, connections and associations. These transgressive data stumbled upon me as buried reminiscences of the time spent in the field, unprocessed feelings temporarily subjugated by rational thinking, scattered images returning to consciousness, or dreams evoking new perspectives for reading my data. Later, I realized that I needed to generate conditions that could nourish my emotional memory and reconnect me with the experiences in the field. A practical example of what I did was to listen to the music I was listening during my travels towards the research locations. These embodied emotional instances allowed me to overcome the "interpretive imperatives, limiting the so-called analysis and inhibiting the inclusion of previously unthought data" (Jackson & Mazzei, 2013: 262).

According to St. Pierre and Jackson (2014), face to face methods represent the principal tool for data production in qualitative research. However, the '*what* is said' by interviewees risks turning into a supposedly unquestionable truth serving "as the foundation of knowledge" (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014: 715). It follows that any non-textualized (or non-textualizable) data is considered analytically insignificant. This forced me to reflect on what counts as data. Mantovani (2008) sees data as something produced and mediated by research activities.

Brinkmann (2014) explains that normally researchers treat data as givens that can be collected and coded, while others follow a different approach according to which everything is data. If the latter is the case, data risk losing their "analytic power [and] cannot introduce a difference into our thinking that makes a difference to us" (Brinkmann, 2014: 721).

To overcome such impasse, Brinkmann (2014, 2012) recommends to approach research from an abductive point of view and as a form of craftmanship. According to his view of abduction research is not data- or theory-driven, but breakdown-, uncertainty- and surprise-driven (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011; Brinkman, 2012, 2014). The goal of the abductive process is to create knowledge by understanding and explaining something that surprises us and gives a sense to what happened, using theories and methods to facilitate the process (Brinkmann, 2014). Abduction is therefore a never-ending process dismantling the boundaries between life, research, theory, and methods: "There is no division, in practice, between work and life. [It] is a practice that involves the whole person, continually drawing on past experience as it is projected into the future" (Ingold, 2011, cit. in Brinkmann, 2014: 723). My analytical challenge was to recover equilibrium and logical stability, so I could craft a consistent narrative giving credit to my experiences and especially to the subjects whose lives constituted the social reality I studied. Below I will explain how I conducted my analysis in a theoretically sound way.

4.5.2 Thinking without method but thinking with theory

As I explained in the previous section, the practice of writing, reading, thinking and feeling proceeded without relying on specific methodological guidelines. In carrying out this activity I was guided by the discovery of my surprising data and by my experience and knowledge of the field and research participants. This process also helped me to structure the final writing of my ethnographic chapters. After all that had happened, I knew I could not present my data according to a structure composed by themes as watertight compartments. Conversely, the 'themes' developed in the ethnographic chapters are not cold accounts and mere descriptive strands of writing. I tried to organise them according to a processual logic that narratively tries to convey to readers the sense of dynamic messiness and ambiguity marking the context and the organisational life I explored. However, if we consider research as a work of craftmanship, the study of theory represents a fundamental tool to manufacture the analysis. The iterative analytical approach employed helped me to incorporate and make use of the theoretical concepts I was studying. I was forming an

assemblage constituted by me, the theory, the methods and the research participants (Augustine, 2014; Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). The Foucauldian theories I was studying slowly became part of me, putting the finishing touches on my writing and providing me with important 'keys to reading' the data.

To advance the analysis, I studied the theory in a way that allowed me to see the data and think and write about it through the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). According to Foucault (1980b), power and knowledge form each other, and the constitution of knowledge is affected by relations of power. Thus, power and knowledge always imply one another, and every power relation constitutes a field of knowledge related to it. Likewise, at the same time, any knowledge always constitutes power relations (Ribeiro et al, 2018). Analytically speaking, as Jackson and Mazzei (2012) suggest, it is useful to understand knowledge by referring to the partition proposed by Foucault between *savoir* and *connaissance.* These words, both meaning knowledge, have been used by Foucault (1980b) to distinguish between two nuances of the same concept. Savoir refers to the unstable knowledge about oneself, dynamically co-created through relationships with others. Connaissance is used to refer to the knowledge about others, the form of knowledge that a subject receives from external sources and that materialises in constructions of the self in relation with its opposite (see migrant vs host) (Jackson and Mazzei, 2012: 51).

As I explained in detail in Chapter 3, power needs to be understood as relational, dynamic and capillary (Foucault, 1977). Methodologically speaking, since Foucault has never provided any guidelines on how to use his concepts, Ribeiro et al (2018) propose a systematization of an analytics of power that helped me to investigate discourses and organisational practices and their effects on the construction of objects and subjects (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017). Accordingly, it is necessary to follow a series of theoretical assumptions if one wants to analyse power relations. I tried to keep constantly in mind these assumptions adapting them to my case in order to analyse the productive power/knowledge relations shaping organisational daily life. Below I will summarise these methodological and theoretical assumptions (Ribeiro et al, 2018: 154-156). Firstly, according to Ribeiro and colleagues, power should never be analysed at the level of intention and to avoid looking for inherent meanings hiding behind discursive and non-discourse practices (see also Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Conversely, the focus should be on the effects that these practices have on power/knowledge relationships, independently from the will of subjects or groups (Foucault 1978; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Secondly, power exists everywhere and nowhere, since it fluctuates constantly throughout countless possible forms of social relationships,

such as relations between co-workers, friends or relatives (Foucault, 2009). The mechanisms of power are intrinsic to these relationships, being simultaneously their cause and effect (Ribeiro et al., 2018).

Another point raised by Ribeiro and colleagues is that, as power is not possessed by powerful groups subjugating the powerless, power relations must not be understood in terms of ideology of the dominant class. Power requires the creation of some truth emerging through the constitution of 'discourses of truth' (Foucault, 1978). Therefore, it becomes essential to understand such discourses as products of power relations and analyse their local effects, rather than trying to uncover ideologies underlying any display of power (Foucault, 2005). The discourses of truth should not be seen as stable and superimposed from a macro level. Conversely, they should be perceived as unstable fragments of knowledge assuming different and even self-contradictory forms (Foucault, 1978). It implies that a single discourse can serve different (even conflicting) strategies (Ribeiro et al., 2018)

Finally, power must be analysed from its margins, in the form of micro-practices that can be institutionalized, providing tools for wider interventions (Foucault, 2003). Researchers should avoid seeking the *'why'* of power manifestations, but rather understanding *'how'* the effects of power materialize affecting the production of subjects and objects. Thus, power should be explored from the bottom to the top, starting from its microscopic manifestations towards wider and general forms of domination, trying to grasp how the micro is related to the macro and vice-versa (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Consequently, if power manifests itself in a widespread and ubiquitous way, this does not mean that we are always subjugated to it. Precisely because power is dispersed, power relations can always be challenged and rebuilt (Foucault, 1977, 2005). It is possible to say that the very functioning of power involves the production of resistance (Foucault, 1978). These forms of resistance emerge as alternative manifestations of power within the same power relations. Therefore, these dynamics must be analysed as struggles between "powers-resistances" (Ribeiro et al, 2018: 156).

My analytic strategy involved applying iteratively the following processes of interrogation (adapted from the work of Bonham & Bacchi, 2017 and Jackson & Mazzei, 2012) to the interview transcripts, the fieldnotes and the 'transgressive data'. These processes involved recording '*what is said and what is done*' to highlight key discursive and cultural practices to uncover the productive potential of organisational discursive practices; analysing *'what is said and what is done'* as effects of power/knowledge. This helped me to map the power relations within the organisations and between the organisations and the wider social

context. Another analytical task was that of questioning the production of 'subjects' and 'objects' through relations of power/knowledge (Bonham & Bacchi, 2017; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). The thorough study of theory helped me to understand and analyse dynamically the power relations existing between subjects, the manifestations of the power relations and their effects on organisational life and on the subjects that participate in it. The adoption of a power/knowledge analytical perspective provided me with the chance to understand how power moves within the organisations affecting the way in which subjects are continuously produced through power relations and cultural practices (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Accordingly, I have applied these concepts to examine how knowable 'objects' (i.e. integration) and 'subjects' (i.e. migrants, citizens, workers etc) are continuously formed and transformed by relations of power within daily practices and affected by the regimes of truth legitimised by government rationalities.

Concluding remarks

Within this chapter I have described my methodology from an auto-ethnographic perspective to explain how I could overcome the barriers imposed by rigid approaches to research. In the first part of the chapter I described how I refined my ontological and epistemological perspective, reconsidering my early positions. Specifically, I started my research with the certainty that the best epistemological approach to study the topic of migrants' integration would have been socio-constructionism. As I discussed in the chapter, one of the major criticisms of the socio-constructionist perspectives is related to the problem of relativism and how it can legitimize world views producing discrimination and marginalisation. Mol's (1999) political ontology approach, consistently with my Foucauldian framework, allowed me to discuss how some social realities become truer than others. The task of the researcher therefore is to reveal and dismantle these alleged realities by analysing the discursive practices and the underlying dynamics of power/knowledge reproducing and legitimizing them.

In the second part I discussed the research methodologies I used to produce the data. Again, my objective was to describe how I reviewed my positions. Since the beginning of my research I was sure that an ethnographic approach enriched by qualitative interviews would have been perfectly coherent with my research aims and interests. The post-field-work reflections pushed me towards post-qualitative research methods, inspired by post-structuralist and post-humanist theories, which offer the possibility to develop more creative

and dynamic research methods, consistent with the ethical, ontological and epistemological premises of the theories. The study of these methodologies helped me to improve my approach to research and apply Foucault's theoretical premises in a more coherent way.

The third part of the chapter introduced a critique of a-theoretical coding methodologies. This discussion offered me a steppingstone for a personal refection on what it means to do research and to be a researcher. My desire to evade the constraints imposed by analytical procedures led me to explore alternative analytical approaches operating 'outside the method'. The application of Jackson and Mazzei's anti-methodology (2012) helped me to understand how to use Foucauldian theories creatively and develop a personal method of analysis. Moreover, I realised how research and daily life are separated by a fragile border. By crossing this threshold, I could integrate my personal experiences with my research experiences. It gave me the opportunity to explore the materiality of the research process where my body, my memory and my emotions became fundamental tools for analysing data. The data produced within the interactions between me and the research participants have transcended the temporal boundaries of past, present and future. I realised how data are unstable and unpredictable continuously transforming after the so-called 'data collection phase'. In this chapter I have tried to report my growth from a professional and personal point of view. Writing this chapter, I could experience on my own skin that research methodologies can be a very powerful tool to resist to the systems of power underlying the research practice and nurture researchers' 'individual becoming' as free subjects.

Chapter 5

The organisational context

Introduction

Within this chapter I will introduce the organisational context of the reception centres I visited to carry out my research. As I explained previously in Chapter 4, it is my intention, for ethical reasons, to conceal the identity of the organisations and the individuals within them as they can be easily recognised. For this reason, instead of describing the organisations in detail, I will provide a general explanation of the particular typology of reception centres that I studied and the socio-political context in which they operate. To do this, I will provide a brief description of the Italian context and the national reception system. I will then describe the SPRAR network and the organisational transformations that the Italian political vicissitudes have introduced during the conduct of my research, deeply influencing its functioning and responsibilities. I will conclude the chapter with a general description of the two centres that hosted me.

5.1 The Italian Context

Italy traditionally experienced outbound flows of emigration, however during the 1970s it has gradually started to become an immigration country. In the 1980s, the African debt crisis and the restrictions imposed by other European countries on legal and illegal migration determined a growth of immigration flows. These events pushed the successive Italian governments to develop a suitable political and social project to manage migrations (Noviello, 2010). In the early 1990s, as Ambrosini (2011) points out, a so-called 'Italian model' of integration began to develop, initially consisting of unstructured and spontaneous actions. In the following years, efforts have been made to gradually organise these initiatives within a more coherent system. However, as Allievi (2014) explains, the development of a consistent model of integration has been encumbered by a series of chauvinist laws and measures introduced by the succeeding governments.

The Italian system is thus characterized by a continuous elaboration of reception and integration policies on a national level, while local authorities, third sector organisations and religious institutions are responsible for migrants' management at the municipal level (Allievi, 2014; Dallavalle, 2016; Paoletti, 2010; SPRAR, 2010). The Italian civil society network of organisations has always been in the front line, trying to fulfil the basic needs of migrants (e.g. providing medical care or psychological sustenance) and supporting the national immigration system, filling the gaps left by the welfare state (Biondi Dal Monte & Vrenna, 2013). As stated by Sigona (2005a, 2005b), the absence of a coherent national migration strategy pushed these organisations to gradually cover a more active role in supporting migrants until their initiatives have been officially included within the reception system.

Italy was one of the European countries most affected by the 2015 refugee crisis. The principal transit channel, the Libyan route, has been crossed by thousands of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East to reach the Italian shores (Venturini, 2016). Already in 2014, the arrivals of migrants by boat reached the number of 170,000 people. Throughout 2015, arrivals remained stable, rising again in 2016, with a record number of 181,436 new arrivals (UNHCR, 2018b); tragically, in 2016, the deaths at sea also reached the worrying figure of 4,578 victims. The majority of migrants disembarked in southern Italian harbours, with the island of Lampedusa at the centre of flows and international newscast. Accordingly, between 2014 and 2017, about 623 thousand people arrived by sea in Italy (UNHCR, 2018c). It became clear that the country was no longer a transit area but became the third European country in terms of the number of hosted asylum seekers (Venturini, 2016). The growing arrivals put strong pressure on the national reception system, exposing the country's unpreparedness on the matter.

The large numbers of arrivals showed that Italy required a broader approach, raising concerns about the integration of migrants within the Italian territory, mirrored by the strengthening of the securitization and humanitarianism discourses characterising the public debate (Campesi, 2013). Slowly, with the incorporation of the new European Directives on the issue, the legal gaps have been partially filled. However, the Italian migration infrastructure remains largely fragmented and marked by an emergency and securitarian approach (Campesi, 2013; Marchetti, 2014). As explained by Marchetti (2014), this approach has an impact at the institutional level, in particular on the organisation of a reception system for asylum seekers and refugees. Since 2015, the Italian migration infrastructure has been organised into two main phases which migrants can access after their

arrival (Accorinti, 2015). From 2016, the governments have blandly tried to overcome the emergency approach developing a broader scheme that Manocchi (2014: 388) defines provocatively a "(non)reception system" and that I will summarise below (See Fig. 5.1).
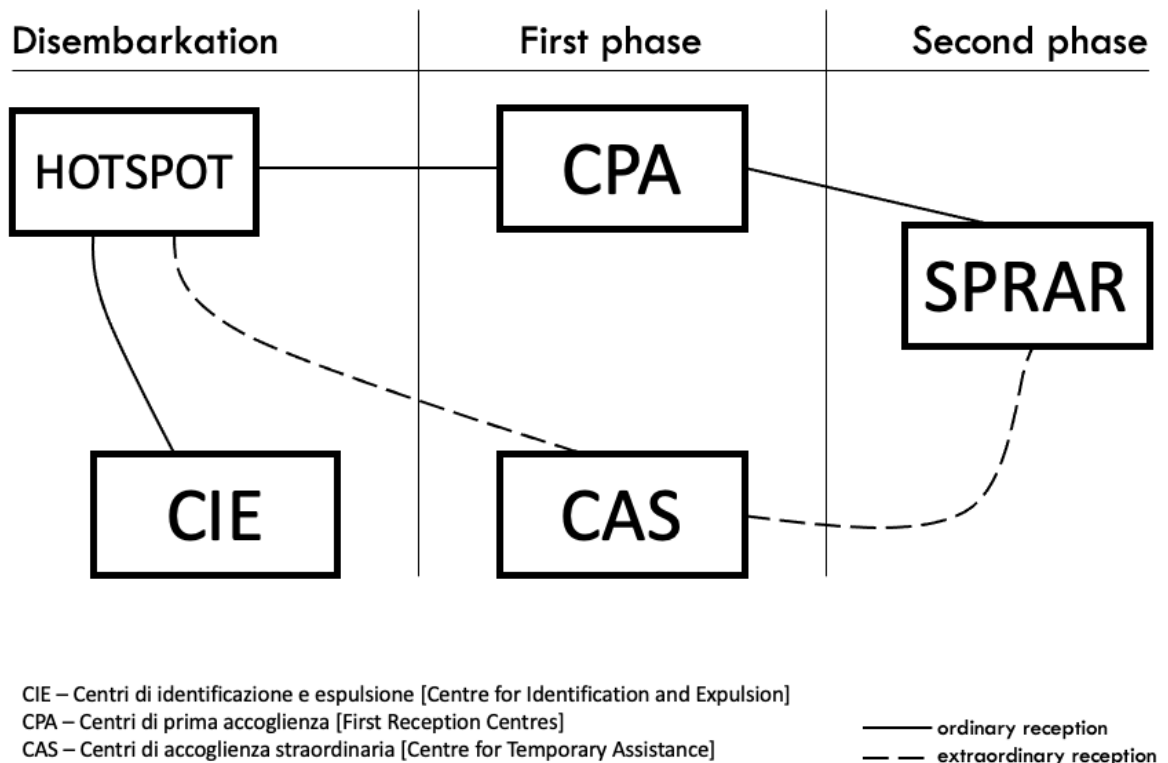
Fig. 5.1 – The Italian reception system (Source: author's own)

5.2 The Italian Reception System

The first phase has represented for a long time the priority of the governments. It corresponds to the reception and assistance of newly arrived migrants. Here, after disembarkation, the migrants are hosted within the hotspots where they can receive the first medical treatment and undergo medical screening. The hotspots are managed by NGOs such as *Médecins sans Frontières*, Save the children, or Caritas, in conjunction with local voluntary and third sector associations (Venturini, 2016). Within these centres, migrants are identified and start the bureaucratic procedures for accessing the protection system and regularising their legal status. In particular cases, migrants could be directed to the CIE [Centri di Identificazione ed Espulsione – Centre for Identification and Expulsion], alternatively called CPR [Centri per il rimpatrio – Repatriation Centres]. Not to be confused with detention centres, these structures host migrants with a criminal record, an expulsion certificate and those who do not request asylum. After an initial evaluation, migrants seeking asylum are moved (within

48 hours) into the first reception centres. Here they are hosted for the entire process of assessing their asylum request and until an accommodation is found within the second reception centres.

First reception centres are organised like classical refugee camps, hosting a large number of migrants in cities and town's peripheries. Over time, these centres have taken on different names, creating considerable confusion. However, the services offered, and the methods of reception remained the same (see Accorinti, 2015; Venturini, 2016). These are the CPA [Centro di Prima Accoglienza – Centre of first Reception], alternatively termed CDA [Centri di Accoglienza – Centre for Assistance] or CARA [Centers for Assistance to Asylum Seekers – Centri di Accoglienza per Richedenti Asilo]. Following the rapid growth of arrivals, an extraordinary reception scheme was set up to support the first reception. The centres belonging to the so-called 'extraordinary reception' are named CAS [Centri di Accoglienza Straordinaria – Centre for Temporary Assistance]. Introduced during the refugee crisis to temporarily support the reception system, in some Italian regions these have almost replaced the ordinary first reception centres.

The second phase focuses on providing support for the integration of migrants granted with a protection status. While in the past it was managed within the CARAs, the integration of migrants is now formally carried out by the SPRAR, the national System for Protection of Refugee and Asylum Seekers [Sistema di Protezione dei Rifugiati e Richiedenti Asilo]. The SPRAR is a publicly funded network of local authorities, NGOs and social enterprises (often cooperatives or associations) working alongside various organisations within the local community. Structurally it is comprised of small autonomous reception centres offering integration support to beneficiaries of international protection. The SPRAR is characterized by a hybrid, multilevel and decentralized model of governance (Piattoni, 2009: see Fig. 5.2), where the activities monitored by the SPRAR Central Service are supervised by the Ministry of Interior and supported by local Prefectures. However, the network is not directly managed by the Ministry of the Interior, as it happens with the CARA and CAS, but the main managerial functions are held by the ANCI, the National Association of Italian Municipalities [Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani]. SPRAR projects are subsidised with the National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services (FNPSA) managed by the ANCI, which in turn delegates the management of the centres to non-governmental associations. The local municipalities initially co-financed 23% of the projects, but since 2016 their input has been cut to 5% (Venturini, 2016).
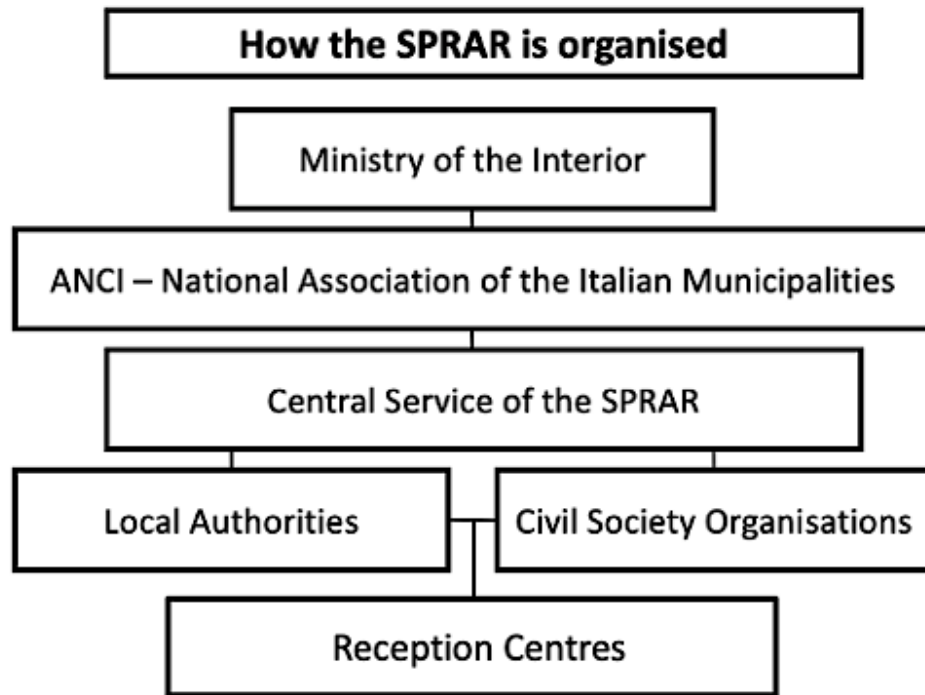
Fig. 5.2 – The organisation of the SPRAR (Adapted from Iuzzolini, 2012)

5.3 The establishment of the SPRAR

The SPRAR was established in 2002/2003 by the DL 189/2002 (the so-called Bossi-Fini Law), from an action of advocacy by civil society organisations and its capillary network has been expanded in 2013 (Venturini, 2016). Initially, as highlighted by Manocchi (2014), the SPRAR was a systematically undersized system unable to cope with the needs of the national territory. Thus, the plan was to reinforce the network by expanding the so called 'widespread (or dispersed) reception', facilitate the integration between migrants and citizens and extend the 'SPRAR model of reception' also to the first phase. In 2016, the network was composed of 652 decentralized projects (SPRAR, 2016). In January 2019, the number has risen to 875 funded projects, for a total of 35,650 places available (31,216 ordinaries, 3,730 for unaccompanied minors, 704 for people with mental health issues or disabilities)[4]. The original idea of the SPRAR was to surpass the partition between first and second phase of reception, taking charge of asylum seekers from their arrival until the granting of the status and the integration phase.

---

[4] https://www.sprar.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/SPRAR-SIPROIMI-Numeri-SITO-2019-01-31.pdf

Each SPRAR project is managed by local NGOs, humanitarian or charitable associations that take charge of migrants, supporting their everyday life and everyday integration for a six months period (occasionally extensible to twelve months). After that period, migrants are expected to leave the project as they should have found a job and a home. Formally, migrants are provided with the tools to support and facilitate their settlement and inclusion, and to foster their autonomy within the local community. The SPRAR centres provide migrants with food, lodging, medical and psychological assistance, a financial allowance, social guidance and education, legal support, linguistic and cultural mediation, language courses, professional help, skill assessment and training courses on general knowledge to support their social and civic integration (see Accorinti, 2015, Dallavalle, 2016).

The SPRAR approach aims to overcome the divergence between indiscriminate reception and intolerant opposition to migrants, encouraging local communities' commitment towards hospitality and mutual integration. The SPRAR should represent an "added value to the territory, capable of promoting changes and strengthening the network of services, which can be used by the whole community of citizens, indigenous or migrants" (SPRAR, 2015: 8). As explained by Venturini (2016:85), the strength points of the SPRAR are: (a) the possibility of moulding the integration projects to the needs of both the local community and the migrants; (b) the preference for small groups of migrants; (c) the centres are distributed across the national territory, according to the dispersal system of reception (SPRAR, 2015). Accordingly, the SPRAR conceptually follows the guidelines of the UNHCR document "*Policy on Alternatives to Camps*" (UNHCR, 2016b), which promotes the model of 'dispersed reception' to establish a stronger collaboration between migrants and host communities (Manara & Piazza, 2018). Consequently, instead of hosting migrants inside a single large structure, the beneficiaries of the SPRAR projects are scattered throughout the territory, residing in flats and premises made available by the local community or private owners and rented by the SPRAR itself.

As the SPRAR projects are not imposed on local municipalities, Venturini (2016) explains that one of the biggest complications has been that of convincing the mayors to open a SPRAR in their jurisdiction. Moreover, to overcome local resistance and stimulate the voluntary offer of useful services to the community, long debates have been set in motion, involving the municipalities together with local associations and organisations (Venturini; 2016). At the core of the debate was the potential mutual enrichment that SPRAR centres could bring to the local community (SPRAR, 2010, 2015). This included the involvement of migrants, declaring themselves available to carry out useful work for the community, such

as the maintenance and cleaning of public spaces. The aim was to extend the migrants' social network and foster relations between migrants and hosts. In line with the principles of mutual integration promoted by the European community, according to Venturini (2016), this approach is based on the idea that refugees should restore feelings of reciprocity with the host community on a daily basis and through direct encounter. In addition, the micro dimension of personal experiences and informal interactions appears to be central and more decisive than the formal level of national policies (Paunova & Blasco, 2017).

At the time I conducted the research, asylum seekers could access the SPRAR, but priority was given to those who already had obtained protection status. Following the law decree n. 113 of 4 October 2018, (issued as Law no.132 of 1 December 2018) the SPRAR changed its name, becoming the SIPROIMI (Protection system for beneficiaries of international protection and for unaccompanied foreign minors). Despite the change of name, the services provided remained almost the same. However, the new law narrows the access to the SPRAR, now granted exclusively to unaccompanied minors, migrants already bestowed with international protection or holders of special residence permits such as: victims of violence, trafficking, labour exploitation, calamities, poor health or acts of particular civic value[5]. The fate of those who do not fall into these categories remains uncertain.

5.4 The hardening of the reception system

During and after the crisis, the Italian political and public debate was affected by a growing stigmatization of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees with an inexorable spread of nationalistic feelings among the population (Giudici, 2013). The populist and conservative political forces rapidly strengthened since those years. Building their political propaganda on the alleged threat represented by immigration, a domopolitical/securitarian attitude was legitimized, resulting in a series of measures aimed at countering illegal migration and large sea landings. As this empirical research took place between 2017 and 2018, Italy was passing through a particular period of transition that deeply affected my fieldwork.

Following the Democratic Party government, the country saw the rise to power of the alliance between the anti-establishment 5-Star Movement and the ultra-conservative League Party. Once established, the new government coalition introduced a series of securitarian

---

[5] https://www.sprar.it/la-storia

measures in line with the principles of the domopolitics (Walters, 2004). The new political forces were able to continue the plan started by the last Berlusconi government with the '2009 Security Package'. This law package was composed of a series of decrees that introduced the "crime of illegal migration", stricter border controls, coastal patrols and the establishment of the "rejections at sea" (Giudici, 2013: 64).

In 2015, the reorganisation of the European migration system following the refugee crisis backlash and the diffusion of a humanitarian governmentality rationale (Fassin, 2011; Mavelli, 2017), further impacted the Italian reception system. In fact, since then, with the DL 142[6], the SPRAR gradually became the spearhead of the Italian reception system as the ideal follow-up of the first phase which gradually should have been supplanted. Consequently, reception centres were heavily burdened at the time of my research. The SPRAR centres participating in this research were hosting an average of 25/30 migrants, fleeing mainly from Africa for reasons of political, social and economic nature. By the end of 2018 and the early 2019, the "Salvini Security Decree" introduced new rules to the asylum procedure by limiting freedom and rights of migrants, tightening the asylum process and repealing the humanitarian protection, the form of protection most commonly assigned in Italy.

The main objective of the Salvini decree was to cut the wave of economic migrants by giving precedence to the most vulnerable subjects, those deemed to be 'really escaping from war'[7]. The aim was not to stop migration flows, but to let them 'happen' so that they could be managed and oriented in the way considered most convenient for the nation's benefit. The objective was pursued with so much determination that the government decided to shut down the Italian harbours and leave on the high seas (for several days) hundreds of travellers sailing from Libya. The 'state of exception', the biopolitical abandonment described by Agamben (1995), is here applied in his full potency as a tool in the hands of government to 'defend the society' in times of "cultural and economic crisis" (Russo, 2009: 170).

Within the decree, a citizenship reform and a new series of 'special' permits were introduced, aimed at people in situations of extreme vulnerability and for acts of particular civil value. The decree also states that asylum seekers could be held for up to 30 days in the hotspots and for up to 180 days within the repatriation centres (CPR/CIE). Furthermore, the list of

---

[6] https://www.meltingpot.org/Decreto-legislativo-n-142-del-18-agosto-2015.html#.XNlzlZNKiqQ

[7] http://time.com/5394448/matteo-salvini/

crimes causing the withdrawal of the protection status was extended, including threats or violence to public officials, serious personal injuries, female genital mutilation practices, aggravated and housing theft and pickpocketing. Moreover, additional funds were allocated to repatriate migrants, along with new expulsion procedures for people involved in terrorist-related offenses.

However, one of the most criticised features of the Salvini's decree was the defunding and downsizing of the SPRAR system, affecting the work of thousands of psychologists, social workers and advisors regularly employed in reception centres. In addition, it led to the desertion of already assigned prefectural bids by organisations that had considered the amount of funds available not sufficient to arrange a decent reception service[8]. Moreover, the conversion of the SPRAR into the SIPROIMI restricted the possibility of accessing the network only to subjects whose protection status had already been recognised, while new applicants would be deprived of this possibility. Asylum seekers would be allocated or transferred to first reception centres, where they would now wait for the decisions of the territorial commissions regarding their applications.

Consequently, they would lose useful time and the prospect of working in advance on social integration through the activities promoted by the SPRAR. Thousands of asylum seekers were moved to first reception centres, destined to remain in conditions of forced idleness for several months. One of the risks is that the provisions included in the decree may actually empty the reception system of thousands of people, forcing them to scatter in the territory in irregular conditions. As highlighted within the 2019 Immigration Statistical Dossier[9], the number of irregular migrants is estimated to increase and reach 670,000 by 2020. Thus, a greater number of migrants, encountering new barriers in the search for a regular job, will be pushed to disappear from the institutions' radar or find illegal occupations. In both cases they could become easy targets of law enforcement and organised crime.

5.5 The organisations: Janus and Cardea

The two organisations that participated in this research were small associations based in the South of Italy, branches of two larger social cooperatives providing social inclusion services

---

[8] https://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/

[9] https://www.dossierimmigrazione.it/

for socially disadvantaged individuals. While the first organisation managed only the SPRAR centre, the second one was also in charge of the management of a CAS. I worked exclusively with the members of the team managing the SPRAR centre. The two organisations were located inside two different cities in the same region of Southern Italy, characterised by a high unemployment rate. The first organisation was located in a medium-sized city (less than 200,000 inhabitants) while the second was hosted by a small city (less than 50 thousand inhabitants). To identify the two organisations, I will use pseudonyms. I will call the first centre 'Janus and the second centre 'Cardea', from the names of the two deities of Ancient Rome's pantheon protectors of doors and, symbolically, of every transition.

Each organisation had a central headquarter, with both legal and operative functions, where all administrative-bureaucratic aspects and the various activities were managed. These also served as a physical point of reference for members of the public and for migrants. Here migrants could meet the social workers whenever it was necessary, or the space could be used as a place for individual or group meetings. The offices operated standard opening times for both the public and the service users (9-17) but, given the unpredictable nature of their work, employees were required to show considerable flexibility and availability to work overtime. Migrants were placed in different apartments distributed within the urban territory. These premises were owned by the municipality, or by private individuals and rented by the SPRAR, which regularly supervised the sanitary-hygienic conditions of the flats and the cohabitation of the guests. An important aspect that differentiated the two organisations was the fact that the central office of the second centre (Cardea) was located inside one of the apartments that hosted the migrants. This led to a more direct relationship between some migrants and the employees often producing confusion in terms of relational and professional boundaries.

Each centre employed around ten people, supporting approximately twenty migrants (males, females and families with minors) each, mostly young African males from different backgrounds, mainly beneficiaries of humanitarian protection (refugees were a minority). The migrants hosted in the centres were called by the staff members in several ways: the 'refugees' (regardless of the status assigned to them), the 'guests' (of the centre) or the 'beneficiaries' (of protection). The two work teams were characterised by a certain heterogeneity, being composed by people from different social backgrounds, gender and age. The employees were all hired through regular contracts, mainly in the form of part-time work, which led to some of them having separate jobs or other occupations. They came from

different professional backgrounds such as social services, psychology, pedagogy, sociology, political sciences and other humanities. All employees were members of the local community hosting the centres, including cultural mediators who were migrants considered integrated within Italian society.

Generally speaking, every SPRAR centre should have a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary team, able to manage the complexity of the integration projects. According to the SPRAR manual (2015: 9), the team "must be solid, cohesive, organised, composed of workers adequately trained and supported by specialists able to structure an individual [integration] path in a 'holistic' way". Each team consisted of a project manager, with the function of supervising the activities, while other employees managed the SPRAR activities by defining different areas of competence and responsibility. Although each member of the organisation was assigned to a specific area, in practice everyone contributed to the management of every aspect of the organisation. The SPRAR manual offers a series of guidelines about duties and roles of each work team. However, within the centres I visited the organisational areas of competences were generally defined as it follows (SPRAR, 2015):

- employment and social integration support;
- legal and bureaucratic consultancy;
- 'material' reception – general tasks related to the supervision of migrants' conditions during the project and the provision of educative and daily life support;
- linguistic and intercultural mediation and orientation and access to local services;
- socio-psycho-health consultancy and support;
- internal and external activities – organisation of activities inside and outside the centre, management of the relations between centre and local organisations;
- bureaucratic, administrative and financial management of the centre.

The manual for workers (SPRAR, 2015) suggests that in order to carry out all the necessary services, each team of the SPRAR should ideally include a series of specific professional figures. Among these are the *'assistente sociale'* [caseworker], responsible for identifying the contextual elements in which to embed the integration project and facilitate the relationship between local services and migrants. Another is the '*educatore*', the social worker supervising migrants' behaviour and relations with host communities. Finally, the 'legal advisor' is responsible for administrative and legal practices concerning both migrants and the organisation in general. Other professional figures, important but not necessarily

included in the team, are psychologists, psychiatrists and the healthcare workers. Only one of the two centres had the regular presence of a psychologist/psychotherapist, responsible for providing psychological support to migrants and to employees. Occasionally the activities of both organisations were supported by external workers, offering support to the permanent staff or to the organisation of specific activities such as Italian language lessons or socio-cultural workshops.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described the socio-political context of my research to introduce the empirical analysis that follows. As I have explained in this chapter, the Italian context is characterised by a continuous reworking of migrant reception procedures and policies, where civil society organisations have always occupied a frontline role in supporting socially disadvantaged groups such as migrants. In some cases, civil society initiatives have been formally integrated into the reception system. This is the case of the SPRAR a hybrid capillary system of organisations that brings together ministerial bodies to the activities of the local humanitarian association. Each SPRAR centre is responsible for offering services aimed at the integration of migrants, hosted in apartments distributed throughout the national territory, overcoming the approach of the first reception centres, organised as refugee camps. The SPRAR centres, whose general objective is to stimulate the encounter between migrants and local communities and their mutual integration, have had to operate within an increasingly hostile context towards foreigners. In addition, the introduction of a series of new legislations, has led to a strong weakening of the SPRAR system to favour first reception structures. After describing the particular context in which the SPRAR centres operate, in the next two chapters I present the empirical narration of my experience inside the two Refugee Reception Centres in Italy.

Chapter 6

On life, power and relationships within the SPRAR

Introduction

This chapter represents the first half of the empirical part of this thesis. As I explained in Chapter 4, my purpose was to build a narrative that could be as fluid and lifelike (but not naively realistic) as possible. For this reason, the various sections and sub-sections composing these chapters will follow a narrative plot that aims to convey the sense of uncertainty characterising the organisational context and the everyday working life within the SPRAR centres. With this ethnographic account I want to involve the readers and invite them to empathise with my experiences and those of the research participants. The storyline is complemented by my reflections, inspired by the theories to which I referred within the thesis.

Specifically, this chapter focuses on the streams of power running 'within' the organisations, channelled through the observation of organisational daily lives and conversations with organisational members. In this way, I investigated how power/knowledge relations affect processes of subjectivation, organisational daily practices, interactions between migrants and employees and their autobiographical descriptions. This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part is opened by my personal reflections about how I prepared myself to enter the fieldwork. Followingly, I describe the rationale behind the SPRAR methodology and how it affected the management of the reception centres I visited. In the second part I focus on the forms of knowledge related to the sense of belonging to the SPRAR, trying to illustrate which dilemmas affect the working life of staff members. Finally, the third part of this chapter focuses on the relationship between employees and migrants, which is central to the SPRAR methodology. I will analyse this facet of the SPRAR by referring to Foucault's concept of pastoral power. By critically reflecting on some organisational practices, I aim to expose how the power/knowledge relations established within the centres affect the subjectification processes of both workers and migrants.

6.1 Entering the workplace

I left the field with a mixture of feelings of melancholy and angst. During one of the last visits I made to one of the centres, a SPRAR employee told me: *"Things are not working*

here…as time passes, things get worse…it's always worse, I'd like to give it all up, this isn't life". I clearly remember how heavy was the atmosphere that day, and I clearly remember that one of my last thoughts was: *"How did I manage to spend four months here? How did I survive"*? During my research in the field I spent most of my time with the SPRAR workers, shadowing, listening and assisting them in their daily activities. Sometimes I felt that they could be defined almost as 'tragic figures', full of passion and dedication but at the same time surrounded by a halo of uncertainty and discouragement. Probably due to my role of outsider, they genuinely opened up with me. I became somehow like a 'sounding board' for them and not just someone who was there, 'spying' on their daily life. I listened to their stories, conflicts and 'dramas'. They were striving for feedback. Working with refugees in a growingly wary and intolerant society carries a heavy burden to bear and ethical and financial uncertainties. Besides, during the time spent with them, I felt it too.

When I started the fieldwork in 2017, I realised that I was not ready enough to participate in the life of a humanitarian organisation. My conception of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees had been strongly influenced by academic readings and the media. All I knew about the subject came from my studies and I had no previous, concrete experience in the field. I did not know what to expect within the reception centres. I was fortunate enough to find a solution to this lack of 'empirical knowledge' and prepare myself by participating in a training course aimed at social workers in the field of migrations. There, I had the chance to come close to this world for the first time. It was a month-long intensive course, organised by a psychotherapy school in collaboration with a national NGO responsible for the management of various SPRAR centres. This course deeply influenced the development and progress of my research, and my behaviour within the field. There, I started to understand the centrality of the relationship between migrants and staff members and the power dynamics affecting its development.

During this experience I realised that it was important for me to 'fit the role' of the social worker specialised in migrations. I needed to embody that character, understand the way of thinking and seeing the world shared by these professionals. During that course, I got to know some local key figures, central actors of the territorial reception system: NGO directors, doctors with decades of experience in intercultural medicine, lawyers involved in the territorial commission who decided the fate of hundreds of migrants, but also young psychologists desperate to find a job in a region plagued by growing unemployment. After all, the arrival of migrants had been a considerable resource, opening up new employment possibilities in a region in crisis. Both beginners and experts, were all sharing the desire to

welcome and support these disadvantaged individuals who had abandoned everything in search of better life conditions.

Despite the multidisciplinary scope and the wide spectrum of theoretical frameworks discussed during the course, the general approach adopted was strongly influenced by a systemic-relational psychological approach. Influenced by anthropology, sociology and relational psychology, this approach conceives the world as a 'system of relationships' inhabited by individuals in interaction. Social relations are 'organised' according to the dynamic processes of this system, taking into consideration the complex relationship between culture, psyche and society (Bronfenbrenner, 1992). This psychological approach does not conceive the individual as an entity in a vacuum. Conversely, individuals are the central components of the system with which they establish continuous relations of exchange. Accordingly, it was reiterated several times that through a human relationship founded on such awareness, it would have been possible to co-construct shared meanings and open up a productive intercultural dialogue with the migrants. The following excerpts, coming from a series of slides projected during one seminar, summarise this view quite impeccably:

> "[…] *instead of focusing the attention on the other (ethnopsychiatry) or on the observer (transculturalism), attention should be paid to the relationship between the two [...]*"

> "*The relationship is the only real tool to face complexity: evading it means not responding to the project's 'task' and trivialising the concept of hospitality by reducing it only to the provision of services.*"

The centrality given to the psychological dimensions of the migrant's life and suffering, supports the idea that relationships are the fundamental instruments to restore migrants' wellbeing and promote social integration. Accordingly, the second crucial lesson delivered during the course was the following: to avoid dealing with migrants by relying excessively on the so-called 'descriptive categories' (i.e. bureaucratic labels and legal status), overlooking the 'truth' of the 'real human being' behind them. According to the teaching in the course, the construction of asylum seekers and refugees as 'labelled individuals' should be avoided as it can produce false expectations and 'artificial' subjectivities based on concepts such as trauma, victim, and persecution (Kleinman & Kleinman, 1996). This could be circumvented through dialogue and patient listening to the migrant's stories and memories, in respect with their willingness to 'open up to others', an approach that closely

recalls the confessional practices described by Foucault (1978). One of the main missions of the SPRAR worker is therefore to overcome any construction of subjectivity caught within preconceptions related to the status assigned. As I describe within this chapter, these views were largely shared by most of the SPRAR workers. Moreover, this highlights how the SPRAR workers' approach is strongly influenced by psychological disciplines (De Vos 2013; Rose, 1999).

6.2 The empowerment of migrants

[...] perhaps we should repeat to ourselves, what is our goal? If you check the SPRAR manual it tells you that the main objective is the emancipating reception and therefore the integration of the person within the context, ok? (Rachele, caseworker, Janus)

While I was analysing Rachele's interview, I asked myself the same question for which I had initially sought an answer among the pages of the SPRAR manual for workers. According to the manual, the objective of every SPRAR centre (2015: 6) is to favour *"the (re)acquisition of the individual autonomy of the applicants/holders of international and humanitarian protection, understood as the effective emancipation from the need to receive assistance (in these terms we speak of 'emancipating reception')"*. The SPRAR model is declared to have a 'universal value' but also to respect for the individual differences of each migrant. Crucially, the basic aids provided (i.e. food, finance, housing) must be related to other services offered locally to promote the integration and autonomy of the migrants. The SPRAR methodology is also termed 'integrated reception', a holistic approach that takes into account the complex identity and personal resources of each individual. Moreover, every SPRAR centre should work alongside the local welfare, strengthening the territorial networks supporting the migrants.

An interesting passage in the manual suggests that the SPRAR should be able to *"wait for the time of the person"* keeping in mind the transitory nature of the project (2015: 7). As it will become clear, this 'temporal dimension' was a particularly conflictual area, as 'time and tide wait for no man' and migrants were considered too slow and poorly receptive by the employees. The basic concept behind the SPRAR approach is that of *empowerment*. Within the SPRAR, migrants are helped to *"(re) build their own skills and the ability to make choices to (re)acquire the perception of their value, their potentialities and opportunities"* (SPRAR, 2015: 6). Cruikshank conceives empowerment as a "technology of citizenship [...] for the transformation of subjectivities from powerlessness to active citizenship" (1999,

quoted in Dean, 2010: 83). Moreover, empowerment programs, however well-intentioned, often follow a governmentality agenda focused predominantly on the definition and management of the subjects they support (Cruikshank; 1999).

6.2.1 The SPRAR as a rebirth

The starting point of each SPRAR intervention (SPRAR, 2015: 18) lies exactly behind the concept of the 'taking charge' of the migrant, defined as: *"a complex process that [...] involves the entire SPRAR territorial project, and each worker, in designing and implementing integrated reception interventions in favour of the single person, the family or the community living together, upholding an ongoing relationship with the recipients and participating in the reception process"*. The essential elements constituting the taking charge of the migrant are defined as follows (SPRAR, 2015: 18-19):

- "it is a process that involves a chain of services and actions" (e.g. the first medical visits are an opportunity for the migrants to understand the functioning of the local health system);
- "it is based on the relationship between worker/work team and beneficiary/group, that requires mutual trust, with the aim of transforming it in a self-help relationship, freed from mere dynamics of assistance";
- "it takes into account the individual and the group, be it the nuclear family or the host community".

In the process of taking charge of the migrants, some aspects linked to the usefulness of a relationship based on reciprocal trust are reckoned as vital: the appraisal of the actual needs and expectations of the individual; the understanding of the individuals' vulnerabilities; the identification and correct interpretation of migrants' memories and cultural elements to balance the relationship and avoid "that the worker may feel manipulated by the service users" (SPRAR 2015: 19); a multidisciplinary planning of the project and specific interventions developed by the entire work team. The employees need to know the 'truth' of every guest, and the need to establish a productive relationship, both educational and formative, is motivated by the need to actively support migrants' settlement. Diverging from the classical idea of the refugee camp, it would be wrong to consider the SPRAR centres as purely disciplinary organisations. Their 'humanitarian approach' makes these centres appear as peaceful and non-coercive places (Manara & Piazza, 2018). In this sense, the SPRAR presents itself as a friendly/familiar space in comparison to the classical 'camp'. Here

workers act as sympathetic friends, providing support and companionship to the beneficiaries of their services within a structure symbolically constructed as a 'home' (see Fig. 6.1):

> *"I think, they identify the SPRAR as a home. I mean, if they have any kind of problem that can be of health, document, etc. they come here. We are their point of reference here, they have no one else, so the SPRAR becomes their home [...]" (Patrizia, legal advisor, Janus)*
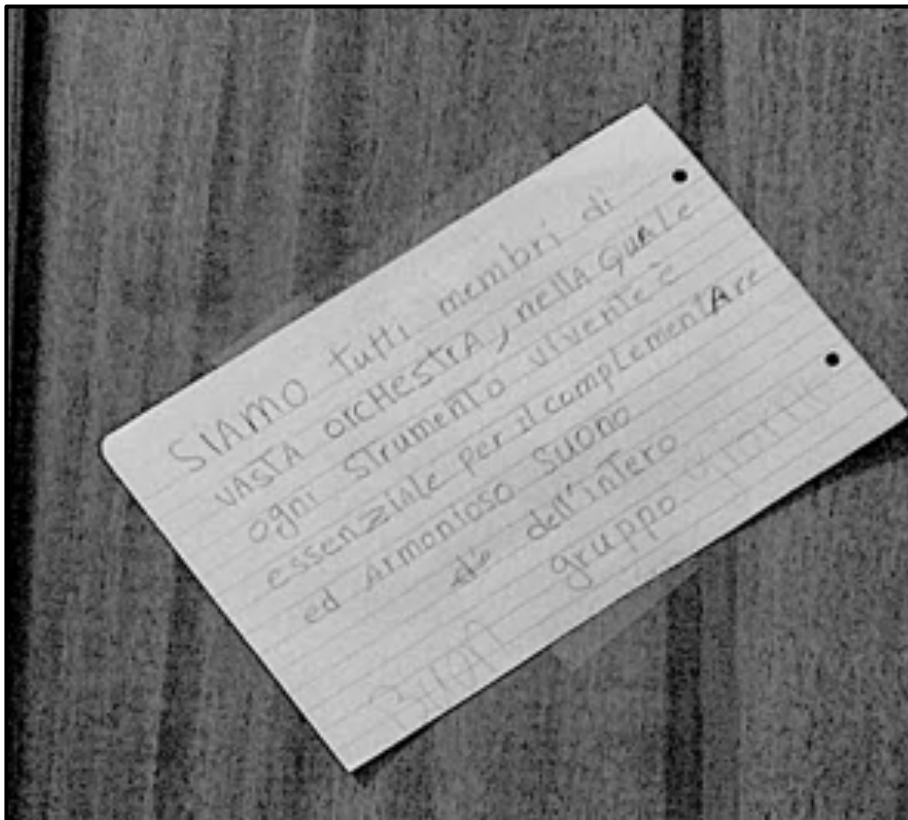
Fig. 6.1 – Note on Cardea Centre's office door: "We are all members of a vast orchestra, in which every living instrument is essential to the complementary and harmonious sound of the whole group" (written by a migrant).

As expressed in the SPRAR handbook (2015: 18), migrants are portrayed as subjects sharing a *"sense of loss"* of their own home and life, of their own identity and personal history: *"missing the points of reference of their own existence"* the migrants risk living in a *"condition of social inadequacy"* (18). Deprived of their own voice within a new context, with which it is difficult to communicate appropriately, and wounded by the migratory experience, the migrants are described as "*emptied*", unable to trust others and *"to establish*

meaningful relationships" (18). They are dispossessed subjects without a place in the world and a community that guarantees their rights (Arendt, 1948). As explained by Manocchi (2014: 392), "refugees are seen as rootless because they are fleeing their country, according to a prejudice that sees culture rooted in places and not in people". Migrants within the refugee reception system reproduce this discourse and representation, portraying themselves as victims demanding care from the hosts as illustrated in the following piece of poetry. This was written by an asylum seeker and delivered in front of an audience of Italian citizens during the 'World Refugee Day' hosted by the local council and the Cardea Centre. This is what the young man wrote:

> *"Just as birds fly south to escape from the cold and return to summer, may my heart make wings grow to carry me over all the obstacles, to the place where the sunlight is on the surface of the flowing river.*
>
> *I want to wake up in happiness, I want to have a life where dreams don't come to me while I sleep, but where they stand next to me before sleeping. [Inaudible part] We are committed for your best, not for your bad.*
>
> *So why should we bleed? Why do we have to suffer? We are not invisible, is our life useless? Why now do we feel only silence? Can't you hear? All we are asking you is to try to see us, take care of us. All we ask is to treat us well, do not leave us in pain and suffering.*
>
> *We are part of you now. Our country should be our best home, we are tired of running away. Running away means hunger, intimidation, brutality, abuse, frustration, corruption, poverty and so on.*
>
> *Our earth bleeds, we need to live, we need life, we are tired of being neglected, all lives are important exposed to dangers. So, understand that humans do everything to survive when they're in trouble. Expose yourself to difficulties. So, you will understand why we do everything we can to have a better life".*

It is important to observe the effects, in terms of power, of constructing the migrants as dispossessed subjects, shattered by the migratory experience, without any agency and power to self-determine their own existence. Whether labelled 'forced' or 'economic', victimised migrants are expected to assume a position of compliance towards the organisation and the workers, which in turn offer to them a shoulder to lean and a chance of salvation and retrieval (Malkki, 1996). These relational dynamics emerge from Patrizia's sentence below, mirrored by Kamal's statement.

"[...] they knew I was there for them, for everything concerning territorial commission and permits...so then it depends on the person that arrives in front of you, there were people that had suffered torture, violence and everything and then the first thing was to establish a relationship of trust, a human relationship [...] so you slowly try to get into their... not exactly in their life but you know [...] then, after you realise that they are opening up maybe you start explaining what they have to do [...]." (Patrizia, legal advisor, Janus)

"It is not just taking money from them; I can speak with them about my problems; they advise me, they tell me how to do this and to do that..." (Kamal, migrant)

As Cammelli (2017: 118) explains, the asylum process follows a logic of "care, cure and control" (see also Agier, 2005) transforming migrants into refugees. Entering the reception system, migrants are stripped away from their individual experiences, identities and personal histories, substituted by "convenient images" of asylum seekers and refugees (Zetter, 2007: 173). Within these processes of de-historicisation, psychologisation and depoliticisation of subjectivity (McLaughlin, 2010; Rajaram, 2002), migrants are deprived of the ability to express their own worldviews (Manocchi, 2014) and are reduced to 'bare life' (Agamben, 1995). These processes reproduce a discourse according to which there are 'good' and 'bad' migrants, where the former have more rights and need of support (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018). The dualism between good and bad migrants is played on the basis of the suffering they have experienced and that can be 'measured'. Migrants have to demonstrate to authorities how life and contingencies have turned them into accountable victims and vulnerable subjects. In addition, the greater is the 'suffering' experienced, the more a person can be considered worthy of care and support.

These dispossessed subjects, possessing only their biological life, are at the complete mercy of the hosting country and by entering the SPRAR they can start a new social life. The entire system of refugees' reception can be understood as a place for a processual "transformation of the subject" enacted through the "helping relationship" (Cammelli, 2017: 118). Within this background, the task of every SPRAR operator is to lead migrants toward a 'rebirth' (Fig. 6.2. below) within the new community, the transformation of *zoè* into *bìos*, a key step in the process of migrants' integration (Agamben, 1995). However, this form of inclusion in the community and state territory carries with it the risk of reproducing elusive forms of exclusion. Even if migrants are supported to settle and get 'closer' to citizenship, the risk is that they will always remain disconnected, just 'strangers/outsiders' within the city, receiving help and advice from 'expert insiders' (Cruikshank, 1999; Dallavalle, 2016).

Fig. 6.2 – Rinascita (= rebirth): sticker in a centre's office window

6.2.2 It is the time to become adults

The considerations expressed above about the importance of recognising needs and desires of the migrants for the delineation of their integration project, take concrete form in the creation of the individual 'personalised projects of reception'. This technique of power is embedded in the relationship of support and the supervision of migrants' progress and commitment. Rachele explained to me this area of integration projects' planning, as she was the main responsible for it:

> *"[...] the life project is different for each migrant, this is, in my opinion, the main objective [...] because you could make a general project for each migrant saying ah ok you are a migrant, you are an asylum seeker, ok this is your project. But no, the best thing is that it is a project [...] made ad hoc for each one, based on their knowledge, skills, their own...their project of life [...]" (Rachele, caseworker, Janus)*

Accordingly, every project should start with the assessment of each migrant's competences and the resources offered by the territory. This implies also a constant monitoring and the preparation of a report on which progress, problems and goals are documented (SPRAR, 2015). The main aim is to overcome a model of reception based on mere assistance as this

could de-responsibilise migrants and discourage their resourcefulness. Through constant supervision, regular assessment of progress and compilation of registers, the authorities, here embodied by the SPRAR workers, evaluate whether the beneficiaries behave as expected (Dean, 2010). With such procedure, knowledges, attributes and desirable behaviours can be controlled and converted in measurable and observable items. The caseworkers of both centres explained to me that, officially, the planning of the individualised integration projects should involve both the social workers and the migrants. Therefore, the migrants themselves should create their plan. The role of the social workers is to do an assessment based on the specific integration objectives (e.g. commitment, relationship with the peers, engagement etc.). After this stage, there is a general evaluation that involves all team members followed by an interview with the migrants.

The monitoring aspect of the project is necessary for the realisation and development of an adequate individual plan suiting migrants' characteristics. Rachele explained to me that an accurate monitoring of every project progress guarantees transparency and precision. Moreover, by involving the migrant, it ensures the possibility of recalibrating the intervention on the basis of its evolution. Thus, migrants' participation in this phase should be essential. However, due to the very nature of the power/knowledge relationship between employees and service users, the contribution offered by the migrants to the planning of their project risks to be superficial. The alleged social incompetence of the migrants creates an inner contradiction within the logic of the SPRAR and employees feel compelled to structure the project mainly by themselves. Even if the staff makes decisions in a spirit of goodwill, the asymmetries of power are evident, playing a very important role potentially affecting the development of the project (Dallavalle, 2016).

Trough the alleged neutrality of these practices, specific forms of subjectivity are constituted and "persons, domains and actions [are represented] as objective and comparable. This in turn renders them governable" (Mennicken & Miller, 2014, cit. in Lehman, Annisette & Agyemang, 2016: 47). As Lehman and colleagues (2016) suggest, accounting techniques are closely linked to the responsibilisation of the actors involved within the organisation. In the case of the SPRAR, migrants (but also workers) are encouraged to assume an autonomous and proactive attitude through which they will develop the ability to govern themselves and rationally make their own life choices (Webb, 2011). As Mirko states:

"[...] at the SPRAR you have to be autonomous, so if you can understand the importance of autonomising yourself, at that point, you can really take off, this should be the role of the SPRAR [...]" (Mirko, legal advisor, Cardea)

Accordingly, responsibilised individuals are guided on how to satisfy social expectations, and accounting procedures ensure that desirable attributes and behaviours are achieved within pre-established times and plans (Lehman, Annisette & Agyemang, 2016). Moreover, these processes decentralise state power by delegating the implementation of migration policies to non-state actors such as third sector organisations (Shamir, 2008). By indirectly working on behalf of the state, SPRAR workers are actively (often unconsciously) involved in immigration control and risk assessment activities. As organisations and people are made increasingly responsible for their own activities, new technologies are constantly developed according to the changes that the same processes have introduced (Rose & Miller, 1992). For what concerns the migrants and their integration, responsibilisation is constructed in terms of personal growth.

Fig. 6.3. – The Janus Centre's meeting room

At the Janus Centre I attended a meeting where Beatrice, the project manager, explained to the migrants that unfortunately, due to administrative issues, some services would be temporarily provided only in case of emergency. As she entered the room (see Fig. 6.3 above), Beatrice was welcomed with a warm applause by the migrants. This ovation surprised me. It was clear that they respected her authority. She was the person representing the SPRAR, endowed with the power to expel or extend migrants' permanence into the

centre thus embodying the 'sovereign' power within the organisation. Entering the room, after a brief salutation, she started to speak with an assertive voice. As I wrote in my diary:

> *[…] after explaining the information about the passports request, Beatrice moved to the next topic. The definition and repetition of the fundamental task of the SPRAR: to "promote the autonomy of the migrants". She explained that now they were out of the CAS [first reception centres] where they had been treated like children, provided with everything they wanted and needed, without asking anything back. In summary, she explained how the SPRAR is different, it is "a joint work between the centre and the migrants". They must work very hard to reach the objectives. She then stated: "You are adults now and you have to take your own responsibilities, about your future, your life and your project".*

The metaphor of 'adulthood' used by Beatrice in her speech is very significant as it recalls a discourse that summarises perfectly the approach and mandate of the SPRAR (2015, 30): the transformation of migrants from passive subjects *"to active protagonists of their integration path"*. The comparison between children and asylum seekers emphasises a portrayal of newly arrived migrants as broken, indolent subjects in their first stages of maturity and in need of guidance (Dallavalle, 2016). From this perspective, the first reception centres are commonly described as a sort of 'safe den', where newly arrived migrants are just helped to recover from the traumatic experience and provided with basic services. Moreover, the first reception centres were described by the SPRAR workers as a place fostering dependence and where migrants were deprived of any form of stimulation and, as I will discuss below, the opposite of the SPRAR.

6.3 The tension between control and freedom

Given the slowness of the asylum request assessment, some refugees had to endure prolonged stay in the first reception centres. They confirmed to me that this was actually experienced as a boring waste of time. Migrants were provided with food and shelters and the staff did everything for them. As Emmanuel told me during an interview, every day was the same and they used to spend their time playing football or doing exercise: "*[when I was staying in the camp I was doing] uhm, nothing...we were just getting one place, eating and bed...in the evening, we used to go to the football field, or doing some exercise, because every time eating and bed is not good to the muscles*". Other migrants, especially women, recounted to me their experience in first reception centres, emphasising the problems linked

to the coexistence of a large number of people from different countries, differences that led to conflicts and situations of distress. During the interview Jennifer told me: *"Life in the camp wasn't that good, that camp was hell! – people were fighting every day, there were people from everywhere, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Pakistan…they fight each other, they break glass. They were from different countries; different cultures and they fight, fight, fight. It was too much"*.

Some of the SPRAR members that I met had some experiences working in the first reception centres. Mirko, for example, described to me his previous work experience. He explained that he was employed in a CARA organised in a former military barrack. This favoured the implementation of an organisational configuration where migrants were forced to follow a series of obstructive rules strongly reducing their freedom:

> *"[...] there were these big centres where everyone had to pass, and everyone was basically in lockdown. This was inside a military base' a former barrack of the air force that had been fenced off like a prison. Therefore, they couldn't go out of there. They could leave at certain hours of the day with a bus that came to take them, and they were searched every time they went out and back. There was security, the police and the army, it was a 100% militarised area. It was exactly a different conception of immigration, and the DL 142[10] changed this. In other words, it did the most important thing, a paradigm shift [...] from security to reception, with a different view also about physical management of people"* (Mirko, legal advisor, Cardea)

What Mirko suggests is that the SPRAR represents a 'paradigm shift', expressed by the fact that the SPRAR is not conceived as a camp, with a strictly closed structure and the continuous presence of the staff. Even if some SPRARs placed their headquarters in the same building where a number of migrants also reside, the attempt was to set clear boundaries and separate workers from refugees' daily life. However, even if the aim was to promote freedom, indirect forms of control were still exercised. One example was the management of the lodgings. Accordingly, to check the condition of the apartments, the social workers used to visit the habitations. Such visits could take the form of official apartment checks or more informal stopovers to deliver study material or household products. These visits were generally announced, but sometimes not. Normally workers rung the bell before entering the house, but it also happened that they entered without previous warning. Indeed, this is an

---

[10] The DL 142 of 2015 represent the last significative reform of the migration system that introduced the SPRAR.

important aspect: migrants were reminded (subtly) that they were 'guests' and the houses were 'property' of the centres.

Although the SPRAR was described as welcoming, migrants were indirectly reminded of the temporary nature of their stay, that the spaces were shared and that, in the future, those apartments would have been occupied by others. As Pinelli (2008; 135) states, the subtle message seems to be that "it is a place that they must feel as their own, but they should not feel attached to it". In this way, control was not exercised openly, nor in a similar fashion to a sophisticated Panopticon (Foucault, 1975), but the authority and the rules were introjected by the migrants themselves. I had the chance to visit some apartments and one of the first things I noticed was the emptiness of the flats. The rooms were mostly tidy, but they appeared like 'non-places', lacking any form of personalisation. The reason for this clearly emerged in the interview with Simon, a migrant, that told me that it is their duty to take care of the household property of the SPRAR:

> "[...] you know, if somebody gives you his house, you're not paying, so your duty is to clean and take care of the environment, yeah...so this is what we are doing..." (Simon, migrant)

Generally speaking, the workers I met tended to respect migrants' privacy. Carlo explained to me that they could go and check whenever they wanted, but they chose to maintain a relaxed environment: *"[...] I know that if I go to visit them at certain times I would risk finding what I don't want to find and if I find it I have to intervene because otherwise you logically lose credibility, but you have to turn a blind eye [...]".* Clearly, the SPRAR rationale epitomises the antithesis of the first reception stage and the disengagement between the two phases is considered by the staff as a problem. By forcing migrants to live in a condition of uncertainty and suspension from real social life, the first reception centres can offer negative experiences, potentially leading to deleterious outcomes that the SPRAR will have to resolve (Mazza, 2013). Accordingly, contrasting the 'confinement' of migrants in large centres outside the city, the SPRAR focus on a 'care and guide' philosophy with a lower reliance on direct disciplinary rules, avoiding authoritarian control and constant monitoring. Recalling Beatrice's metaphor, the second reception system corresponds to the entrance into adult life for migrants, that moment "*when you must walk with your own legs*" as many employees used to say.

Hence, if 'kids' need more discipline and the constant presence of a 'caregiver', the SPRAR symbolises a preparation stage for an autonomous mature life where workers provide assistance to construct a brighter future. However, despite the emphasis placed on words like freedom and emancipation, some disciplinary rules are still preserved, framing the centres' organisation and facilitating the management of the structures. These rules can be revised, and each centre implement them freely, in respect with the SPRAR general standards. Every migrant must sign a 'reception contract' where rights and duties of both parties are specified and the behavioural rules that need to be followed are presented, along with the consequences of their infraction. The SPRAR manual (2015: 160-161) offers an example of the reception agreement through which migrants are instructed about the internal rules. Accordingly, the guest should agree to:

- respect other guests and the workers;
- provide daily cleaning of the apartment, including common areas;
- wash, dry and iron clothes in the spaces provided and not in different places;
- not leave personal items in bathrooms or other common areas of the structure;
- advise the workers in case of absence from the centre/apartment for more than one day; after xxx days of unjustified absence the guest is considered resigned from the centre/apartment;

Furthermore, SPRAR's guests are strongly prohibited to:

- use physical and verbal violence against other guests and workers;
- bring home and consume drugs and alcohol;
- listen to radios or recorders at high-volume;
- smoke in the centre's common areas;
- keep or bring home animals;
- assign one's own bed to external guests;
- host friends or relatives without previous authorisation from the facility manager.

Carlo explained to me that, to implement these rules, it is necessary to mediate as much as possible with the migrants: "*[everything is fine] if you make them understand [the rules], if you explain and try to go easy…but then there is that one [migrant] that exaggerates and then you have to send him away, as [it happened with someone in the past and] we had to send him away"*. This implies that any disciplinary measure should be used only when non-coercive methods prove to be ineffective. Although the second reception centres' declared objective is to overcome a strict disciplinary approach, the imposition of these behavioural

guidelines caused tensions between workers and migrants who often felt like being 'forced guests' of the SPRAR. As a matter of fact, the application of these rules can limit the freedom of the migrants in a subtler way compared to the first reception centres. Below I will describe two situations that puzzled me.

The first is the case of Marianne, an adult woman escaped from the war in Syria. Once arrived in Italy, she began a relationship with a man of her age, an Italian citizen residing in the town where the centre was based. After a few months they decided to get married. The second is the story of two young migrants from different African countries, who met within the SPRAR. They got married and, after a few months, they left the project together, travelling to another Italian region. These relationships were accepted by the members of the centres, but I found myself thinking repeatedly about how the SPRAR rules could have interfered with the lives of these people. These relationships were supported by the staff and managed in a peaceful way. However, the boundaries set by SPRAR rules (not being able to host a person for the night; the obligation to notify the staff and receive an authorisation to spend an entire day out) places serious limits on the possibility of living in an intimate relationship as every free citizen would actually do.

The legitimacy of establishing rules within a structure of this type is understandable, but they can also trigger conflicts where power asymmetries are unbalanced on the staff's side. If refugees decide to contest the conditions in which they live, the operators supposedly have the power to determine the immediate revocation of the refugee protection status. Although this scenario was uncommon, SPRAR operators can employ this power to control migrants' behaviour. It is therefore in their will to choose whether to manage such conflicts peacefully or enforcing discipline. It is precisely within this 'juncture' that the 'true spirit' of the SPRAR emerges, an organisation occupying an intermediate position between discipline and subjectification (Waring & Martin, 2016) and coercion and consensus (Rose, 2007) in a similar way to the Foucauldian pastoral power discussed in the theoretical chapter (Foucault 1982; Waring & Latif, 2017). I will come back to it in the sections below where I will discuss the role of the SPRAR workers and their relationship with the migrants.

6.4 The SPRAR worker: a new professional figure

The SPRAR manual for the workers represented a rich source of onto-epistemological knowledge about the SPRAR service users. It provided discursive material through which employees could build and (re) define the knowledge about their role, their responsibilities

and the scope of their actions. This was relevant especially for those working for the first time with refugees and migrants fleeing from conflicts, social disadvantage and poverty. To some degree it establishes what Scott (1992) describes as 'public transcripts', the discursive and non-discursive knowledge formations guiding behaviours and relations of power between actors involved in a specific social setting. Accordingly, every worker must read the handbook, study it and use it as a practical guide to manage difficult situations. In the first days of fieldwork, I was kindly asked to sit somewhere and start reading the manual before I could do anything. Nonetheless, this manual (SPRAR, 2015) offers just general guidelines to the employees and it was common to listen to them complaining about this. A common phrase audible in case of puzzling circumstances was: *"What does the handbook say about this?"*. As Luisa explained to me during an informal conversation, her previous experience in a housing community, hosting adolescents with psychiatric issues, drug addictions and criminal histories, was completely different. Her work with these adolescents was characterised by other contingencies as she told me they were often dangerous and potentially violent. However, she said:

> *"As social workers we used just to follow the rules and guidelines from the manual to understand and decide what to do. We felt safe from any possible mistakes and we were able to avoid any further problem." (Luisa, social worker, Janus)*

But while residential structures for drug addiction, or housing communities for ex-offenders, work with 'citizens' in need of specific services and re-educational programmes, working with migrants requires a different preparation and specific skills. SPRAR's main mandate is to foster migrants' emancipation and integration into a new society by working through their freedom. Can its activities be considered strictly (re)educative? What meanings does this term assumes within this context? Viola, one of the social workers of the Cardea Centre, told me: *"I don't have to educate you because you're here. I have to support you because you are here, as if I was in Nigeria and I had to enter into another way of reasoning and living. I would like to have someone to help me as well"*.

For someone else, in some specific cases, the educational aspect is necessary and as Fabio (social worker of the Cardea Centre) explained to me: *"many people need more education than support or work on integration...[this] should be done beforehand, otherwise the work on integration can't take root or if it can, it is really difficult [...]"*. According to Viola, migrants need to be provided with time and space to settle and integrate. Conversely, in Fabio's opinion, the first reception centres should focus more on the educational side, as the time within the second reception phase is too short for that. Hence, migrants should arrive

at the SPRAR already prepared to perform and enter the society. This tension between disciplinary education and a more mature support coexisted in the attitudes shared by the members of the two SPRAR I visited, helping them to better manage their work.

Both organisations I visited were branches of two large social enterprises with a recognised and consolidated experience in the work with non-migrant individuals in conditions of social disadvantage. Many SPRAR workers started their professional careers within those cooperatives whose educational approach was considered reliable and generally applicable even in the work with migrants. However, the same approach was not directly transferable to the SPRAR centres. This can be potentially problematic, as in Italy the figure of the social worker specialised in migrants' support is still undefined and probably not as structured as it should be. In fact, within the SPRAR, it was common to meet social workers with very different backgrounds such sociology, psychology, law, anthropology, political sciences (see Agrusti et al., 2017). Moreover, the cultural mediators were mostly former migrants arrived years ago and presumably integrated within the local community. An interesting perspective comes from them, creatively using their empathy, matured from their experience as former migrants and now living examples of integration. The following words comes from Moussa and Fatima's interviews:

"I like being able to help, because what I suffered, uhm suffered is a big word…but I like being able to offer to these people what I was not lucky enough to have. […] Because it is difficult when a person does not understand your way of being or doing and you have difficulty expressing it. If I have the chance to help a person express this, I like it." (Fatima, cultural mediator, Cardea)

"[…] it's easy for me to speak to the guys […] the first thing is my age, because in Africa when one is older than you, you give him a lot of respect, the second is the experience I have, [..] because I am an example for each of them, I am integrated, I did this, I had that; for that reason it is easy for me to talk to them [...]" (Moussa, cultural mediator, Janus)

Although the multidisciplinary and heterogeneous background of the staff could promote creativity and innovative practices (Schirripa, 2017), this condition can also trigger disorientation and insecurity. Without precise and practical indications on how this work should be done, SPRAR workers are often required to rely on their common sense, their previous experiences in different but related fields, their own personal resources, intercultural understanding, individual motivations, dispositions and spirituality. Fabio,

(social worker, Cardea), with a philosophy degree and experience of international voluntary work, told me:

> *"What distinguishes a 'good SPRAR worker' from a 'bad SPRAR worker'?" (Marco)*

> *"Common sense...the common sense allows you to understand what is right and what is wrong [...] it's like defining wisdom...ok? For someone wisdom was the 'well absorbed knowledge' and you could say: What is well absorbed knowledge? The well absorbed knowledge is common sense, plus time, plus experience. So, eventually you become wise after you have experienced something for a long time and this knowledge is well absorbed. The same thing applies to the SPRAR workers [...] Because you have to continually adapt your way of working to the needs of the moment, otherwise you get stuck in the first step..." (Fabio)*

6.4.1 Managing the unmanageable

As Fabio's statement above describes, the capacity to invent, re-develop and alter the job approach almost every day according to the situation is a fundamental skill required to work at the SPRAR. After I analysed the employees' description of their work, some answers hinted to me that the dimension of unpredictability deeply affected their performance. For example, Fabio explained to me that this is *"an absolutely dynamic job"*. He told me that every day is different from the previous one, and it is important to have *"a great spirit of adaptation and problem-solving skills, precisely because [...] you always have to come up with a different strategy to solve very different problems"*. Similarly, Elisa (social worker, Cardea) confirmed that 'unpredictability' is one of constitutive elements of this work: *"yes for goodness sake, we have things to stick to and that we must follow, however, when you work with people the rules [apply] until page ten, then there is a whole world of unwritten"*.

I experienced this feeling of disorientation when I offered my support to the staff. One of the most problematic aspects was related to my position as an outsider. Especially at the beginning of both my data collection phases, I was hardly given complicated or elaborate tasks. Lacking an overall knowledge of the situation, they could not delegate to me any significant duty and I often felt like a burden. Every staff member knew their own duties as they were pieces of an intricate jigsaw. Every single task was chained to another and, no matter how hard they tried to systematise their labour, that highly unstable sequence of actions could be followed only by those working consistently. Elisa told me: *"it's always a process, always in progress, it's definitely not a job where you get bored, it's not a routine*

job, it's not a job where you get bored". From my standpoint it was like a constant stream of information, running like a train in full speed, and it was almost impossible to catch it and follow its steps. Conversely, it was very easy to jeopardise it. Although I rarely felt unaccepted by the work groups I entered, this feeling reminded me about my outsider/insider position as my involvement with daily activities could only be rather superficial. As Fabio told me, their workload was strongly inconstant and unbalanced:

> *"[…] the workload is not distributed evenly, but more like a line that goes up and down. Some moments are particularly intense, the amount of work is huge, while others are more serene. This happens because you have to take care and support the lives of twenty people."*

The workload of the centres was generally divided into two orders of tasks. A more bureaucratic one, including the management of administrative procedures (i.e. documentation for accessing the health system, enrolment in schools, registration at the local offices). It also included the filling of the individual project reports forms, the management of relations with local actors, public institutions and external organisations. It was a very burdensome part especially as it depended on both internal organisational processes and external demands. However, the second part was even more problematic. It was linked to the everyday life of beneficiaries and every possible contingency arising was governed by law of chance: medical assistance, cultural mediation between migrants and hosts, the organisation of individual consultations and so on. Alongside these duties was also included the management of conflicts inside the apartments, supervision of roommates' relationships, resolution of practical problems linked to mundane life, such as the supervision of cleaning rotas, dealing with emergencies and house maintenance.

The unpredictable nature of these situations determines the dynamism of this work, representing the most demanding aspect of it. Accordingly, the management of daily problems forced employees to work overtime to recover the time allocated for bureaucratic issues and to suspend desk activities to solve problems that needed an immediate reaction. Fabio told me: *"not everything goes as you think because in any case it is not a job in an engineering studio where you plan, make calculations and have the results. The outcome can be very different from your hypotheses and may have nothing to do with what you have designed"*. It is necessary to take into account that each centre was responsible for approximately twenty beneficiaries, each one with their own identity, problems, stories, concerns, doubts and needs. The irregularity and complexity of the Italian bureaucracy exacerbated any occurring malfunctioning. As Alice (social worker, Cardea) pointed out:

"[...] a good SPRAR worker must be extremely flexible, rigidity in this job surely does not pay...you must be a warm but firm person, you must find yourself in your role as a social worker, it is easy to cross the line...and it is not you that pays the consequences…"

The management of the contingencies affected workers' lives but also the migrants, often respecting a routine dictated by the rhythms of the organisation. Again, Fabio (considered the most organised member of the Cardea's staff) told me that *"programming the week of twenty people is a very [...] dense thing and it is not always possible to program it in a timely manner even if [...] we plan a lot. If we did not do so it would be even worse because planning helps you to contain the disorientation, the chaos and also to educate the guests themselves"*. Thus, this situation turns into a training opportunity for migrants, also favouring the social workers who had limited time availability and rigorous planning to follow. Generally speaking, migrants were considered too disorganised to plan their own duties autonomously. Hence, the only way for the staff members to complete their amount of office work was to reduce chaos by organising migrants' daily routine according to a strict detailed scheme of activities.

Each medical examination, appointment or participation in internal activities was pigeon-holed into a precise scheme and combined with administrative tasks, meetings, random errands and so on. The need to organise office work overload and the everyday life of migrants, pushed operators to unwittingly assume a behaviour heading towards obtrusiveness. However, this behaviour was legitimised by the need to engage and motivate the migrants in order to progress with their individualised projects and commitment to integrate. Although the intention was to offer a preliminary guidance and gradually leave more space for the autonomy of migrants, some of them felt like living their lives as a 'compulsion', a series of commitments, appointments and tasks to be completed only to please the staff. This was more evident within the Cardea Centre, characterised by greater closeness and direct interaction between staff and service users, both in architectural and relational terms. This appears clear through this note from my diary about a discussion between Viola and Naemi (migrant):

Viola showed to Naemi a sheet where her whole week was summarised. The girl starts complaining because she is tired and has too many commitments. She rebels and criticises those 'imposed orders', like the fact that she must follow a therapy. She says

that she wants to feel free to do whatever she wants. She says she no longer wants to talk with the psychotherapist and the psychiatrist because she was doing nothing but giving medicines to her. She says that was tired of all these rules, that she wants to sleep away from the apartment and wants to have sex. She wants to regain control of her life and her body.

Fig. 6.4 – A billboard with the weekly activities of each migrant (with the days of the week across and the list of activities on the vertical column).

From this point of view, workers within the Janus Centre were able to maintain a larger detachment and interfere with migrants' lives in a less direct way. The following statement from Carlo (social worker, Janus) seems to mirror in reverse Cardea workers' statements above: "*I would like to manage the relationship with [the migrants] more directly. But there are also tasks that go beyond that, which are office tasks, administrative tasks, errands for that office, contacts with that doctor…it's part of the job but maybe there is the need of a more direct relationship, more continuous*". This dissimilarity was mainly due to the different organisational, spatial/architectural and geographical/urban elements influencing the management of the centre and the relationship with its guests. This implied less

interference with the organisation of migrants' lives but also less promotion of external activities. Still, as I discuss below, the organisational problems existing within the Janus Centre had a certain impact on the daily lives of the migrants.

During my fieldwork, the Janus Centre was crossing a period of economic difficulty due to a series of delays in the delivery of public funds. The basic SPRAR services were delivered but the staff members were receiving their salary irregularly. This period of financial uncertainty and psychological distress pushed the centre to introduce a series of cost-cutting measures. In particular, this led to greater attention and control over electricity and water consumption within the beneficiaries' apartments. After a series of particularly heavy bills, a number of disciplinary measures were implemented targeting some of the apartments. The real suspicion was that outsiders were illegitimately hosted within the flats. As a consequence, strong tensions between migrants and staff arose. The workers were blamed for behaving unfairly and the migrants were accused of being inattentive to house spending.

6.4.2 The supportive power of the group

This condition of uncertainty and chaos and the mounting pressures felt by staff members were experienced differently within both organisations leading to different outcomes. Generally speaking, social workers, acting in close contact with service users, are exposed to stressful situations and continuous pressures that, if neglected or undervalued, can degenerate into burn-out conditions (Gemignani & Giliberto, 2019). SPRAR workers, engaged in the complex setting of the reception of migrants, are particularly at risk. During my experience in the field I was able to observe situations in which tensions triggered conflicts and manifestations of great discomfort among the staff. One of the moments that made me understand the burdens of this work was noted in my diary:

> *When I entered in her office, she seemed particularly upset while nervously writing on the PC. She greeted me with a strange tone of voice, it seemed that her voice was struggling to get out of the mouth. She didn't even look up initially. Then she coldly stared at me saying hello, but in fact I do not think she realised who I was. After a few minutes, she started yelling, crying, grumbling on the phone with someone I do not know, but it was clear that it was work related stuff. It was strange and upsetting to listen to her crying in that way. Everyone was silent. We looked at each other and continued to sort out the documents.*

A source of compensation for this lack of control of the environment was provided by the sense of belonging to a cohesive group. The answer to the question, *"am I doing the right thing?"*, could be found through informal consultations or by organising frequent meetings involving all staff members. According to Elisa, a social worker of the Cardea Centre, also responsible for other administrative duties, discussions with colleagues were invaluably useful:

> *"What a trouble if there weren't the colleagues, I think they are a huge resource because really, if you were alone to decide, to confront yourself...it would be really difficult...and you compensate this loneliness with them, you talk with them, you compare yourself and sometimes, it's bad to say, but you try to understand if what you've chosen is right, if it's the right choice, otherwise you try to correct your approach and come back..."*

Formally, the SPRAR manual establishes that the team meeting is a fundamental practice to safeguard the workplace wellbeing. Each group is free to decide its meeting frequency and its organisation. Accordingly, within the Cardea Centre, every Monday was dedicated to the so-called '*equipe meetings*', occasionally led by an external work psychologist. This moment offered a chance for the groups to gather and discuss any problems or doubts, but also plan the weekly activities in an environment of mutual support. These discussions were a panacea for the void soaking up the SPRAR workers, caused by the uncertainty embedded in their profession and the feeling of being at the mercy of the waves. Here, the project manager of each SPRAR acted as a fundamental figure (SPRAR, 2015). In addition to making decisions about the organisational model, defining roles within the work group and planning the activities, this figure was also responsible for the human resource management (SPRAR, 2015). The project manager represented a point of reference for the group, ideally offering a charismatic, task- and relationship-oriented leadership.

According to the SPRAR manual, the project managers should pay attention to the needs of staff, taking into account their expectations, motivating the group and ensuring its cohesion. Obviously, as the SPRAR is based on the flexibility of the organisational model and of its internal structure, the role of the project manager may vary from centre to centre. For example, Vanessa, the project manager of the Cardea Centre also had other positions inside the main cooperative running the SPRAR. She was little involved in the daily life of the organisation and physically rarely present at the office. However, she represented a fundamental supportive figure and despite her physical absence, she was always available to offer advice and support to her team. Vanessa explained to me that staff members needed a

leader with enough strength to say: *"don't worry, I'm deciding this, don't you worry, I'll take the responsibility, so rest assured''.*

Conversely, within the Janus Centre, although the group was generally quite cohesive, it was common to witness the rise of conflicts caused by poor communication between the members. It is correct to point out, however, that in addition to the problems related to the messy nature of the SPRAR's work, the internal organisational aspects were complicated by administrative elements external to the organisation. Each single SPRAR is instituted through a three-year contract between the Ministry of the Interior and the managing body of the project. At the time of my research, the Janus Centre's contract had just been renewed. Consequently, a significant reduction in the available funds determined by the resizing of the Italian reception system, forced the management board to reduce the workforce and drastically reorganise the roles. Specifically, the project manager had to take charge of the financial reporting of the project, a huge encumbrance that forced her to gradually overlook the coordination of the team. This was sometimes experienced by the team as lack of guidance, and indirectly affected the satisfaction of some guests. Luisa explained to me that "*often there is no agreement between staff members, for example, on the information we give to the beneficiaries. This causes the emergence of conflicts and misunderstandings. That is why some beneficiaries often feel they are treated differently and discriminated in comparison to others"*. Indeed, some migrants complained about this.

Taonga for example, told me that workers behave differently with some of them: *"This is not right. They help someone and choose not to help others […] they ask us to sign and sign and sign things, believing that we don't understand, they tell us to leave, but if we don't have a job, we have to leave the project and we don't even have a place to stay''*. Although I am sure that workers deeply cared for their guests, some migrants were generally sceptical and wary about workers' intentions. This was worsened by the internal communication problems between colleagues, complicating the relationships between workers and migrants. Perhaps, the fact that the SPRAR centres are completely autonomous in managing their work, lacking precise guidelines, can be an opportunity as well as a source of organisational problems. Within this space of insecurity, but also possibility, one of the few certainties is that the close human relationship between employees and migrants is a fundamental and productive instrument in the hands of the workers. Below I will discuss how it is used to promote the autonomy and the development of the beneficiaries' personal life project.

6.5 Pastoral power relationship as experienced by SPRAR workers

As I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, the work of the SPRAR is formally based on the establishment of a productive relationship between social worker and migrant. It is meant to be a close but professional relationship, founded on "mutual trust" and expected to turn into a *"self-help relationship"* (SPRAR, 2015: 18-19**).** Accordingly, it becomes essential that migrants develop the ability to self-evaluate and self-monitor their own conduct, relying less and less on the direct guidance of SPRAR workers (Abbot & Wallace, 1998). It is thus considered a supportive and transformative relationship, a necessary step for the empowerment of the migrants. This rapport between the SPRAR workers and the migrants assumes the form of a 'pastoral relationship', making use of a blend of disciplinary and self-examination techniques to instruct and support its users. This concept, as formulated by Foucault (1982), implies that pastors have the duty to guide their followers towards an earthly salvation corresponding with the attainment of a healthy and joyful life. In the case of the SPRAR, salvation corresponds with integration, the social inclusion of the migrants in the new society and their participation in the life of the community.

According to Martin and Waring (2018: 1299) modern pastors are "experts acting at arm's length from the state, in roles that are increasingly constructed in terms of advice and counselling to autonomous subjects". Although this description has been developed through the analysis of professional figures not dealing with the lives of migrants, modern pastors are involved in every institution guiding, disciplining and caring for "abnormal subjects" (Waring & Latif, 2017: 4). In this case, the 'abnormality' can be traced back to the cultural and relational incompetence characterising migrants and refugees' historical and contemporary representations as socially and morally defective subjects (Lippert, 1999; Malkki, 1996). According to Carlo (social worker, Janus), it is essential for migrants to meet empathetic people and a responsive environment that offers openness and support:

> *"with the listening and the relationship, you solve the 70% of the problems that the other presents to you. Indeed, they often come to you to talk about a problem. You receive them, you listen to them, you ask them how they feel...then they go away and forget [the problem]. Because at the base of human beings there is this need. Especially for them arriving in an unknown land, with an unknown language, an unknown culture, unknown foods, different house, far from the family [...] with an uncertain future"*

Especially in the early stages of reception, it was common to see a strong commitment to receive new migrants with particular affection and warmth. In this way, they could find a convivial atmosphere and a 'home'. Luisa, social worker of the Janus Centre, told me: *"[soon] another guy will be arriving, […] We'll give him the 'welcome grocery shopping' [...] it is a beautiful thing in my opinion; you arrive here without either a penny or a job, you have nothing, you probably come from a CAS where you did not have these things and then you find all the clean sheets, your towels, you groceries, shampoos, bubble bath no? These are the 'welcoming things'...then later they will buy things for themselves [...]"*. The meaning of this practice, apart from its functional value, is to present the new context positively and lay the ground for the establishment of a serene relationship with the SPRAR workers. Afterwards, the relationship will go beyond carefulness and the mere provision of health restoration. According to Elisa, the true strength of such a relationship lays in its productivity in terms of growth: *"[…] you have to be there, searching for the key to enter into the relationship [...] because you build [something] when there is a relationship, otherwise you don't go anywhere, I mean, you become kind of a caring figure but [...] it is just for its own sake [...]"*.

In this regard, Rachele's position appears particularly interesting. During the interview, we discussed her vision of the role of the SPRAR worker and the relationship with the beneficiaries. Below, I will present some excerpts from this conversation. To my question on how she would define this relationship, she replied*: "The correct answer that the 'perfect social worker' would give to you is the 'help relationship'. But I'm not a perfect social worker so I can't tell you a help relationship because that implies that I'm 'helping' you, ok?"*. She notably points out that the notion of 'help' can be treacherous, explaining to me that it is necessary to avoid assuming the role of the 'caring figure' or, as she used to call it, *"of maternage"*. It is necessary to avoid seeing migrants only as young vulnerable subjects. They should be seen as *young men [and women] who have come here to Italy with their own ideas, with expectations, with a heavy experience of violence but also with the desire and the will to build a life here...a life they are choosing [...]"*. She then told me: *"[...] what we can do together is trying to understand where you want to go [...] So it's a relationship of just...I don't know how to define it, a relationship of growth...a relationship of shared growth"*.

According to the staff members of both centres, it is necessary to pay attention not to confuse 'support' with a 'charitable help approach' that risks being heavily disempowering. On this matter, Eleonora, the psychologist of the Cardea Centre, told me: *the goal of the SPRAR is*

to create autonomy, in such a way that people who exit the project [are] able to 'do' and able to create their [own] future. If we disempower them at the beginning, this [objective] becomes difficult to finalise". Hence, the relationship should be directed at fostering autonomy. Its character of reciprocity/mutuality is a central aspect of the SPRAR's approach, essential for the accomplishment of the targets. Reciprocity is understood as the active involvement of the service user, who must never be considered as a simple recipient of services. Here, the micro-dynamics of power/knowledge are fundamental as the asymmetry between staff and guests appears clear. In fact, as other authors have pointed out (Dallavalle, 2016; Manocchi, 2014), the relationship between migrants and workers of the SPRAR is necessarily based on the asymmetry of the roles. Without particular ideological motivations and in the light of their experiences as 'native experts' of the local context, SPRAR members often tend to impose, rather than propose, personal projects considered ideal for migrants. The lack of awareness of these asymmetries was a source of misunderstandings and struggles amongst the parties.

6.5.1 Know all the migrants and each one of them

As seen earlier the SPRAR workers play a fundamental role in the integrated reception path of each migrant. In order to do so, the worker must put into play some fundamental personal elements to manage the relationships. During the reception period, SPRAR workers are expected to support the beneficiary in many areas, from the resolution of everyday issues to the reach of autonomy, always following the established framework and the pledges of the SPRAR. The workers' manual establishes what is expected by the SPRAR employee, highlighting how, for the workers to take this role, it is necessary to assume a given subjectivity. Specifically, the workers must be open to migrants and support them in the communication of their needs and desires through "empathic listening"; demonstrate a certain degree of reflexivity in order to understand one's abilities, responsibilities and limits, both professional and personal; and acquire and update, when necessary, every specific skill required for the role (SPRAR, 2016: 22-23).

Furthermore, SPRAR workers must know the territory and the resources of the host community, in order to understand how to guide the migrants towards the most suitable opportunities for their needs and competences. Obviously, this requires the establishment of a certain degree of knowledge about the service users in order to calibrate the type of

intervention and define the boundaries of the relationship. Thus, to carry out their work in the best way, SPRAR workers must know the whole group of the migrants, but necessarily also know each individual constituting it. According to Foucault, pastoral power must be understood as a totalising yet individualising matrix of power (Foucault, 1982; 2005). Generally speaking, in both centres there was a tendency to divide the groups of beneficiaries into two main groups. Fabio (social worker, Cardea), below, offered to me an interesting definition of these two groups, valid for both the centres I visited even if uttered through different words:

> *"I think there are two broad categories. The frightened, who show a lot of closure and disorientation and those who are very conscious, who have clear ideas about what they want to do and where they want to go. Even if they fail to achieve exactly what they think, they have at least a vague idea about how planning their future. On the other hand, with the frightened, it is difficult just to clarify that it is important to establish at what time you have to wake up tomorrow in order to keep your job."*

In other words, despite the attention paid to each individuality, migrants were generally divided into two groups: the 'active' ones, namely those who respond promptly to staff stimuli and advice, and those who were instead considered slower or less 'shrewd', as Luisa (social worker, Cardea) used to say. In this regard, one day I spoke with her about the attitudes of the migrants hosted in the centre: "*They should be grittier!"* she told me. For her, they should see the organisation as a resource, a place to 'exploit' at their own advantage. She told me about Jenny, a young Nigerian woman: *"She's very smart. She is smart because she is rebellious and oppositional as every adolescent, but she's also ready to change attitude and behaviour with someone when she realises that she can obtain something from that person"*. Clearly, the ability to adapt to a situation and take advantage from it is seen as a positive feature compared to being passive and not enterprising. This is perceived as a manifestation of proactivity and capacity of reading and re-shaping the situation at one's advantage.

However, Jenny's attitude also created many problems during her stay in the centre. One risk for the staff was that to misinterpret migrants' attitudes. Certain behaviours that were seen as a manifestation of apathy and passivity could appear to be the opposite in the long term. This misunderstanding emerged explicitly when beneficiaries were notified that the project was finishing and that it was no longer possible to extend their contract with the SPRAR. Communicating the conclusion of the project was always difficult, particularly when the migrants had not found a job through SPRAR formal channels. This was the case

with Grace, another young Nigerian woman who, a few weeks before the end of her contract, suddenly decided to abandon the project, taking staff members by surprise. The following note from my diary dates back to the day before her departure, shortly after her announcement:

Grace will leave the centre. She told us that, knowing that her time at SPRAR was running out, she started organising her departure. She will leave tomorrow, and she had just bought the train tickets. Viola looked happy, but I felt a certain bewilderment when she asked me: "Who knows who she will go with and where she will go". She asked Grace if she had already organised the transfer. She replied that she organised everything, where she will go to live and with whom. She saved money to have time to look for a job. Viola told her that this was a sign of her independence. I believe that she used the SPRAR to autonomously organise the next steps of her life. Grace has always been considered by the staff as an uncooperative person and not very interested in the opportunities they offered. I don't think they had too much faith in her. I think she is the proof of how often migrants are underestimated...

During my time in the field it was not uncommon to overhear stories of migrants who actually exploited the resources of the SPRAR to develop alternative plans of which the staff members were completely unaware. Furthermore, there is a serious possibility of establishing relationship on the basis of stereotyped constructions, infantilising certain migrants or considering others more mature on the basis of age or cultural background. Such constructions obviously affect the planning of the individual projects and the different objectives of each individual. During the interview, I spoke with Elisa (social worker, Cardea) about the way she relates with each migrant and she told me:

"My relationship is different with each of them […] it is adapted to the guest, in the sense that, for example Aisha and Grace […] For me they will always remain young, more in need of protection and harbour. Because they are 18 and behave like 18-year-olds. Maybe instead, a relationship with someone like Marianne or Liya, who are more adult and have a different maturity...Marianne also has a profoundly different cultural background [with them, there] is a more supportive relationship, […] more distant, more structured let's say."

Fig 6.5 – Picture on one centre's wall of a group of migrants and workers

6.5.2 The (re)construction of migrants' personal stories

Foucault (2011) suggests that pastors obtain knowledge about the members of their flock and constitute individual subjectivities through a series of confessional practices. These practices are envisioned to turn each individual into a knowable subject/object that can be guided towards self-governance and an ethics appropriate to the context (Waring & Latif, 2017). To this end, in order to grasp the 'truth' of each migrant, it becomes necessary to achieve a certain degree of mutual trust between workers and service users. Through a relationship based on trust, migrants can open up with workers and (re)construct their own life-story narrative (see Fig. 6.5). This should be done in preparation for the interview with the territorial commission evaluating the asylum requests. Nowadays, the interview is prepared inside the CAS, but before the 2015 reform, the SPRARs workers were responsible for this stage. The legal advisors of the two centres spoke to me about their gratification in being able to 'unlock' the migrants and help them to speak freely about their experiences and feelings. Patrizia, legal advisor of the Janus Centre, told me that:

"Each person is different, and this affects how much they want to tell you […]. I met
people who talked to me like rivers in flood, who started talking and talking and crying.
And people who maybe had blocks […] the most satisfying thing is when you have a

silent person in front of you...from the second interview he tells you two words, from the third he tells you three. So, in the end you can't even quantify how many interviews are necessary until you realise that you have the whole story in your hands [...]"

As Patrizia states, such work requires patience, sensitivity and empathy. It represents a challenge for advisors who had to work with people initially reticent about telling their own story, often marked by violence, tragedy and traumas. As explained earlier, the construction of the personal history is a fundamental element along the path that transforms the subjectivity of migrants and refugees. However, Patrizia and other workers always spoke of 'collecting' stories, giving less emphasis to the productive element of such practice. Their stories were in fact assembled together with the advisors, as the main objective was the creation of a coherent narrative that could convince the commission and finally assign a legal status of protection: "*it's just about reorganising ideas and replying. It happened to me that during the interview they told me huge nonsensical things and then I had to tell them: don't say this to the commission because you're shooting yourself in the foot, ok"?* (Patrizia, legal advisor, Cardea)

Other staff members told me about the presumed existence of made-up stories, pre-constituted and re-used for their functionality and persuasiveness, then re-adapted and interpreted by the migrants before the commission. In this regard Vanessa, project manager of the Cardea Centre told me: "*[...] there is always the usual story that comes back, I always read them because I send them to the police station [to start the assessment's procedures] and it is always the same thing. It would be better if they tell their true story which is certainly much more heartrending".* As Manocchi (2014: 397) explains, these process serves the purpose of building an "appropriate story" of suffering and vulnerability. Accordingly, during my interviews with the migrants I realised that they spoke about their experiences as if they were rehearsing a script, with certain elements strategically placed and repeated, especially the most tragic ones. The detachment and the facility with which they told their dramatic experiences to an almost unknown person made me think several times about the effects of such process of narrative composition. In fact, this narrative will determine not only the outcome of the assessment but also all future relations, exchanges and their future subjective positions as a sort of 'business card' (Manocchi, 2014; Pizzorno, 2007).

A case that particularly astounded me was that of Simon, a young sensitive man from Sierra Leone with a dramatic past of abandonment behind him. I was struck by his way of telling his experience. He got weepy, I was afraid he would burst into tears during the interview, but he went on without adjourning, like he could not stop:

[...] we called the emergency number to tell them that our mom was sick, so they took us to the hospital, they said that she was affected by Ebola [...] they quarantined us; they treated her but she died [...] It was a horrible time for us...then I lost two of my brothers and one of my aunties [...] In Africa if you have that kind of problem the people look at you with that kind of eyes...everybody is scared of you...they avoid you if you go to the field to play ball with them they will not allow you to play; they will not allow you to do things with them. I said to them that because this has happened to me and my family, they are treating me like I'm not here [...] then I decide to leave the community where I was born...

Nowadays, the construction of the migrants' histories and the preparation for the interview with the territorial commission takes place within the first reception centres. Both legal advisors told me how much they missed this activity because it was a moment of intimacy and closeness to migrants and they loved being helpful for them. Within the second phase of reception every migrant arrives to their new home with a story already prepared, accepted and recorded in their personal files. I had the chance to peek through those folders. Inside I found migrants' chronicles, their psychological profiles, their attitudes, an assessment of their behaviour, their strengths and weaknesses outlined in a pre-established form; the summary of a person in a handful of pages and a life to rebuild from that set of information. Within the SPRAR, in fact, those profiles assume a new productive denotation. At this stage their history will have to go through a process of re-contextualisation, functional to the designing of the personalised integration plan. As Mirko put it:

for the legal advisor it is a bit more boring to work at SPRAR. The most interesting thing for a legal advisor is the preparation for the territorial commission, because you perform the same tasks of a lawyer preparing an appeal before a court and therefore it is more exciting. In your hands, you have the possibility of really helping a person to obtain a legal status that will allow him to live a better future [...] The nice thing [about SPRAR] is that you can work on people's lives and you can contextualise the need to have a document and a legal status into a life project...

6.5.3 The individual interview and the discussion groups

Another practice aimed at increasing the knowledge about each migrant was that of the individual interview. Carried out during the integration project in order to evaluate its progress, the second objective was to understand the state of mind of the beneficiaries and

readjust the approach in case of partial unsatisfactory outcomes. As noted earlier, these interviews play a central role in accounting and supervision processes. As Fabio (social worker, Cardea) stated, it is necessary *"to have a very close relationship with the migrants so to make a good assessment of their skills, to study what their natural inclinations are and work on those to use them properly and [then] include them…"*. These interviews represent a moment of closeness between workers and migrants and, in addition to project discussions, it is also an opportunity for a confrontation with fears, thoughts and uncertainties experienced by migrants who in turn can receive suggestions and encouragement.

Within the two centres, these interviews were managed differently. Within the Janus centre, the caseworker was responsible for conducting the more formal interviews. These were conducted during the initial project design phase and then to monitor the progress of each project. One day I had a conversation with Rachele (caseworker, Janus) while she was waiting for a migrant to start his first 'social interview'. This note from my diary speaks about that conversation:

> *She showed me her interview scheme and [...] the 'life-line' drawn by a migrant that she interviewed last week. It was a scheme with a line in the middle that the migrants complete with her by adding the main events of their life to reconstruct a full biography until their arrival in Italy. Last week I attended the final part of an interview, exactly when the interviewee was completing his 'life-line form'. I remember her attitude; she was addressing him as a friend. She was interested in his story and the man recognised it; you could see it from the way he answered her questions. He had a cheerful smile on his face and often laughed. Although it was a formal and important moment that would have guided the design of his integration plan, Rachele did everything possible to turn it into a friendly encounter and a convivial chat.*

Beyond these interviews, staff members dedicate themselves to more informal moments of discussion concerning their area of expertise, connected to specific problematics or on the basis of specific relation of empathy. Each staff member brought their own experiences and personalities into these conversations. An interesting example is that of Moussa, the cultural mediator (Janus). His life experience was an invaluable source of information for the young migrants. He was a middle-aged African man who managed to build his own life in Italy. After 20 years, he knew what hosts expect from them and the challenges of the integration process. He possessed this knowledge because he learned it the hard way, on his own skin. He was considered the perfect mediator by all colleagues, for his charisma and his ability to be listened and respected. I remember him talking with the migrants. He was able to create

a very intimate situation, like a father (and in some cases even a grandfather) giving advice to his kids. Unfortunately, I could not understand their conversations because of the language barriers, but during the interview Moussa told me:

> "*when I talk to them it's not like I'm hiding things, you have to say things like things are, because here you have to learn, you have to do everything to work but you don't have to sit...so no one does anything for nothing, everything that you have is [also] a duty here, you owe something to them, to make something appear to you only, nobody helps, you have to do something […]*"

Within the Cardea centre, things were organised in a slightly different way. One big difference between the two organisations was that the Cardea Centre included a psychotherapist (Eleonora) among its staff, whose duties extended to other areas of the main social cooperative overseeing the activities of the SPRAR. Participating occasionally in the daily activities of the centre, she observed the organisational life from a more detached perspective than those working on a daily basis. From her position, she could give feedback about the management of work and the relationships with migrants to staff members who, as she explained to me, *"do not have a specific educational or psychological background"*. I had met Eleonora during the professional course for social workers and migration, months before we became 'colleagues' within the fieldwork. Speaking about her work with the migrants Eleonora explained to me:

> "*My job is to do interviews. I always tell migrants that the interviews can be of two types: interviews aimed exclusively at the project, how is it evolving, what are the critical points and so on. They're also aimed at helping on what could be done, to support the [personal] integration project. If there are additional personal problems, we can also talk about these. So, they know that they can move in these two directions and in each moment of need they can also ask for a different support.*"

Moreover, in addition to the roles and tasks related to specific areas of competence (work, health, integration, school, accounting), each staff member was 'personally responsible' for a certain number of beneficiaries. This facilitated the development of more direct relationships with them. Here, individual interviews were carried out more regularly and whenever a guest needed support in relation to a specific issue. I was unable to attend these interviews for the simple reason that they were treated as private moments between workers and migrants. These meetings were considered fundamental to develop a stable relationship of trust and turn into practice the main objective of the SPRAR. As Elisa told me: *'[…] our*

focus is on integration, helping them to integrate. You do this by talking to them, building something together. I believe that this is what pleases me the most, but I believe that this is also our mandate, an educational function that allows them to integrate.

Regardless of the organisational dissimilarities between the two centres, what remains unaltered is the 'function' of these interviews. On the one hand they represent a moment of encounter, aimed at the re-establishment of significant relations and to offer psychological support through a climate of trust. On the other, they are a fundamental educative moment where SPRAR workers can transmit, in the form of advice, a series of discourses directed at the constitution of specific subjectivities: that of the active migrants who must commit themselves to work and participate to the life of local community. The interview with Darren helped me to understand that migrants often internalise the ideas or voices of the workers in terms of gratitude and loyalty:

> *"I wish I could work here; I would like to stay here in Italy, forever…I have to settle here in this country. They saved me, helped me, I have to do something to thank them, I am grateful to this country but in my case, I would like the government to make the citizens understand [that they also need us]" (Darren, migrant)*

According to Martin and Waring's (2018) notion of modern pastoral power, these activities can be interpreted as examples of 'constructive practices', through which each SPRAR worker (the pastors), embody governmental discourses and transmit their contents to the group for which they are responsible; and 'inscription practices' through which pastors dialogue with their group to legitimise, explain and foster the introjection of a particular 'regime of truth' suitable within a specific context. An interesting activity lead by Eleonora were the '(psycho)dynamic groups'. I will provide more details of this activity in the next chapter, along with discussing other practices implemented within the centre to support their integration. These group meetings are comprehensible in light of Martin and Waring's definitions of pastoral practices and they were structured as collective meetings. The whole group of migrants was involved in this obligatory activity, and the gatherings were facilitated by members of staff. As Eleonora explains:

> *"[It is within the] dynamic groups, where we really face the [relational] dynamics happening within the migrants' group. We thought of this because, since they are located in different buildings, some migrants did not know each other and could not network. I mean, they didn't even know that that person was part of the same project. So, it was a way to facilitate relationships and the possibility of reviewing some of our*

decisions if they weren't good for them. Because when we decide things, we also decide on the basis of our perspective and our culture…"

Due to my background in psychology, I was asked to support the management of these meetings. Formally, my duty was peripheral as I had to mediate and translate the interactions into English, helping Eleonora bring the contents of her communications to the English-speaking group and back to the main audience. It was a difficult task that put me in serious distress for several reasons. Firstly, these conversations took place at an extremely fast pace, with overlapping voices and non-respected turns. It was practically impossible to keep track of the conversations, it was about talking and listening at the same time to what was said in four different languages such as Pidgin English, Italian, French and Arabic. Moreover, it was necessary to wait for the translation of Fatima, the cultural mediator, who had to speak in three different languages at a time. Not being an expert simultaneous translator, it was an extremely challenging onus and after each session I felt completely exhausted.

The most complicated aspect was the management of the relational dynamics unfolding throughout the meetings. Given the great complexity of the situation, in order to keep pace and offer support, I ended up leaving behind my role and safe position as just a researcher/outsider. Within those hectic conversations, at the migrants' gaze, I slowly became a SPRAR worker like the others. Finding myself trapped within several conflictual situations, it was possible for me to understand the emotional challenge that these relationships pose to the SPRAR workers and appreciate the subtle efforts of resistance made by the migrants in that context. Embodying the SPRAR worker in full, or at least appearing like that to the migrants, unveiled some of the ambiguities of this role. As written in my diary, this is a reflection on that experience:

Today I've been treated with the same counter-dependent attitude that they [the migrants] often have towards the staff. I thought about what happened while I was driving, for the entire duration of the trip from the centre to my house. 60 km of sadness, remorse and anger.

After a heated discussion about cleaning rotas within one apartment, Grace involved me in the conversation, saying that I wasn't supporting her view as I witnessed their work. I told Grace that she didn't have any reason to be mad at me. She told me she wasn't angry with me, yet her attitude was different than usual.

Later on, Eleonora asked something else to Grace and, again, she replied with an aggressive tone. When I asked her if there was something wrong, she replied that she

was fine, but she was clearly irritated. I was not convinced, therefore (wrongly!), I insisted, driven by a sincere desire to listen to her, since Eleonora does not speak English. I thought (still wrong!) that I would have been able to push her to open up a little with me. At that point Grace turned her face to Jennifer and said: "What does this guy wants from me? Mind your own business!"

I felt like I had received a punch at the centre of my stomach. Am I now perceived as a person who pretend to choose for them and that wants to 'control' them? Did they feel the need to protect themselves from me?

For the first time I felt that that I was being treated not for what I wanted to be (just Marco), but as a 'staff member'. My purported impartiality meant nothing there. At that moment my 'SPRAR worker' identity had prevailed and somehow made me realise that the complicity built into the previous groups had no foundation at all. Thanks to her I think I understood how they see the workers sometimes: just as people who control them, people who evaluate their behaviour to ensure appropriate conduct. Especially the Nigerian group of women did not seem to accept the role of the staff members. My note continued:

I'm afraid there is no 'real' communication, that we don't understand each other. Now I think I can appreciate a little bit more the difficult position of the workers. They are part of a mechanism to which they must respond by guaranteeing that everything works smoothly. […] This may be the reason why the most difficult migrants become a problem that need to be managed. Social workers want to do their job and their goal is in contrast to what migrants want: to feel and live entirely free.

6.5.4 The conflicted relationship between migrants and SPRAR workers

Thanks to the experience of participating in the discussion groups, I was able to read from a new perspective the emotive and conflictual dimensions of the relationship between workers and migrants. As discussed in Chapter 3, pastoral power rests on three pillars: responsibility, obedience and knowledge with its ultimate goal as the salvation of the individual (Blake, 1999). To do this, as Blake explains, the pastor must constantly watch over the whole flock. Obedience is a necessary attribute of the flock and individual wilfulness must be eradicated to establish total dependence on the pastors. However, what really matters is the pastor's effectiveness in guiding the flock in all spheres of life. This ability lays in the knowledge of the flock, both as a whole and as individuals: pastors must know everything about them (Blake, 1999). According to Foucauldian theorising, pastoral power is a benevolent form of

control (Johnson, 2015), and the knowledge of each member of the flock is something to pursue in order to be a good pastor. However, as I will discuss below, operators often do not recognise how their role can affect migrants' lives, triggering a series of unpleasant consequences. When asked about the positive features of their job, almost all staff members replied to me that closeness, possibility to help and the relational aspect of their profession was the most important and satisfying. The following extracts from the social workers show some of the most common replies that I received:

> *"Among the aspects that I like the most is definitely the relationship with the migrants, working with them, listening to their stories, their journeys, trying to build something together that will allow them to stay, [do] something that helps them; this is definitely the aspect that I like the most [...]" (Elisa, Cardea)*

> *"I like the contact with the people, it's a job that...I like to help them, to feel that...not only help them, but being able to put them in motion and see that they can find their own way, then you, you can give them the right directions...frame them a little and tell them: that is the road but then you have to go alone along the road [...]" (Paolo, Janus)*

> *"Working with people is something that gratifies me, and gratifies me enormously, it is always an opportunity to uhm, it may seem trivial, but the encounter, to have an exchange, or even to see yourself with the eyes of another person, so to test you in many ways, so this… I like it very much [...]" (Alice, Cardea)*

Clearly, having good relationships with the migrants reinforces SPRAR workers' commitment to work passionately despite the difficulties. The process of building the relationship represents a source of growth not only for migrants but also for the SPRAR members themselves. As highlighted throughout the chapter, the relationship becomes the central productive and transformational tool for the constitution of both SPRAR workers and migrants' subjectivities. By establishing a solid relationship between the parties, it becomes possible to improve workers' self-efficacy; enhance the agency and stimulate the inner growth of the migrants, a mandatory step for achieving self-sufficiency and foster their integration within the local community.

Moreover, for some workers, the relationship with migrants turns into a 'sanctuary', a symbolic space offering solace from the difficulties linked to this type of occupation. Luisa, for example, believed that building stronger emotional bonds was essential for a good integration project. She told me that the relationship with the migrants was as a relief valve

for her. By focusing her energy on them, she was able to overcome internal and external work-related problems, conflicts, misunderstandings with colleagues, partly withdrawing from the heaviness of the organisational daily life:

"[...] you know, I float...sometimes I sink and sometimes I re-emerge but...it is like a swing. I try to stay like that because otherwise I would not survive [...] so I try to [go ahead] or throw myself towards the practical side, that is those who are in there [pointing the finger to the classroom where a group of migrants were attending the Italian lesson]" (Luisa)

Clearly, the relationship with the migrants is described and built by staff members as an organisational space characterised by positivity and gratification. However, after a deeper reflection, I realised that this facet of SPRARs' life was actually a strong source of stress for both parties involved, revealing some subtle negative effects arising with this approach. This apparently rose-tinted relational space offered ground for a series of intra- and interpersonal micro conflicts. These were manifested through disappointments, clashes with migrants, frustration of expectations, trust issues and so on. As Elisa explains:

"[working at SPRAR is] beautiful and terrible...beautiful because it gives you gratification, it makes you grow and expand your horizons, you can learn about different things; terrible because it puts you in front of constant frustration [...] in part because of you and because in any case we are human, one tends [...] to place expectations on others…and when expectations get betrayed, ouch if it hurts! Let me explain. When someone abandons the project and doesn't even say goodbye and you say: How??? I was there for you, we did a whole project together, we grew up this year and you don't even tell me goodbye…".

Although the main purpose of the workers-migrants relationship is the formation of autonomous self-governing subjects, an interesting emotional dynamic emerges from Elisa's words. If on the one hand the migrants are compelled to emancipate themselves, on the other the workers invest their energies towards individuals who occasionally prove to be scarcely grateful for their efforts. This dynamic seems to partially recall the 'sacrificial' dimension of the pastoral activity (Foucault, 1981). The labour of the SPRAR worker is built as something noble and fundamental for both migrants and local community, but at the same time it does not confer any external 'glory' or 'recognition'. Working with dedication with and for migrants is a source of gratefulness, but also of fatigue, distress and frustration. Accordingly, this disappointment is caused by the lack of acknowledgement for social

workers' efforts, but also by the betrayal of a general expectation of gratitude on the migrants' side.

From my outsider point of view, it was possible to find a valid interpretation to why some migrants left the project without greeting or thanking the employees. This behaviour was partly determined by the asymmetrical nature of their relationship, a limited recognition of the power balance within it and a subtle form of resistance to it (Dallavalle, 2016). Moreover, by leaving the project without showing gratitude, migrants communicate that they perceive the SPRAR in a totally different way from that prefigured within its guidelines. The SPRAR appears to be just a means to achieve other goals within a life project that frequently does not correspond to the one planned with the SPRAR operators. Moreover, the establishment of intimate relationships could be lived as a covert form of control by some migrants. In fact, while some migrants were happy to talk to the workers, some of them openly expressed their resistance, skipping appointments, avoiding conversations or staying in their room for the entire day. I think the main problem was the systematisation of the meetings, transformed into a formal organisational practice.

Fabio suggests that workers' disappointment can be seen as an effect of the enmeshment processes afflicting SPRARs' employees: *"frustration is directly proportional to the level of personal enmeshment that you carry in the relationship"*. The dimension of power in the relationship and its effects on the construction of migrants' subjectivities is substituted by a psychological discourse of enmeshment and excessive attachment. Within this discourse, the feeling of frustration appears as a 'mistake' of the worker, a sign of incapability in managing the relationship in a professional way and keeping a certain distance of 'security'. As Fabio continues to clarify, it is necessary to find a position in the middle between detachment and attachment:

> *'The ideal would be to start with less expectations, not letting yourself delve too much into it, always keeping a professional profile but remembering that you are working with human beings, therefore you can't have a post office worker's attitude. But it's obvious that you shouldn't substitute the beneficiary with yourself, and even engage too much in the discomfort that these people bring with them [...]"*

Fabio's words suggest that it is necessary to keep a professional attitude because 'delving too much' into the relationship carries out the risk of substituting the beneficiary with yourself. Accordingly, an over-caring attitude de-responsibilises the migrants who, quite the reverse, are asked to approach the staff member as a 'tool to improve personal autonomy'.

Another risk is to 'take work home' and break down the delicate boundary between personal life and working life, considered detrimental for both workers and migrants. Subsequently, beneficiaries are constructed as subjects not able to keep the necessary distance nor proactive enough to emancipate themselves without workers' guidance. As Eleonora told me during the interview, workers recognise their responsibilities in creating a circle of dependence: "*[the disempowering relationship], I believe is something that is co-constructed [...] the worker, perhaps seeing [the person] in difficulty, rather than spurring is more inclined to act on behalf of the other"*. However, they also believe that *if you give them a hand, they will take your entire arm"*, a common phrase used by the workers to describe the dependent-inclined attitude of many SPRARs' beneficiaries. As Laura, the caseworker of the Cardea Centre, says:

> *"The thing that struck me most is this sort of ingratitude that they show with respect to what is done for them. Not understanding [what we do] is bad, but in short, they are not able to [...] then this excessive state-aid that becomes manifested over time...it creates problems for me because I do not understand it, I do not understand the reason for these behaviours".*

Hence, migrants are locked into a dilemma inside which they are asked to be grateful, but at the same time are considered not able to manage a more detached relationship in a practical way. A similar dilemma afflicts staff members, as they should be empathetic but also professionally detached. It creates a dynamic where, the more the concepts of 'responsibility', 'autonomy', 'recovery of self-esteem' and 'power to choose for oneself' are located at the core of the SPRAR rhetoric, the more the beneficiaries are placed in a dependency position. The risk is that, rather than favouring emancipation, the SPRAR can generate a lack of autonomy (Van Aken, 2008). Inadvertently, SPRAR workers are involved in a process of 'professionalisation of human relationships' that trivialises and depoliticises power relations through the establishment of emotive and intimate bonds between workers and migrants (Cruikshank, 1999). The general assumption is that a close relationship with local community experts can favour migrants' integration into Italian society, empower them and orientate their projects and choices (D'Angelo, 2008; Rose, 1990).

Concluding remarks

Within this chapter I have described and discussed the effects of power/knowledge relations affecting the organisational life of the SPRAR reception centres. I focused on the objectives

of the SPRAR and how they influence the work of the employees; the relationship between migrants and workers and the tensions affecting its development. Regarding the first aspect, I explained how the concept of integration promoted by the SPRAR is based on empowerment and described by workers as a rebirth and a transition 'from adolescence to adulthood'. The SPRAR mainly employs non-coercive methods of control. This serves as the foundation of the organisational identity constituted in contrast with the first reception centres and the paradigm of the camp. The adoption of a disciplinary approach is sporadically required in case of infringement of rules or whenever the migrants are unable to manage the freedom that the SPRAR encourages. This intermediate position between discipline and technologies of the self identifies the SPRAR centres as pastoral organisations. Foucault's concept of pastoral power allowed me to describe the methods of intervention of the SPRAR workers. The main tool they adopt is that of an educational, curative and supportive relationship (both practical and psychological) moving between formality and informality. The workers make use of confessional practices such as individual interviews and group discussion, to 'extract' the truth of each migrant.

Within the SPRAR, the control of migrants is not based on rigid discipline but on subjectification and discourses of autonomy and proactivity. These discourses are transmitted by SPRAR workers through relationships based on mutuality and trust. Accordingly, building close relationships with local community experts was considered essential to help migrants achieve autonomy and foster their integration. Despite the commitment, the goodwill and the friendly attitude of workers, the relationship between workers and migrants cannot be seen as 'neutral' relationships of 'friendship'. Conversely, these are characterised by conflicts and a pedagogical rationale which reproduces specific relations of power/knowledge.

Chapter 7

The SPRAR, the local community and migrant's integration

Introduction

This chapter presents the second part of my ethnographic account of the SPRAR centres in the South of Italy. While the narrative style follows that of the previous chapter, now I will explore the relationship between the centres and the extra-organisational environment. This includes the citizenry, the local authorities, other organisations and the public institutions composing the social network that should facilitate migrants' integration. By observing the micro aspects of their everyday organisational life, this chapter focuses on the dynamics of power/knowledge flowing between the SPRAR centres and the local communities in which they operate. The aim is to explain and discuss how such relations affect the interactions between workers and migrants and the discourses and practices of integration carried out within the centres.

The chapter is divided in three parts organised as follows. In the first part I will introduce how the emergence of feelings of intolerance towards migrants and the changes of the national reception system has affected the SPRARs and their work. Followingly, I will describe how the SPRAR workers manage the relationships with the local network of organisations and individuals to support migrants' integration. In the second part I will explain how, from the SPRAR workers' point of view, their relationship with the local community is perceived as weak and characterised by a poor synergy between the parties involved. I will then introduce the issue of integration, to describe the approach adopted by the two centres and understand how it is put into practice in light of the problems presented previously. In the third and final part, I will examine some organisational practices employed to encourage the integration of migrants, in order to reveal 'the daily struggle of subjectification' involving migrants and workers. By analysing a series of situations and episodes in which I have personally taken part, I will highlight how migrants try to resist organisational practices and discourses, how workers try to restore their legitimacy and the consequences of these tensions.

7.1 An uncertain future

As I described in Chapter 5, the 2015 legislative and bureaucratic transformation of the Italian reception system determined a drastic change in the work of the SPRAR. The SPRAR methodology was originally envisioned to work with small groups of refugees as defined in the 1951 Refugee Convention, a category of migrants with specific needs and expectations. The Italian system, however, does not recognise the specificities of this group in relation to other categories of migrants, especially concerning the access to the welfare system (Dallavalle, 2016; Paoletti, 2010; SPRAR, 2010). As Dallavalle explains, while this "apparently implies a general equity, [it] does not deal with refugees as a weak category, requiring preferential channels" (2016: 215). Beatrice, the project manager of the Janus Centre, confirmed that to me: "*[the different forms of protection] in Italy mean nothing. Not from the formal point of view of course, but on the concrete level a refugee is the same as one with the humanitarian protection"*. The reorganisation of the Italian Reception system deeply affected the SPRARs' organisational practices as the differences between the various groups of migrants hosted by the centres were rarely recognised by public institutions. Formally treated as equivalent, all migrants with protection were conveyed into the SPRAR centres. Beatrice explained to me how the changes of the reception system affected the activities carried out within her centre:

> *"[...] we used to focus more on this aspect [psychological wellbeing] because people were suffering, they were feeling really bad, we also had suicide attempts. I'm not speaking about PTSD, but certainly [about] situations of severe discomfort that resulted in insomnia, inability to focus, poor concentration, these things [...] so from our perspective...our work has changed a lot."*

> *"[...] we found ourselves working with 30-40% of people whose goal wasn't to request protection but to find a job immediately, with a whole set of difficulties, also for us, because we are not an employment agency!"*

In fact, almost all the migrants I interviewed stated that their main concern and ultimate objective, was to find employment through the SPRAR. I asked all of them about their expectations and desires in their new country: *"finding a job"* they replied. Therefore, what I was able to explore during my research, was the daily life of an organisation in transformation that, despite its potential, was increasingly side-lined. Apparently, in this peculiar historical moment with a pendulum swinging between security and reception, political forces have privileged the former. The SPRAR was failing in its campaign against

"state racism" (Foucault, 2003: 62) while the government was fortifying its role as warden of the national community integrity. By promoting a paradigm of exclusion, the government was attempting to defend an alleged homogenous society from external forces, threatening the unity of its social body (Agamben, 1995; Foucault, 2003). Such endeavour has progressively established an atmosphere of closure towards migrants, described as a peril to security and contenders within a weak labour market. This environment, as I will show, was compromising the efficiency of the SPRAR centres. However, despite the growing social pressures, Beatrice was trying to be positive. Accordingly, small SPRAR centres seem to be more tolerated than the huge first reception centres:

> "[recently the situation] has changed dramatically and we feel like we are always criticised. However, we are a SPRAR and it's easier for us. The situation changes if you concentrate 200 people in one place, like in a hotel […] in a small town, where those living in the village next door are perceived as strangers. Imagine putting 200 foreigners there. That is more problematic. We made the choice of [opening] a SPRAR and host people in the apartments" (Beatrice)

Although the SPRAR organisations offer a sustainable and less impactful form of reception, Fabio explained to me that it was very difficult to collaborate with a local community that looked increasingly uninterested in the integration of migrants. Excluding the support provided by some local voluntary organisations, they felt alone against a government promoting feelings of intolerance towards migrants, turning their work into a tricky enterprise:

> "Here the community […] is not very [ready]. It does not always readily [respond] to the needs of integration of the guests, so maybe it is a bit difficult to do networking! Other associations are more or less involved and, more or less difficultly, [we manage to involve] private institutions or bodies...because the privates are still struggling to accept the [other]." (Fabio, social worker, Cardea)

In this sense my findings share some themes with a recent study from Manara and Piazza (2018) about the SPRAR centres. The authors argue that the SPRARs, despite the declared emphasis on the importance of building and strengthening capillary networks of services, were not able to promote the dispersed integration of migrants and involve the local actors. Similarly, the centres that participated in this research appeared as rather detached from local community, or just superficially coexistent. This feeling of detachment openly emerged

during my first meeting with the Cardea centre's staff. I took this note a couple of days following the first meeting I had with the Cardea's staff:

Monday, during the "staff meeting", I exposed some personal reflections; a potential common thread that could connect both organisations I visited. Namely, the sense of "solitude" and "rejection" experienced by the SPRARs' workers. Despite the fact that the SPRAR centres should be part of a wide network connecting the migrants to the local community, the SPRAR workers often report this sense of abandonment by public institutions, by other local organisations, by citizens and even by the other SPRARs operating in the same region. Almost as if they had been rejected, left alone in a harsh context that, instead of supporting, goes against them. Later on, during a break, Fabio confessed to me that, when I spoke about that "solitude" he immediately understood what I was referring to and that it was a well-known feeling for him and his colleagues [...]

7.2 Building bridges

As discussed previously, the basic objective of the SPRAR is the empowerment of the migrants. To achieve this goal, the SPRAR workers must plan every activity with reference to the outside world, namely migrants' new environment. In order to overcome the mere provision of basic services of care, the main strategy envisioned is to work with dynamism alongside the local welfare. To promote a productive relationship between the larger society, citizens and migrants, the SPRAR promotes a "liberal doctrine of freedom", encouraging a series of "subjective conditions" for the shaping of self-governing subjects and sustainable communities (Rose & Miller, 1992: 180). To do so, the SPRAR workers take into account migrants' past to understand how it can shape the present and the future inclusion of the migrants into the Italian society. However, evoking excessively migrants' past and the suffering associated with it can negatively affect the development of each individual project.

As Fabio puts it, *"[the past] does not make you see the present with clarity. We are working on the present and the future. The past should be filtered, used in some respects but [...] it is not useful to always bring it into play [...]"*. Hence, within the SPRAR, the work on migrant's past is functional for the planning of their future. The past is explored and reworked, through interviews and informal meetings, to reconstruct migrants' history of life and identify their skills and resources. Migrants' future is inside the host community and their integration should be favoured by a series of interventions aimed at overcoming any

vulnerability and marginal position within the educational, cultural and socio-economic spheres (Dallavalle, 2016). However, the participation of migrants in the life of the local community is not just an end. On the contrary, it represents the ground within which they can understand and make experiences about rules and values of the host country (and the idea of belonging to it) by interacting with its members.

Therefore, SPRAR's model of reception has a twofold purpose. On the one hand it should favour integration by extending the migrants' network of social relationships; on the other, it should reinforce the relations between local institutional and non-institutional actors creating shared paths of local development (Ferretti, 2017). This is doable only through the active involvement of both citizenry and local authorities. SPRAR workers play a crucial role in fostering the development of these relations. Occupying a halfway position as 'ambassadors of/and for the local community', in addition to support migrants' integration, they have the task of creating a favourable environment for social (ex)change. Alice, social worker from the Cardea Centre, responsible for the relations with local schools, described to me her work experience:

> *"[...] it is a job where your ability to mediate is really put to the test constantly, because you do it [internally] with your colleagues, you do it with the migrants, you do it with the outside [...] it is a job of support and it is very difficult because you find yourself working with people who are catapulted into a reality that they do not know and do not understand [...]"*

Therefore, SPRAR workers are formally required to embody the juncture between host communities and migrants. The workers constitute a 'third space', encouraging the encounter between two apparently distant worlds. As 'expert members' of the local community, and 'professional connoisseurs' of the life of migrants, their task is to encourage their inclusion and proactivity in the society and at the same time engage and sensitise the hosts to nurture their hospitality. A key part of their role is to assist local organisations to overthrow the wall of prejudices and anxieties and facilitate their work. Again, Alice described to me her relationship with the local schools: *I don't know why, but when they have to work with foreigners there is a strong performance anxiety, so they want someone to rely on and that can help them. I am fine with them and they are fine with me, so I manage to do everything"*.

Alice's statement suggests that, as communitarian intermediaries, SPRAR workers are expected to transmit knowledge about the host community to the migrants, and vice versa,

introduce migrants to the locals. SPRAR workers can be empirically recognised as modern pastors as they represent a socio-cultural "bridge" (SPRAR, 2015: 22), intermediating between migrants and hosts to propagate governmental discourses and secure specific socio-political objectives (Martin & Waring, 2018; Miller & Rose, 1988; Rose, 1999). The bridge perfectly symbolises the experience and role of nearly all the SPRAR workers I met and particularly of Fatima, or 'Mama Africa' as the migrants used to call her. Enriched by her experience of life as a former migrant from Africa, Fatima worked at the Cardea centre as a cultural and linguistic mediator:

> " *I [act as] a bridge between these two cultures in the sense that I help Italians to understand the way of thinking of the [migrants] and then I help the migrants to understand how to live…so to respect…I mean, there are things that they must not lose, because you do not oblige them to become Italians, but of course there are things, rules or laws, that they are obliged to respect in order to live appropriately in this country..." (Fatima)*

According to her, every SPRAR worker has to facilitate the development of good relations between host and migrants' communities. From their position, they produce specific forms of knowledge spanning both communities, that can be turned into a transformative power employable to nurture migrants' new subjectivities. However, while initially referring to both parties, Fatima's words show how the main recipients of SPRAR services are the migrants. In fact, they are the ones expected to revise their behaviour and attitudes in order to get closer to the dominant culture. This was generally accepted by the migrants hosted within the centres: *"[...] we are in Italy, here they have their own culture and our cultures are different, so we have to adapt to their cultures, which is what I'm trying to do now..."* (Simon, migrant). Accordingly, each migrant was expected to trust staff members' guidance who, being accustomed with local laws, rules and customs, showed them how to "live appropriately" in Italy. While not directly asking to 'become Italians' and forget their roots, a crucial but subtle invitation for migrants was to respect 'certain things' necessary to live in the host country in a decent manner.

7.2.1 More than bridges

During the interviews and formal conversations with the workers, I realised that they were constructing their role adopting different metaphors, each of them describing a specific facet

of their profession. When I asked Viola to explain what it means to be a SPRAR social worker, she evoked a particularly original image:

> *[I like to be] this figure of contact. If you have a salad and you put many different ingredients in it, what is the ingredient that you need to amalgamate them? Maybe the oil...So, without oil the salad is always the same, but it tastes differently! I like to be this amalgamating ingredient [and for this] I'd like to go out a lot more [...] and do activities [outside the centre].*

In a similar way to Fatima's description, Viola focused her narrative around the idea of mediation between migrants and local community. However, what emerges is more than a simple function of bridging. She evoked the image of a substance that can unify and combine two different elements by valorising them without altering their qualities. As I will show later, this image strongly recalls the concept of mutual integration, where both communities are called to work together and establish a reciprocal partnership of cultural exchange. She also implied that good SPRAR worker should be more involved with the local community and work more outside the centre's walls. Another perspective is offered by Paolo, social worker responsible for the employment and social integration support (Janus), highlighting how the SPRAR workers have to provide guidance to migrants:

> *" [...] you become the person that should help them...but sometimes you can and sometimes you can't... it is as if you find yourself in a road and a guy you've never seen before [asks you]: "Do I have to go this way to reach my destination?" In that moment you are the only person who can help him, or not help him. If you can help him you are happy about that: "Hey look, you have to go straight then turn.". If you are the one who says: "Sorry, but I'm not from here!" Then this person is gone, and he will say: "Where should I go now"? "*

Paolo described his profession as a vocational job where contingencies going beyond the direct control of the individual can emerge. Despite the sense of fulfilment obtained by assisting a person in difficulty, he depicts a profession with a high chance of failure. Nonetheless, SPRAR workers have the responsibility and moral duty to help migrants coming from a different background and lacking the necessary knowledge to fit into the new social fabric. In some ways, according to Paolo, the fate of migrants depends on the work and generosity of the workers. They are supposedly the only ones who can help them and, if the workers are not committed enough, the migrants will not be able to find their own way. It becomes necessary to highlight that workers were well aware that migrants can take care

of themselves, but probably not in the way that the SPRAR envisions for them. Carlo, for example, told me: *"sometimes we forget that they made a terrible journey to arrive here in Italy. They survived the desert first and then the high sea"*.

Puzzled by these statements I started thinking that the SPRAR workers, worried about 'doing their job properly', were developing a certain detachment from migrants' individual experiences. However, this belief about migrants' lack of agency and responsiveness was motivating the workers' efforts and justifying the need for backing them. Accordingly, Elisa's metaphorical description of her job focused on the idea of supporting and sustaining the integration of each migrant:

> *[...] at the beginning it's like being a crutch, isn't it? That, for a while, accompanies the migrants,, who is beside them, who helps them until...however, the crutch must be removed and then you see if you have been good because if they walk alone [it means that] you have done a good [job] otherwise there is something that hasn't gone well...*

Notably, her description stresses the temporary nature of this practice. As she says, the direct support provided by workers should be limited to the initial phases of migrants' path. Gradually, the workers should give more space and freedom to the migrants in order for them to "walk alone". From this perspective, the approach of the SPRAR workers should shift from more direct disciplinary methods towards the employment of technologies fostering self-discipline (Foucault, 1988). Moreover, recalling the Foucauldian pastorate, it is important to highlight that shepherds are personally responsible for the good conduct and wellbeing of their flock. Consequently, as Elisa hints, the supervision of migrants' integration project offers to pastors the possibility of self-assessing their work. As discussed in the previous chapter, workers used to cope with the high level of uncertainty through a continuous search for feedback.

As shown above, SPRAR workers define themselves as individuals knowing the 'regime of truth' of the context in which they are embedded. Speaking about themselves as 'in between' figures, each worker constitutes a specific and shared definition of their own 'persona', deeply intertwined at both professional and personal subjectivity. By shielding their role as the rightful carriers of the knowledge required for a proper integration, they can legitimise their reliability in providing an appropriate guidance. Moreover, they can understand migrants' perspectives through a partial detachment from them. Despite this power, there emerges a whole dimension of identity insecurity intrinsic to their work (Collinson, 2003). In fact, all the operators were very attentive to my observations and eager to collect opinions

that could reassure them. More than once, Luisa told me that it would be nice if someone could tell them how they were perceived by the local community, as individuals and as an organisation. Thus, what is at stake here is not just the professional, but also the personal identity of each pastor.

To some extent, their position recalls the figure of the *proxenus*: the intermediaries of ancient Greece, introducing and accompanying foreigners within the polis (Kristeva, 1991; Saunders, 2001). In Kristeva's (1991: 49) words "the *proxenus* is the one who seeks and actually is the middleman between the polis and those belonging to a foreign community, providing a remedy to their statutory incapacity". For Kristeva (1991: 48) every *proxenus* works within an intermediate space to support foreigners but also preserve his/her own people's interests. As Giaccaria and Rossi (2012: 206) explain, the *proxenus* was both a private citizen and a public civil servant, "acting in-between spaces of private and public hospitality". Similarly, the SPRAR workers can be seen as 'modern *proxenoi*,' constantly navigating in a space in which the private, the personal, the professional and the public dimensions merge together, fading into each other. I will discuss the development of this dynamic in the following sections.

7.3 SPRARs' (un)relation with the local community

"There is a problem related to the community's response" (Vanessa, project manager, Cardea)

As one of the fundamental commitments of the SPRAR is to guide beneficiaries within the public services system, the daily interactions with local service providers and hosts represent one of the most intricate areas for every worker. Ferretti (2017) explains that the activities of the SPRAR are comprised in a wider governmental plan of transforming the welfare state, in which the well-being of citizens becomes a socially widespread responsibility and no longer a prerogative of the state. This transformation should stimulate communitarian bonds, connecting individuals and organisations within the SPRARs' jurisdictions. The aim is to contribute to the well-being of the community by turning its recipients into autonomous, accountable and responsible subjects (Ferretti, 2017). To understand how SPRAR workers achieve this task, it is necessary to explore how they create knowledge about the local community and the migrants. As seen previously, each worker has the responsibility to manage the social relations with the social actors operating in the community and work alongside them. However, this form of mediation involves first and foremost the

management of the daily interactions between locals and migrants taking place within the public spaces. The encounters with the citizenry offer to workers the possibility to constitute and convey specific "political objects" defined by power relations (Jones, 2018: 991), such as notions of mutual integration and desirable subjectivities. As an example, I will bring a personal experience from one of my first days in the Cardea centre.

One day, Viola decided to organise a slightly different Italian language lesson. That day, only Sebastien and Juliette, a married couple from Cameroon, were present at the office. Viola proposed to them to go out for a walk through the historical centre of the village and visit the local food market. In that way, she could teach them the names of the local products with a double purpose in mind. On the one hand, they could enrich their vocabulary while experiencing daily interactions with the villages. On the other, locals would have the chance to meet the migrants directly, speak with them and know each other. Here is what I have written within my diary about that day:

> *[…] Today Viola asked to Sebastien and Juliette to do an alternative language lesson walking through the centre and visit the food market. I joined them. Viola told me that this would have been a good opportunity to learn new words, do some conversation and meet the locals. […] Once arrived, while we were walking inside the building, Viola started to translate to Juliette the name of each product displayed; she told her that the quality of the meat of the food market is better and then she explained the Italian culinary habits and the typologies of food that Italians prefer.*

> *In doing so, she involved [the couple] in the discussions [with] the local butchers and greengrocers and they were joking all together. Sebastien and Juliette were enjoying these conversations. An old lady told us about her travels in Africa; another lady was cleaning a thistle, showing to Juliette how to do it before offering it to her for a taste. I perceived a clear sense of cordiality from the locals, they were friendly with the migrants. I didn't notice any unpleasant situation or intolerant behaviour. Probably our presence aroused their curiosity, turning migrants into recognisable subjects, 'welcomed guests' of the SPRAR.*

Viola's behaviour was perfectly consistent with her role as a pastor. In fact, in the above situation, she took the role of the 'expert intermediary'. Through inscription and collective practice (Martin & Waring, 2018), she could deconstruct stereotypical differences and promote culturally accepted norms, positive subjectivities, healthy habits and accepted ways of interacting amongst Italians. Furthermore, her presence potentially had a significant

impact on the hosts' behaviour and social representations, transmitting counter-discourses of mutuality, opposed to the closure promoted by the mass media. Thus, she was working for both communities at the same time, acting as a *medium* between them.

I have been pleasantly surprised by that experience. As it was one of the first days in that centre, I thought that working in a smaller city could simplify the work of SPRAR employees. However, thinking about that day, I remember trying to maintain some emotional detachment to avoid a sugar-coated representation of the situation. That caution came from the stories that other workers told me in the previous days. I had been constantly reminded that managing daily interactions with citizens was one of the most problematic aspects of their job. For example, Rachele told me:

> *"[...] The most complex thing is staying in the anteroom of the doctor's surgery with the gentlemen, the lady or the neighbour's eyes set on us. And then interact with them, trying to explain what is the SPRAR; to do a sort of civic literacy, to educate them on what is happening and make them understand that they [the migrants] are not like monsters coming here. [...] It is the hardest part of our job..."*

During the first phase of my research, I had the chance to experience a similar feeling of discomfort when I found myself in a very unpleasant situation, when I had to go to the hospital with Taonga, a migrant from Ghana hosted within the Janus Centre. This is what I wrote in my field-diary:

> *We arrived at the hospital. Huge and eerie, the oldest in the city. A man in the hospital reception showed us the way to the ophthalmology department. The first doctor we met was very kind. She walked us to the room where Taonga would have been visited. Before the visit, she asked if Taonga had any document proving that he had a residence permit and insurance to avoid paying for the visit. I called Luisa to get his fiscal code and communicate it to the doctor. After a few minutes of waiting, the second doctor arrived. She was a middle-aged woman who immediately assumed an attitude that was not accommodating at all.*

> *She treated Taonga with disregard, almost as if he was a dull kid. She looked somewhat annoyed and reluctant to do her job properly. She told him to take a chair in front of her while setting the equipment to visit him. While she was checking his eyes, she starts puffing and shaking her head. I looked at a young nurse in the room who sent back to me an awkward smile, confirming that I was not the only one perceiving something strange.*

At the end the doctor turned on me and said with an irritated tone: "He has got make up! Have you seen his eyes? Didn't you see how much dirt he has in the eyelids. He doesn't clean his eyes. Then of course, they come to us saying they have eye problems". She was speaking like we were wasting her time. She started complaining that Taonga had his lower eyelids made up with kajal, which she seemed to consider a useless and bizarre thing. Then she coldly reiterated to me: "He's fine, no eye problems. His soreness is caused by his poor hygiene and the make-up. You can go".

After the visit, the doctor did not prescribe any medicine to Taonga, except for some eye cleaning products. It was nice to know that Taonga's eyes were fine. However, it was an uncomfortable situation. Taonga initially did not understand what was happening, probably because the doctor just spoke with me. When I told him what had happened, he did not seem particularly shocked or bothered. On the contrary, I was astounded by the lack of professionalism with which the doctor did her job. Especially because Taonga, with a regular residence permit, had the right to access public medical assistance like any citizen of the European community. In particular, the doctor's adverse attitude emerged clearly in her sentence: *"...they come to us saying that they have eye problems"*. It shows how, despite Taonga's regular status, migrants are still perceived as alien profiteers, in this case of the national health system. This rhetorical formula reproduces the discourse of being 'owners of our home' (Ambrosini, 2017), heralded by the most intolerant fringes of Italian society, portraying migrants as individuals 'coming to our country to steal' something that 'naturally belongs to us'. As Elisa explained to me, this feeling is rooted in public discourses describing a never-ending economic and cultural crisis, where Italians feel that the funds allocated to support undeserved migrants should, instead, be used to help Italians in need. Migrants are, thus, perceived as illegitimate antagonists:

"There is still the belief that they are taking something away from the Italians. This [belief] is strong, and it's deeply entrenched. You can hear the people speaking in the supermarket or in the post office. If some foreigner comes inside, then here it is: "You see? They give everything to them, they have everything, we are starving, they have this, they have that, and we don't". I've heard these things so many times." (Elisa)

Accordingly, as time went by, I was able to understand that even the local community surrounding the Cardea centre was not as open as I had initially assumed. It transpired to be almost a dreary town more than a happy village and unpleasant situations involving the migrants were reported to me by many SPRAR workers. They all had the same expression while telling me their stories. A face showing a blend of anger, melancholy and

powerlessness. Below, Elisa describes a bad experience that involved her and some migrants, just some weeks before my arrival:

> *"[...] I was walking with two migrants. We were walking back home. Then this man crossed us and made a comment about the fact that in this way [with all these migrants] the races would be mixed. One migrant asked me "Is he talking to us?" (Elisa)*

> *What did you think he meant? Can you explain it better? (Marco)*

> *"Basically...that if we live all together then children would born and then [...] there would be no more white people! [...] The migrants didn't realise that it wasn't something nice, [...] I just froze. Objectively, if I had been alone, I would have told him of all sorts!" (Elisa)*

As transpires from Elisa's story, working in the field as an intermediary means having to directly face more or less explicit episodes of racism. Having had the opportunity to experience it directly, though in a different context, I realised how this can yield a great amount of distress for workers. To occupy that role, in light of what it represents politically and socially, one requires a huge deal of self-control in the face of provocations and manifestations of intolerance. The Cardea Centre's workers told me another shocking episode: *"You know what happened last year? A couple of days before the Ramadan event organised by us, a group* of *'very clever neo-fascists'* decided to decorate the trees of the central square with ham and mortadella slices, as a sign of 'protest' against the Muslim invasion! It was terrible!"* In addition, some migrants also confessed to me their uneasiness and concerns:

> *"I would like to go to the beach alone or with my flatmates, but we are afraid, we feel unwelcome. For example, if I sit on a bus and there is a vacant seat next to me, nobody sits next to me, Italians rather prefer to stand than staying close to me..." (Emmanuel)*

> *"I have already talked to some citizens, they told me they are afraid of me for the things they see on television. That's why they are afraid of us, but it's not that everything they say on television is true, no! It's not true!" (Darren)*

The episodes highlighted here do not serve the purpose of portraying the Italian cities I visited as non-hospitable places whose local population is composed mainly by racist individuals. Nor I did want to present SPRAR workers as just victims of a harsh environment. Although the situation in Italy at that time was characterised by a growth of

racist discourses and distrust towards (destitute) foreigners, there have been positive episodes and productive meeting opportunities, often promoted by the SPRAR, between the two communities. As Vanessa (project manager, Cardea) told me: *"I must tell you that here, despite [the many problems], I witnessed some truly excellent situations. For example, in the evening classes, in the kindergartens in the primary schools with the teachers…I have seen lovely things"*. However, I chose to give more space to the negative experiences for the simple reason that they allowed me to develop a sense of 'empathic connection' with the staff members. It helped me understand the sense of frustration and distress permeating this work and I could self-reflect on my own positions to get in touch with the feelings of solitude experienced and described by the participants of my research. These feelings need to be considered central as they opened up my understanding of the general climate of the organisational life and the perceptions of the social and political environment surrounding the two centres. As I will show in the next sections, this climate deeply affected the construction of the organisational networks in which the two centres operate and the relations with the local social actors expected to support the SPRAR's integration model.

7.3.1 A disjointed network

"You're just a small piece of a puzzle, inside a series of larger systems…" (Rachele**)**

The problems between SPRAR centres and the local community did not concern exclusively the daily interactions with citizens. Another element hindering their work, as reported by the workers of the two centres, concerned the interactions with local organisations and public institutions operating in the territory. As Alice hinted, the wider reception system presents some important flaws:

> **"**[...] there is something in the system that does not work, ok? Maybe you cannot think about 'reception' without considering the wider context. Because reception means schools, hospitals, it means many things. You cannot think only of constituting a system without thinking how to connect it with everything around [...]" (Alice)

Alice's opinion, also shared by other workers, was that the idea of a wide SPRAR's network, despite being very appealing theoretically, is not entirely viable on a practical level. This is due to the fact that government and local authorities have never endorsed a project to concretely remodel the wider society. Despite the will to promote a widespread model of reception, the SPRAR's scope remains mostly limited to the reception system's organisational spectrum. This point was raised also by Rachele: *"It is like a parcelled system*

[...] where the interaction between the different constituents is actually very difficult. In my opinion this is a sore point...but this sore point exists in general for the [entire] Italian reception system [...]."

According to Elisa, the SPRAR system can potentially act as a transformative agent for the community, encouraging awareness and openness towards cultural differences and *"offering another slice of bureaucratic and administrative reality to local communities"*. On a similar note, Beatrice explained to me that the first activities of the nascent SPRAR network were focused on the creation of a *"culture of acceptance"* within the local community, by informing the local actors about these new realities:

> *"the majority of the work we did at the beginning was precisely that of informing public and private actors about the subject...because they didn't even know what an asylum seeker was. I remember that with the colleagues and the legal advisors we went around with the legislation under our arm, trying to explain...we also went to the police station to discuss about [all these things]."*

With the exception of a few positive episodes, the workers told me that the local infrastructure was weak and incapable of generating a solid bond between refugees and hosts (Manara & Piazza, 2018). Conversely, the citizens were showing distrust towards SPRAR's initiatives. The centres that hosted me were desperately struggling to involve local organisations and institutions to promote community-based micro approaches to the integration of migrants. Moreover, even when the migrants autonomously sought support from local organisations, the response received was not that expected. Yussu's story perfectly exemplifies this situation. Yussu was a young Gambian entrepreneur, forced to flee his homeland and his seaside restaurant for his homosexuality. We had a very long conversation and he said to me:

> *"I met a local LGBTQ association. I became a member, but they are not supporting me to be honest...they asked me to pay for the membership, which is ok, but I don't have a job so it not very good to ask me money now [...] I want to be involved in the activities but they don't let me participate in certain meetings [...] There is a lot of good people but it seems like they don't care that much about me...I would like to be more active and spread my word [...]."*

He complained that he was being treated by the association only 'as a migrant' and that they involved him only in the Italian lessons for foreigners or in the social events as a cook. He was not satisfied, he wanted to be a full member, directly contributing to the organisation of

the actions and bringing his experience into a new context. This, in fact, should be the very mission of the SPRAR.

During my observations and conversation with the staff, it emerged that their relationship with the local infrastructure was affected by several issues. Therefore, I considered it important to investigate which problems, in relations with local actors and public organisation, were perceived as more salient by the organisational members. The more prominent were the slow and ineffective bureaucracy; the struggles in organising awareness-raising events involving citizens and public institutions; the continued delays in receiving public funds and the lack of economies of scale guaranteeing the dispensation of services (Manara & Piazza, 2018). The consequences of the ineffectiveness of the wider system were obstructing much of the centres' work. Paolo explained to me that the malfunctioning of the local infrastructure was compromising his job. For example, as his main duty was offering occupational counselling, he pointed out that, due to confusing ministerial guidelines, the activation of internship programs was very difficult:

> *"It is a system that works in watertight compartments. There is no communication between the parties involved. These people need basic training or a certification of skills. However, the certification of skills is jammed in the region since several years. If I find a person with potential and I want to certify his skills, I have to find an institution that has completed a whole procedure with the region in order to be considered a 'certifier'. But the same institution will tell me that this can be done only if they have an appropriate number of people to certify, because they have to pay another person for that. Then they have to pay this and that. So, if we don't have all these factors coming together and if the region does not give us the authorisations, we cannot certify a flying crap!" (Paolo, social worker, Janus)*

The difficulty of obtaining an official certification of skills was negatively affecting the development of the integration project of several migrants. Kunta, one of the migrants I interviewed, told me that before arriving in Italy he worked as an electrician for eight years. Now, in Italy, he could not find any job. This was causing a lot of stress on him and he was feeling on the brink of a crisis: *"[...] I am worried. I need a job. In my country I worked as an electrician for eight years, I have knowledge about my work, but I never went to school. I know it's my fault. Now I don't have a degree nor a piece of paper that certifies what I can do [...]".* His anxiety was exacerbated by the pressures from his family, who constantly asked him for financial help. Kunta was struggling to meet the expectations of his family and prove to them that he was not a complete failure.

The complexity and length of the bureaucratic procedures also discouraged potential employers who in turn discharged all the responsibility and the paperwork to the SPRAR operators. As both Paolo and Fabio explained to me, if the SPRAR workers did not take care of this, most likely no employer would be interested in hiring the migrants. All this, beyond the organisational problems, represents a great source of concern for the migrants, frightened by the idea of leaving the SPRAR without a job. As Darren told me: *"Now I'm inside the SPRAR, I feel fine. But I'm afraid, [...] I'm here at the SPRAR only for six months…after six months, without a job…I'm afraid of leaving [without anything in my hands], I want to stay in Italy"*.

The temporal element also prejudiced the financial administration of both centres. The continuous delays in the provision of public funds thwarted the management and the implementation of the activities aimed at the integration of migrants. During my fieldwork, both organisations were going through troubled times. The employees, to avoid conflicts and safeguard the organisations, chose to sacrifice part of their own salary to deliver basic services such as the 'pocket money' or the reimbursement for the internship programs. I clearly remember the sense of uncertainty hovering inside the offices in those days; that feeling of insecurity caused by the unsteadiness. All workers were carrying the burden of their own duties as a dark cloud, something that could potentially annihilate any endeavour to support the migrants and achieve their ambitions. The workers' biggest concern was that, lacking a broader system supporting them, the SPRAR risked failing.

Without a strong local infrastructure, the SPRAR workers felt compelled to charge themselves with the responsibility of filling the gaps of the wider system. As Alice points out: "*[..] when you work [...] for the well-being of your guests, you try everything to make them suffer the least possible in front of the difficulties. So, the fact that we always have to solve all the problems of the system implies that the system is not going to be improved […]*". In a country increasingly disinterested in migrants' integration, the SPRAR centres have to fill the welfare and reception systems' gaps, risking to overly assist the service users and thus foster dependence instead of autonomy.

Viola suggests that the Italian welfare system creates dependent subjects: *"our welfare is based on the family […] a system like a great mother who constantly feeds her offspring and then, like Demetra, abandons them [...].* This perception of the context, as unfavourable and hostile, pushes workers to perceive themselves as the only subjects willing to sacrifice for the migrants: "*[…] here in Italy everything is relegated to the SPRAR worker [...] the system*

abandons you and therefore you are burdened with a thousand problems, without anyone around supporting you" (Viola).

The SPRAR workers consider almost impossible to constitute a strong external network, bonding local authorities, organisations and public institutions, and supporting the development of migrants' autonomy and integration. As modern pastors, they feel personally responsible for their flocks' wellbeing and are ready to sacrifice themselves for the good of their beneficiaries. As already mentioned, during my research, Italian public opinion (influenced by populist right wing politicians) was displaying increasingly harsher positions towards migrants. The SPRAR, caught between a culture of fear and suspicion and one of encounter and reciprocity, attempted to challenge these tendencies by promoting tolerance and mutuality. Below, I will discuss the topic of integration and explore how the centres were fostering it while coping with the extra-organisational pressures.

7.4 The promotion of integration: an act of resistance?

As discussed in Chapter 2, according to Ambrosini (2017), there is a gap between integration policies – the laws regarding the integration of migrants – and integration processes, the ways in which integration develops concretely. Thus, if the integration policies depend on a local network based on mutuality, but the relationships between the different parties involved are not sufficiently regulated, it is the SPRAR that should compensate the policies' weakness. The SPRAR network can be understood as a hybrid form of organising which, despite ministerial control, remains rooted in the tradition of the civil society and voluntary sector.

Hence, the promotion of a culture of tolerance and openness is an aspect positioning the SPRAR's politics in opposition to the institutional side of the reception system. Carlo told me about himself: "*even if it does not seem I am a child of the '68*" explaining that the SPRAR's mission is to contrast the negative discourses towards immigration and immigrants. This should be done by providing a "realistic view" of the situation, spreading counter-discourses of tolerance and being politically active to raise awareness within the citizenship. As Rachele and Alice exemplify, many SPRAR workers describe their work as incompatible with the recent government's decisions, offering a chance for political resistance:

"I cannot be in the territorial commission deciding if you are worthy of protection or if you are not. I realised that I am on the other side, on the side of the operation, not of the decision [...] those who are in the trench. And within the trench, there is not just me working in the SPRAR, but also the social workers in the CAS [...]" (Rachele)

"those who do this job do it for a passion, for a vocation [...] the desire to do something, to [say] that you are against this crap, because it is that…I mean, this work it's first and foremost a political choice [...] it's one of the few occasions in the last ten years that have happened to me to really do something, to say that I do not stand at it, that I don't recognise myself with the choices that my government takes..." (Alice)

The statements show that the sense of belonging to the organisational culture of the SPRAR is defined around a strong ideological and political component, internalised on a personal level. The workers of the SPRAR, despite its (quasi)institutional position, assumed a political stance opposed to the Italian government. They construct themselves as being in the 'trench', those on the side of migrants, opposed to those working within public institutions and supposedly in agreement with the government. Seemingly, they openly set a boundary between their work, depicted as 'humanitarian', and the institutionalised public bodies deemed to be more oriented towards securitarianism and control. During the time I spent inside the two centres it was very common to engage in long conversations about the changes that the Italian government was introducing. Together with all the workers, we shared our critical views regarding the worrying anti-immigration and conservative policies characterising Italian politics on the subject.

It was also possible to identify the political sympathy of the organisations just by observing the cultural artefacts displayed within the offices and the buildings hosting the centres. Correspondingly, one of the SPRARs I visited was in fact located inside the former headquarter of a left-wing political party. All the advertising posters, the books and pictures displayed were connected to a specific political stance. The way workers spoke, the words they used, the clothes they wore were also sending a clear message about their personal beliefs and cultural values (Figure 7.1 below offers a small example).

Fig 7.1 – The reception of the building hosting one of the reception centres, decorated with old feminist posters and left-wing newspapers

The data suggest that the members of both organisations shared a vision of the wider society, and the local community, not as a resource but almost as an obstacle to overcome. The workers, unable to rely on the support of the community, established a certain knowledge about their work as a 'disillusioned resistance'. Having accepted the fact that the world cannot be radically changed, they did their best and continued working for the good of the migrants. As I will show in the next sections, this theory about the extra-organisational environment influenced the vision of integration avowed by the members of the staff, characterised by a tension between the symbolic and practical dimension of it. Throughout the study, different views and conceptualisations of integration shared by the SPRAR workers, have emerged. Notably, no unified definition of integration surfaced. However, despite dissimilarities, the majority of the workers agreed on a set of values converging towards liberal positions, equality and universalism, moral multiculturalism and mutual integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Turner, 2006). Below I will present some of these views underpinning the idea of integration shared by the workers. Moreover, I will unfold some contradictions extant within their discursive position.

7.4.1 Integration as equality and reciprocity

> *"The foundation is the human being, whether it is white, black, green or blue...it's the human being, there is nothing to do…" (Carlo)*

As Carlo suggests, the heart of the idea of integration shared within both centres is represented by a world view grounded in the inherent universal equality of all human beings. This slightly idealistic concept refers to a cosmopolitan vision of all humans that overcomes cultural, religious, social and biological differences (Benhabib, 2007). Shared by many members of the two organisations, it is presented as the founding moral value upon which almost all inclusion activities should be based and developed:

> *"we all prefer to talk about inclusion of differences [...]. For me the people who have been here in 10 years are people that I do not consider as beneficiaries [of protection] they are people that left their country and they are here, living with me, they live in the same environment, for me they are my equals […]." (Beatrice)*

A fundamental value of modern societies is the hostility towards forms of discrimination grounded on traits like race, ethnicity, gender, or physical condition (Hingham, 1998). To promote the integration of migrants within western societies and advocate their civil rights, the SPRAR centres that I visited place at the centre of their conception of equality "a moral equivalence of endowment" connecting all individuals (Hingham, 1998: 212). However, this conceptualisation typical of Western humanism, based on individual and personal factors, strips the issue from socio-economic or political considerations. Furthermore, it risks conveying an essentialist and ethnocentric universalism misrecognising the power relations between members of the society (Mohanty, 1988).

As Patrizia suggested to me, the first thing to acknowledge in this work is "*that [migrants] have needs that are the same as your needs, and that these are the same needs as everybody else, regardless of skin colour, religious belief […]*". Accordingly, the risk with such conceptualisation of equality, is that otherness could be depoliticised and substituted by a discourse of 'sameness in needs'. Here, tracing back all the differences to a presumed universal and essentialised human structure, the influence of the socio-political context is minimised and the responsibilisation of the individual is emphasised. However, as Beatrice points out, equality can be reached through mutual knowledge. By pushing people to open up towards 'the other', it would be possible to overcome bigotry and the issues arising from the lack of familiarity:

"[...] the most important thing to overcome the fear of the stranger is precisely the knowledge [...] What is missing? Mutual knowledge probably, the fact of knowing a person really for what he is, beyond the colour of the skin and its origins..."

Moussa, Janus's cultural mediator, shared the view that integration means *"to be with you, talking to you, as you eat, I eat [...]"* stressing how closeness and sharing can favour integration. In fact, the 'widespread reception' promoted by the SPRAR is considered the best strategy to foster the encounter between migrants and hosts, pushing people to interact with each other. This view is strongly rooted in a psychological perspective influenced by Allport's 'contact hypothesis' (Allport, 1954). Within this theory, prejudice and discrimination stem from the lack of knowledge among the social groups of a given society. If these groups have the chance to meet each other, prejudices and stereotypes will be recognised as unfounded leading to positive attitudes and behaviours. The influence of the contact hypothesis also directly affects the integration practices.

The common opinion among many SPRAR workers was that, to promote multiculturalism and reduce the cultural distances, it was important to organise public activities aimed at exchange and mutual encounter involving both migrants and citizens. The migrants themselves seem to embrace this idea. According to Darren, it is necessary that migrants and citizens gather all together and jointly contribute to the progress of society. Without reciprocal meeting the Italian society will be just 'incomplete':

"I just want them to explain to Italian citizens that it makes no sense to continue ignoring us migrants. It will always be a deficit, do you understand? Something that is not complete, to be better together. There will be fewer problems between us and them...If we learn things together it will be better for us migrants and also for natives!"

Accordingly, both centres were organising various social activities, such as sports activities, cooking classes and meetings in schools, pushing for the participation of the migrants in more formal meetings with institutional figures involved with the activities of the SPRAR. Unfortunately, the general public's response was almost null, and the participants were often friends of the organisations, already sensitive to the theme of migrations. As I will explain below, the desire to stimulate the encounter between migrants and local communities is based on the specific concept of integration that both centres described as ideal. Thus, the contact between the two communities is the starting point for the establishment of an inclusive society based on multiculturalism.

7.4.2 Multiculturalism and its effects

> *"[this contact] will raise a meeting of cultures, from which a third culture will emerge, that won't be like the first, that won't be like the second, but that is a new, a third..." (Carlo)*

As Carlo states, the contact between migrants and locals will inevitably determine profound cultural changes in the host society, leading to the rise of a 'third culture'. Carlo also said that *"[...] they'll become a little more like us and we'll become a little more like them, I mean, there will be a third reality [...]"*. This process, uttered in terms of 'mutual acculturation', is closely linked to the concepts of multicultural integration (Ambrosini, 2011). Accordingly, this form of acculturation is opposed to any form of integrationism involving the absorption of minority groups into the dominant society. Conversely, it evokes a process characterised by a conjoint transformation encompassing the entire population (Berry, 2011):

> *"Integration? First of all, let's not talk about integration because the word integration is bad, ok? You integrate your culture to insert yourself in another context, let's talk about interaction, ok?" (Fatima)*

Fatima's words exemplify that integration was generally seen by SPRAR workers as a process involving continuous exchanges between central institutions, local authorities, third sector associations, hosts, staff members and the migrants themselves (SPRAR, 2015). For Rachele, the word integration does not describe the endeavours aimed at creating a more inclusive society: *"[...] I like more to use the word interaction, given that the person who comes to me interacts, there is a continuous exchange, in a more complex way"*. According to this view, all actors should be active protagonists of a process of interactive acculturation, resulting in the establishment of a culture of acceptance among citizens and non-citizens. It recalls the two-way integration, seen as "a process of mutual accommodation" emphasising the "social connection between refugees and those other members of the communities within which they settle" (Ager & Strang, 2008: 177). However, this general vision of integration refers to a spontaneous process, uncontrollable by the organisations and whose results can only be appreciated retrospectively (Sayad, 2004). According to Luisa, this form of integration is extremely problematic to encourage through organisational practices and activities even in an extremely open and tolerant society:

"We speak about integration as a word that should be used. But there will pass decades before this word will have a real meaning and we'll know exactly what it means. Not what should be done, because how it should be done it's like saying: how do you do the parenting?"

This consideration recalls a macro-level understanding of integration. As highlighted previously, the local community's relationship with SPRAR is characterised by poor connection between the parties. The frustrations stemming from the recognition of these difficulties and the discouragement due to the negative response from the local community was frequently discussed during interviews and informal conversations that I had with workers. Elisa's words suggest that multiculturalism is a utopian goal, extremely difficult to reach nowadays, especially within the Italian context:

" [...] on a social level it would be nice but it is utopian: a fusion of what is mine and what is yours and therefore the coexistence of two cultures in which one enriches the other [...] being able to merge, to take the beauty of one [culture] and the beauty of the other. [Mutual integration] is difficult. Maybe in, I don't know, fifty years? For now, it is impossible. We're too rooted in: 'You're here, you're in my house, do what I tell you and what we do here'."

The consciousness of the difficulty of promoting a radical cultural change that can transform the whole society pushed SPRAR workers to downgrade their ambitions. The construction of a discourse concerning a 'society that is not ready to change' establishes the foundations for a specific power/knowledge dynamic guiding most of the organisational practices. Lacking the power to act on citizenry through the involvement of local communities, staff members were inclined to focus their work directly on the migrants. Accordingly, it was necessary to operate mainly at the micro level of integration, focusing on individuals' commitment:

"Logically I'm speaking about the person, if you talk about society it is much more complex. So, at this point, what is integration? [...] integration is a choice in my opinion, of both individuals wanting to establish a mutual human relationship." *(Carlo)*

Albeit recognising its communitarian nature and the responsibilities of the hosts, the vision of integration constructed by the members of the organisations evokes a process in which the centrality of the individuals' motivation and dispositions are pivotal. Every migrant subject has different motivations and the desire to integrate should be matched by the same

desire from the host society. Nevertheless, integration turns into a personal choice that everyone voluntarily pursues, shifting any responsibility for the success of this process especially towards migrants' commitment.

Elisa believed that integration should be understood on two levels. On a micro-personal level: "*integration exists when a person manages to live in an environment that is not his own, with profoundly different cultural traits, succeeding to adapt and, at the same time, without losing his own cultural baggage [...]*". Consequently, the act of integration was seen as a personal project that requires the achievement of a balance between the new and the old values. According to Fabio, *"[...] integration can only take place when you agree to share not only the laws of a state, but when you show an openness to the people of a particular place [and their culture]; you make [this culture] yours and you interpret it in your own way"*. Integration was therefore constructed as a process of personal growth that conveys forms of subjectivity built around concepts of transactional and cosmopolitan identities.

However, as reported by Ambrosini (2011), the multicultural vision of integration often translates into a simple declaration of intent that is not accompanied by concrete actions. Furthermore, even when professing multiculturalism and egalitarianism, this approach risks inadvertently to fall into 'neo-assimilationist' inclinations, especially concerning the integration of single individuals (Ambrosini & Boccagni, 2015). Accordingly, even if Carlo generally avowed a multicultural view, he explained that, concretely, integration requires the adaptation of migrants to the host society:

> "*[being a refugee] entails also duties because, since you are a refugee and you move to another country, in some way you must also adapt yourself to that reality, then you must respect what is the reality that is hosting you or receiving you.*"

As McPherson (2010) suggests, this move towards two-way integrationism often reflects a shared belief according to which the easiest way to achieve social cohesion between migrants and hosts is for foreigners to conform to the expectations of national citizen subjects. Essentially, the underlying concept is that 'they' should understand local habits and adapt to local community's way of living: *"[...] if this is the choice they want to make, somehow, they have to mould with us, right?"* Laura told me once. Despite the diverging opinions among organisations' members, with most workers firmly advocating for a harmonious coexistence of different cultures and communities, the awareness of the limits imposed by the organisational constraints led to the acceptance of a more pragmatic approach. This was unmistakably explained by Mirko:

"Integration should be, in part inevitably, an abandonment of habits that you had, and to acquire others that do not belong to you and gradually should belong to you. Some speak about [mutual] exchange. Yes, but if you are in Italy, by force of circumstances, if you want to integrate, you have to stop doing things that were accepted in your country but that are not accepted here and start doing a whole set of other things that you didn't know and, if you want to integrate, you have to do when you're here [...] first of all the language...and then a whole series of non-written cultural codes that make you part of the population of a place and that if you don't acquire then you will never be integrated..."

Mirko suggests that multiculturalism is indeed the model of integration and ideal society that the SPRAR centres seek to promote. However, it has previously emerged that SPRAR workers did not consider the host society ready enough to accommodate the changes that such transformation requires. This led SPRAR workers to partially disavow the principles of multiculturalism and, responsibilising the individual, promote a form of integration that resembles a covert assimilationism. As I will show below, this clearly emerges from workers' positions, according to which migrants must necessarily learn the Italian language and find employment to become independent subjects.

7.4.3 Autonomy through language and employment

"[We] should help in a different way, help them to understand that they can do it by themselves, explaining things to them, stopping several times, this is what we have to do." (Eleonora)

As discussed above, the members of the organisations, on a practical level, converge towards a micro-individual approach to integration. The SPRAR manual (2015: 6) states that each centre should promote an "integrated reception". Accordingly, migrants should be seen as active protagonists of their own integration process. Therefore, the achievement of a certain degree of autonomy is a fundamental requirement for a successful integration. Eleonora suggested that *"[...] helping them increase their skills"* is the best way for promoting emancipation. She then added: *"I think that's the best way to help them to leave the project [...] so that they know they can rely on themselves, [they learn] how to be strong and able to do, to plan, to stay in a context different from theirs"*.

Despite the general guidelines exposed within the SPRAR manual, the promotion of autonomy appeared to be particularly complex to turn into practice and the social workers were making a great effort in that direction. As a starting point, after obtaining the documents proving their legal status, the activities aimed at fostering autonomy were mainly focused on the acquisition of the Italian language through specific courses. Language courses were organised either internally, with the support of the employees and external teachers, or by enrolling the migrants within the programs offered by the public-school service. According to the SPRAR workers, but also suggested within literature (Ager & Strang, 2008), learning the Italian language is considered the essential first step to accomplish basic daily tasks and increase the possibilities of finding an occupation:

> *"[…] if you speak Italian you are halfway through the work. Why? Because you know how to introduce yourself, you know how to attend a job interview, and you can answer the questions that they ask you, so you're not staying silent in front of any situation, you know how to manage yourself […] I mean, the task of the second reception is to bring people to autonomy in the shortest time possible, ok?" (Patrizia)*

To encourage the learning of the Italian language in the daily life, the workers tried to limit as much as possible the use of migrants' own languages. Pushing migrants to speak Italian was seen as a useful practice carried out for their good. However, the communication between staff members and migrants was often problematic, causing frequent misunderstandings and possibly contrasting with the idea of mutual integration. Despite the unquestionable importance of mastering the local language, this approach has important side effects. According to wa Thiong'o (1986), the replacement of native language with that of the host society weakens alternative knowledge, conveying dominant values and increasing power imbalances between migrants and hosts (Seremani & Clegg, 2016). Even if learning the local language is vital and the staff continuously pushed them to improve, the linguistic constraints silence migrants, weakening their capacity of expressing ideas and limiting the space for resistance. Correspondingly, all migrants perceived their linguistic incompetence as the greatest obstacle to overcome in order to continue their integration project: *"language it's very difficult and if you don't speak the language you can't have a job,"* I have been told by Jennifer.

Many interventions implemented to promote the integration of migrants were aimed at the achievement of daily tasks and allowing migrants to reach autonomy before leaving the project. For example, one of the activities in which I took part was the 'internet laboratory'

where we were helping migrants to use the internet to create an email account, search for a job and send a CV online. While helping the beneficiaries to seek employment, I realised how difficult it was for them to comply with the demands of an increasingly specialised labour market. The only available positions were maids, house cleaners, waiters and so on. Moreover, understanding rights and duties of every citizen, learning how to carry out basic administrative tasks (i.e. registering to the national health service or applying for the fiscal code[11]) and moving within the complex Italian bureaucratic system were adjunctive skills considered essential. For example, the Cardea centre used to organise weekly meetings (called 'legal and social workshops') aimed at both theoretical and practical explanation of the bureaucratic procedures necessary for migrants to consider themselves self-sufficient:

> *"[I'm in charge of the Social Workshop] which deals with the aspects related to the documentation, the carrying out of daily practices related from INPS to the CAF, the identity card, the health insurance card...in short, to instruct them on how to act independently to fulfil these tasks." (Laura, caseworker, Cardea)*

I was able to participate to some of these workshops, however one of the first things I noticed was the low turnout of migrants. No one looked really concerned about these activities. This made me think that probably not everyone was interested in respecting the steps suggested by the organisation. The only ones regularly participating were the families, probably more motivated and aware of the importance of getting to know the local bureaucracy to support their offspring. I especially remember James, a Nigerian young man who arrived with his partner and daughter towards the end of my research. I remember that one day he spent all his time taking notes and asking questions. Together with him, Sebastien and Mohammed, who arrived in Italy a few years before and were both family men, participated with interest in the discussions. The topics covered that day were the forms of employment contract and the rights of workers and employers.

Several times it was reiterated by Laura, the Cardea Centre's caseworker leading the workshop, that they must acquire that knowledge if they wanted to stay in Italy, to support their families, to allow their children to go to school and have a decent life. Interestingly, their wives were not participating in the meetings. Eleonora told me that "[...] *for the men, work becomes the primary thing. Without work, they are stripped of the duty of head of the family [...]."* The staff was investing more time working with the men since, probably due

---

[11] The fiscal code corresponds to the English national insurance number and it is used to identify people in their relations with the various authorities and bodies of the public administration of the Italian State

to traditional patriarchal cultural reasons, married women were considered more interested in maternal or household roles. Obviously, this conception did not apply to single women or single mothers. These women, on the contrary, were continually pushed to emancipate themselves and search for a job. Accordingly, learning the language and being independent within the local system of services were just propaedeutic elements for a bigger objective: that of achieving economic independence through employment. Furthermore, the acquisition of economic self-sufficiency is considered a fundamental step and the core of integration as understood within the SPRAR:

> *"work is integration because it allows you to live with dignity, allows you to say ah I can go with friends, because then...but silly things beyond the house, home, work and food, friends, going out, girls, I mean these are the things, and for them it is even more complicated, if they do not speak Italian you can't do that..." (Luisa)*

While Ager & Strang (2008) suggest that integration is a multi-dimensional process of which the socio-economic element constitutes only a part, SPRAR workers shared a vision according to which language and work represent the essential elements of the whole process of integration. Most of the interventions and activities carried out by the centres were founded around this idea. Likewise, the foundational notion of inclusion promoted by the SPRAR centres was based on 'integration through employment'. The following excerpt describes the experience of Beatrice (Janus Centre's project manager), in contributing to the SPRAR's foundation in 2001. She explained to me that at that time, due to the absence of a comprehensive law on asylum, it was necessary to establish a specific organisation that could turn the stay within the reception centres into a productive period. The better way to achieve this was by introducing migrants into the local job market:

> *"I transferred what I learned in my experience with the social work to the asylum national program and the refugees, adapting them to the situation to combine the legal and the social aspects. At the end, this approach allowed us to find the strategy that is still the most used: the internships, to allow people to learn a job and take advantage of the period spent within the reception centres..." (Beatrice)*

Therefore, from a spontaneous process, integration has been professionalised, depoliticised and implemented through humanitarian organisations, emphasising work as a means to achieve social inclusion and mobility. Generally, for what concerns the working domain, migrants were considered to be poorly aware of the Western work culture. Paolo and Fabio told me: *"they come here with very different concepts of work and time management"* or

"they are not used to precise work patterns, eight hours, maybe starting in the morning and then finishing in the evening". Migrants were considered unable to find a job independently and staff members adopted different strategies to favour the autonomous search for an occupation. Migrants were normally assisted to build their resumes and guided towards the job adverts considered most suitable to their skills and inclinations. Although much importance was given to the use of the internet as a job search method, according to some staff members, this could also potentially pander to the laziness of the migrants: *"It is not enough to send resumes online, you have to take paper copies and go out to bring them in person; employers want to see you face to face!"* Viola used to say. Accordingly, Paolo described to me his experience with the young migrants, and his impressions were largely shared by almost all members of both organisations:

> **"[***…] migrants' expectations are high, their preparation is medium-low, as their level of Italian. They don't know how we work in Italy. Even today, many of them are convinced that being strong is enough to find a job. It resembles the mentality of many youngsters of the 70s, in the 'meridione' [the south of the country], waiting in the town's square for a job like helping the mason of the village to unload sand from the truck or to load bricks. But now the bricks are all wrapped in a ready-made pallet, the worker arrives with the forklift and puts it in the truck and then unloads it […] you need a minimum of technical skills and that's why they are in trouble"*

Therefore, since migrants are mostly considered unskilled workers, lacking knowledge about modern work technologies, they do not necessarily fulfil the needs of the Italian labour market and local employers' requirements. Accordingly, they are supposedly able to occupy only unspecialised job positions. The local employers, for their part, did nothing to reduce this representation, offering no specific possibility for professional growth and thus inclusion of migrants. The participation in internships programs represents the most appropriate means for migrants to learn a job, experience and understand the functioning of the host society and concurrently restructure their subjectivity:

> **"***it is necessary to do an internship to help [them] get fit to the job, to understand how the job works here and then allow them to update themselves about certain things"* (Beatrice)

Through their (unsystematic) cooperation with municipal councils, job centres and local authorities, SPRAR centres were promoting only precarious employment, internships and low-skilled temporary jobs. In some cases, agreements with local councils required the

SPRAR to dedicate one day of migrants' week to community services. During the study, most migrants were employed (as interns) principally in construction and cleaning companies, catering and hospitality industry. *"In our region, luckily, there are no large cases of illegal hiring"* Alice told me. However, in the name of a proper integration and as the only condition to enter the labour market, migrants were pushed to accept these positions, often underpaid or covered by a meagre reimbursement. This was not necessarily a problem for migrants, especially for some women. Many of them told me that they prefer 'simple' occupations. Jennifer told me: *"I need more help to find a job. Like cleaning somebody's house. I prefer a job that is not too hard. Here I had the chance to learn how to sew, but that is not the right job for me now"*.

As Limki (2018: 331) advocates, work can be seen as a "a disciplinary apparatus charged with the manufacture of docile subjects". As part of an institutionalised system, despite some efforts to contest it, social workers often unintentionally contribute to the maintenance of this status quo. Accordingly, being employed and reaching economic self-sufficiency does not correspond to a satisfying settlement and even for Moussa, the cultural mediator, who fluently spoke Italian and worked in several local organisations, integration was far from achieved. During the interview he admitted that: "*It's true that I'm working, but I work, I come back and don't leave the house. [...] Saturday I go to work, but from Saturday until Monday I don't leave my home, I don't go anywhere…home, work…stop…home, work…when I'm not at work I'm at home"*.

7.5 Learning the Italian ways of being

As seen in the previous section, work and autonomy in everyday life are considered the main target of the practices of integration planned and implemented by each centre. However, according to Viola, "*empowerment is not just learning to write a resume or knowing how to pay a bill. It is also an inner empowerment".* Thus, mastering the material aspects of inclusion, linked to work and economic self-sufficiency, is not enough to reach the long-awaited social integration. Given the weak support offered by the local community, this goal can be reached mainly through an "inner empowerment", requiring a gradual reconstruction of migrants' subjectivities. Accordingly, in conjunction with the integration activities aimed at the professional sphere, it is necessary to work on the behavioural rudiments of the everyday life in Italy. For the SPRAR workers, this educative work is essential for migrants' integration, so they can attune themselves to hosts' standards and accepted etiquette:

"integration means having a job, being able to relate to the doctor, being able to relate to the landlord, having a good relationship with your neighbours. These are things that seem simple, but they have many cultural aspects behind them, such as the tone of the voice that determines how others perceive you. […]" (Mirko)

It is worth remarking that many workers from the two centres were aware that migrants could be little interested in social integration, especially in the way advocated by the SPRAR. As discussed previously, integration is seen as an individual choice, stemming from intrinsic motivations and commitment. As Paolo told me, some migrants show openness to the local community: *"I met people aware that this was their new life and they opened themselves to all possibilities. They integrated with everyone, they became friends with their Italian peers, they travelled together, they spent their holidays together as if this were a new beginning […]"*. The sense of curiosity, openness to novelty, cultural flexibility and the disposition to learn and share were considered the right attitudes that would lead migrants towards a successful integration. However, as also Luisa tried to explain to me, some of them did not show any interest in knowing the habits of the host country:

"[…] there are those who are more [open] and those who are more [closed]. Many have come here to make money; they just want to work […]. It's a choice and you can't do anything about it, what do you do? They want to put money aside and leave, I think some are exploring to see what's on the other side of the world. They take what they can then who knows what they will do. I don't know if they'll stay here, if they go to France, I don't know." (Luisa)

To some extent, migrants' choices were accepted but they were always reminded that entering the SPRAR was not a mandatory step for a lawful living in Italy. However, having signed a contract, migrants must accept that within the project it is indispensable to show a certain level of commitment and cooperate with the staff members. The SPRAR workers were particularly annoyed by the non-collaborative attitude of some migrants, pushing them to assume a more disciplinary and direct attitude. *"I'm tired of babysitting"* Fatima told me once. The staff members wanted the migrants to understand and accept that the imposition of certain rules and the provision of certain advice was benevolently done to improve their future and to show them how to take care of themselves:

"[…] integration should be a mutual thing and not univocal, so yes, we need to talk about integration inside the apartments and remind guests that they are in a different country: "Do you want to stay here? You have to integrate" […]" (Fabio)

Initially, Fabio's statement left me a bit baffled, but then I understood that he was speaking about mutuality to explain that migrants should consider worker's guidance as a form of collaboration and support. According to staff members, it is essential for migrants to understand the importance of their involvement and active contribution to their own integration process. As I explained in the previous chapter, the migrants are constantly invited to undertake a path of personal growth to self-reconstruct their subjectivities. This psychological development, linked to the conception of integration as a personal maturation, should be understood as a process that should start from the migrants themselves and not as an external imposition. The gradual integration of migrants into the Western culture encompasses various dimensions of everyday life of the host community, and social workers are there to support and educate them:

> *"[as a SPRAR worker] you have not just to explain or show them how things are here, but also to show them how to engage [in a conversation] with another person, how to approach the other, which tone of voice to use, all things that may seem trivial, but when you actually find yourself thrown into a reality that you don't know." (Alice)*

Accordingly, each SPRAR worker should instruct migrants on how to behave within the host community and what the hosts' expectations are. Remarks about migrants' ways of behaving, considered sometimes inappropriate, were frequent: *"it is a very serious lack of respect here. If a person talks to you, you can also not answer, but never turn your back on him"* (Alice). Turning themselves into living examples of 'ideal ethical citizens', SPRAR workers assume here an explicit educational connotation, enacted through practices, conversations and informal discussions with migrants. Their position between locals and migrants is reinforced by the close relationship established with the service users, providing workers with a strong subjectivation power. As Foucault suggest (1977), power circulates and shows its productive effects in the micro-relational dynamics characterising everyday life. Through these apparently elusive and neutral exchanges, power relations develop and persist as long as those involved perceive themselves as autonomous and not obliged to follow external impositions. This dynamic was particularly clear within the Cardea Centre, as Viola told me:

> *"I often stop with the girls to talk about our lifestyle! But since I don't like to make judgments [...] I like to explain that their way of dressing is correct, nobody puts that in discussion. However, as our way of dressing is different, they will probably have problems if they dress in a certain way. Or, for example, if you don't look a person in the eyes...what can be respect in their context here is the opposite [...]"*

The comments from the workers aimed at the outfits of some migrant women were common. Usually, the targets of such remarks were the young Nigerian women, sometimes considered too provocative: *"They have a beautiful body and they can even afford those clothes. But sometimes they exaggerate"*. The migrant women were often advised to opt for more 'discreet', 'modest' ways of dressing to avoid being misjudged or make a negative impression. One day, Viola (ironically) said: *"Pay attention, [if you dress that way] the Italian males will get scared!"* suggesting them to opt for an outfit more in line with local standards of decorum.

According to Fabio, in addition to the aspects related to daily interactions and appearances, it is necessary to educate migrants also on more abstract elements of life such as time management: *"[...] just to learn to watch the clock, to understand how long it takes to get ready to leave home and arrive on time requires a lot of work. Maybe we have internalised it over time, but they haven't [...] this also has repercussions in the workplace and in maintaining commitments"*. The integration path of each migrant and the actions of the centres aimed at its promotion cover every aspect of migrants' lives. From clothing to the tone of voice (*"They speak too loudly!"*), from the way they cook (*"They eat a lot of fried food!"*) to their physical interactions (*"They are too rude!"*) and the manifestations of pain. Everything can be revised and eventually modified for the benefit of themselves and those surrounding them. This part of the SPRAR activities is ascribable to what Martin and Waring (2018) define as 'inscription practices', through which pastors dialogue with their communities to explain and guarantee the adoption of a specific 'regime of truth'. It is important to note that these practices were not implemented following a structured planning. Everything happened spontaneously, between one chat and another. They appeared as seemingly harmless practices. For example, one day Viola reproached Naemi about her 'inelegant movements'. I took a short note on my diary about that:

> *Today in the office it's just me, Viola, Angel and Naemi. I was the only male in the room. While we were speaking together, Naemi, pulled up her trousers in a clumsy way, just a few feet in front of me. Suddenly Viola intervened: "Naemi! Come on! Don't you have any manners?! Do you pull up your trousers in that way? In front of Marco?! Then she showed her how to pull up her trousers, like a polite and good woman would do as she said. Angel and Naemi responded teasing her, mimicking the gesture of a high-rank woman.*

This example highlights how these micro-practices of power are sometimes imperceptible even for those who firmly believe that they are acting just for the good of the migrants,

falling into conformism here linked to the image of women. In fact, Viola, an anti-conformist herself who openly criticised the traditional image of the Italian women, was reproducing stereotypes while instructing Naemi on how to behave 'as a well-mannered woman'. Workers did not seem to be aware of the effect of these practices in terms of productive power. Although these recommendations were motivated by the desire to help and simplify the life of the migrants, what surprised me was the supposed neutrality and sterility of these talks. On the contrary, it is precisely in this sphere that the 'big/small' transformations, that the integration process entails, take place and materialise. It is exactly within this domain that the inclination towards a covert assimilationism to dominant national values, norms and habits seems to emerge, promoting what can be called a set of 'good guest behaviours':

> *"I won't tell you: 'we don't do this' [...] I will tell you: 'This behaviour is not accepted here. Do you want to integrate? You should do this way'. For example, [...] a little more than a year ago [...] a lot of girls came out with just their underwear or dressed but barefoot [...] this was the beginning of integration, I mean, you have just arrived and still don't know how to present yourself in our society where,, first of all, we look at the appearances [...]." (Fabio)*

The SPRAR workers therefore, despite believing in the importance of a macro-multicultural approach to integration, often offered advice related to the micro-realm of everyday life pushing migrants to absorb micro-behavioural elements of the Italian culture. By moving from the macro to the micro we can see how integration turns into a form of subjectification raising the question of "how the individual binds himself to both his [sic] own identity and consciousness and, at the same time, to an external power" (De Vos, 2013: 106). These micro-behavioural elements were never directly imposed but presented as friendly advice. This attempt of re-subjectivation, however, was not straightforward as expected.

It is important to observe how within this 'mundane disciplinary field', not only the operators exercised their educational and pedagogical function, but also migrants executed their micro-forms of rebellion. One of the most common acts of resistance was staying in bed overtime, despite the constant calls from the workers; ignoring staff remarks; not respecting appointment times or making jokes addressed to staff in their mother tongue, often dialects that were incomprehensible to everyone, accompanied by big laughs. Accordingly, these subtle but recognisable forms of resistance were manifested within everyday interactions between migrants and social workers, suggesting that the predominant power struggles were

played within the sphere of interpersonal relations and the mundane in organisational life. The following note recalls a situation that I witnessed:

> *As soon as I arrived at the office (9:45), Elisa told me that the girls were still in their beds while they should have already been awake to start the Italian lesson. She was quite demoralised telling me that the girls were in their rooms and that she had already tried to wake them up twice without success…*

> *[...] The girls didn't wake up for the Italian lesson. It was 10:30 and the lesson should have started at 10:15. Elisa told Viola to go and try again because she didn't know what to do anymore. Viola (jokingly?) told me: "Marco, as a psychologist, what do you advise me to do to wake them up?"*

Recalling the work of Martin and Waring (2018), the pastors' main function is the shaping of self-reflexive, self-governing subjects. However, "the pastor is [also] a relay of surveillance and discipline" (Martin & Waring, 2018: 1298). Accordingly, pastors have the duty to pay special attention to the 'stray sheep'. As discussed in Chapter 3, Martin and Waring speak of pastoral disciplinary-oriented activities in terms of collective and inspection practices. Through the first set of practices, pastors operate as an integral part of their communities, cementing and reproducing the new values and behaviours vaunted within governmental discourse and then reintegrate individuals who deviate. The second, with a more pedagogical nuance, are adopted in a more direct disciplinary fashion to ensure the embracing of appropriate subjectivities in and by their communities and among themselves (Martin & Waring, 2018: 1298). In the next session I will provide an example of such practices as implemented within the Cardea Centre.

7.5.1 The psycho-dynamic group activity

As I have mentioned above, the pastors can adopt a series of techniques to transmit cultural elements and discourses reproducing governmental or macro-organisational strategies to manage their flocks' behaviour and supervise the constitution of civilised selves. An example was the psycho-dynamic group, an activity organised exclusively within the Cardea Centre, recalling Martin and Waring's activities explained above. In this occasion (almost) all the beneficiaries meet on a weekly basis to discuss together the most salient events of the week, communicate any problem to staff members and speak about their experiences. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these were led by Eleonora, the psychotherapist. The meetings were always held inside a house inhabited by a family of four African migrants.

These activities can be seen as a 'collective confessional practice' involving migrants and staff members. Eleonora told me: *"[through this activity] we could address the group dynamics developing between the migrants […] it was a way to facilitate relationships […] and give us the possibility of reviewing our decisions if they were not really made for them […].*

Staff members called this activity 'dynamic' also because, rather than following a rigid structure, participants were free to speak and express themselves. Moreover, it offered a chance of investigating levels of experience that could not be tackled in depth in daily interactions. These conversations were guided by a specific theme or loosely structured around the guidelines of activities influenced by psychotherapeutic methods. I have been invited to take part in these groups essentially because of my psychology degree, qualifying me as a resource for them. Eleonora had a leading role, facilitating the interlocutors and stimulating the conversation whenever beneficiaries were struggling to express themselves. The other staff members had to observe, mediate and translate the conversations among the participants. The following is an excerpt from my diary:

The question that opened the group was: What are the problems and concerns? No feedback is received, none of the migrants talk. Eleonora said she would like to continue the previous week's discussion related to what SPRAR is for them and what their expectations are. Eleonora was struck by what Marianne said, "that the SPRAR offered a time to reflect on a life moving too fast." According to Marianne everyone should live it in this way to understand who they are.

We then discussed about what they left in the old life and what they found in the new one. Eleonora suggested all migrants to reflect on this. The next question was: Which are your fears in this moment of change? Everyone talked about work. Eleonora explicitly asked not to think only about work or material things. She wanted to explore deeper aspects related to the emotional or cultural sphere. Some were afraid of losing their roots. Others complained about the fact that Italians were closed towards strangers, and it was difficult to find someone to talk to. The Nigerian women said they miss their traditions.

All the workers said that [migrants'] lifestyle must necessarily change. Some things will be lost, others will change. Fatima said: "You do not realise the change; you feel the same […] the others will see your change; the change is something that you don't perceive but that others notice when you return to your country of origin". For Fatima,

to change implies bringing new perspectives and the positive things of the new culture
back to the home country.

During this meetings, various forms of resistance emerged: some women were hiding inside their own jacket, covering their face with the hood. Someone else responded superficially, nodding or trying to give pre-packaged answers hoping that the workers would leave them in peace. Workers wanted to involve those who were trying to 'disappear' from the room through the collaboration of the more 'disciplined/senior migrants'. As Eleonora explained to me, initially it was very difficult to run this activity: *"many migrants did not understand what the activity was meant for; they were reluctant, they thought they had to talk about themselves with the group and this is not always easy to do, because they showed resistance to tell their stories that are usually not [openly discussed]"*.

During the meetings we engaged in conversations about emotions, dreams, expectations, impressions, projects, hopes and so on. We spoke about the past, their travel, their previous lives. We discussed the present, how it felt to be in a new country, to stay within the SPRAR, the positive and the negative aspects of this new existence. We explored the future, the new life project and the changes it entailed. Sometimes these topics were treated indirectly, through the use of role-playing games to help the more introverted. During these activities the workers' language and procedures were clearly influenced by concepts from the psychology of group relations, a theory and method developed by the Tavistock Institute in London (Miller & Rose, 1988). The rationale behind these meetings recalls the 'mutual aid groups', composed by individuals sharing a problem, on the basis of which they can establish a novel sense of belonging. Being among people sharing a common condition, should favour the expression of any form of suffering, needs, experiences, achievements and hopes, and promote an inner change. Joining a psycho-dynamic group stimulates the individual work (self-help), shattering the loneliness with which migrants face their painful experiences, to recover a dimension of communality (mutual help).

Despite the creation of a safe environment in which migrants could 'open up' to each other, this activity offered a space for disciplining the deeper and more personal dimensions of the migrants' emotional life. However, despite the efforts to educate migrants, the workers did not interpret the migrants' oppositional behaviours as a manifestation of their will to rebel against the dynamics of power existing within the centres. As I will discuss below, the scarce improvements of some migrants were often interpreted as the result of their unwillingness to commit themselves to their integration path. In other cases, the workers did not have the

necessary means to support cases considered too problematic, requiring a different form of support from that offered within the SPRAR.

7.5.2 The good and the bad migrant

As highlighted previously, the reception system's reorganisation, the assignment of heterogeneous groups of users to the same centres, the high expectations of migrants and the lack of instruments for meeting them create issues compromising the applicability of the SPRAR methodology. Moreover, the long-term stay in the first reception centres was considered a factor reinforcing a sense of dependence on the organisations. Moreover, the alleged apolitical and psychological-individualistic vision exposed earlier, in combination with the issues connected to the difficult relationship with the local community, seem to turn integration into a highly selective process. Generally speaking, most migrants were considered not sufficiently oriented towards the future.

Vanessa explained to me her opinion: *"in the face of so much resilience they have poor planning skills. They are resilient to survive, to face the day, to face tomorrow. But they are not thinking about the day after tomorrow"*. Moreover, Eleonora told me *that "the [...] migrants who find work more easily [...] are those who ask and don't wait...those who are active in their project and outline it without us planning it for them [...] these are the people who [will] encounter no problems outside"*. The SPRAR rationale shows all its subjectifying power by introducing a Western idea of 'purpose' in the existence of migrants, apparently lacking long-term planning skills and the ability of projecting themselves towards an integration objective. Accordingly, one of the migrants I interviewed, Marianne, a Syrian woman with a degree in law, told me that the SPRAR should work more on education. In her opinion it must necessarily convey the value of life planning that her peers do not possess:

> *"the situation of the Italian reception centres should improve...the important thing for them [the other migrants] is that they have a place to sleep, to eat, money...but the problem is with education...they lose the sense 'of doing'. [The SPRAR] must work to create change in these people, these girls won't change even in ten years. See Naemi for example [...] since she arrived, she has made no progress!"*

Again, the temporal dimension returns, now in connection with the idea of life planning. According to Marianne the other migrants are stuck in the present, lacking future perspectives and this could explain their dependence on the centres. However, to her it is not

just dependence, but a way of living anchored to the present that, lacking the future dimension, leads migrants to 'exploit' the SPRAR today, without thinking about tomorrow. Conversely, examples of successful cases were Talib, employed in a car body shop, or Naseefa, an afghan refugee working as a shepherd. They were often mentioned by workers as the personification of the successful integration:

> *"[Talib] managed to do an internship in a car body shop and they liked him. The internship has been extended [...] at the end of the extension the employer said: This person speaks Italian, he has integrated well, he knows how to do the job because he had previous experiences, certainly not with our tools, however, he is confident so I want to give him a permanent contract, I want to hire him." (Patrizia)*

> *"[Naseefa] has been working as a shepherd for three years [...] he has poor cultural instruments, etc., but he's a mature man, a man who arrived here with a purpose, it is tough I know, but he's working, he's committed, I mean, poor guy he has lost weight, he is working hard, but he is moving forward..." (Carlo)*

Another positive example was Emeka, 10 years old, who arrived in Italy by boat with his mother. He was living in a flat with other five African women and he was jokingly called by workers and flatmates the 'family man'. He was unanimously considered an example of good integration:

> *"[...] Did you meet Emeka? I could give him the keys of my house. He is cool, he is very integrated, he is nice, he is very well-mannered. I mean, this child has no problems at school, or in the football school; no one has problems with him, and he has no problems with anyone; he is always invited to the birthday parties. Why? Because he's a lovely child! Because he's lovely." (Vanessa)*

These "civilised selves" (Collinson, 2003: 530), 'good guests' accepting modest jobs or easily embodying Western accepted traits, are considered more successful, more prone to western ways of being and suitable for the job market. Working with them was generally easier for workers. This involuntarily reinforces a biopolitical mechanism of selection that, as explained by Mavelli (2017), allows the definition of who can be included and who should be excluded within the society. Jones (2018) argues that the promotion of self-care policies determines the construction of responsible good citizens. Only pro-active and conscientious individuals are believed to be able to integrate and became productive members of the society. Bad integration outcomes are considered the consequence of "the wilfulness of

irresponsible people, rather than the structural distribution of resources, capacities and opportunities" (Clarke, 2005, cit. in Jones, 2018:996).

Understandably, due to the lack of time and resources, often the social workers could not bestow the necessary amount of attention to those showing scarce improvements. They were supported but, if the additional efforts did not produce results, slowly the commitment left room for disengagement. A negative case was that of Naemi, considered by the staff of the Cardea Centre a difficult subject: *"She does not distinguish the good from the bad because of her history and the context in which she grew up. She was a prostitute, she used drugs, she lived on the street. She had a father who didn't want her to prostitute, but still he took her money"* (Fabio). Diagnosed with borderline disorder by the psychiatrist, she was a single mother of a 3-year-old child with whom she crossed the Mediterranean Sea. During my research I have seen the Cardea's staff trying in any way to help her find stability and peace. However, after a period of serenity, her behaviour started to worsen, forcing the organisation to take drastic disciplinary measures. Any attempt to support her was effective only in the short term. After a few weeks a new crisis occurred, dragging workers towards feelings of helplessness. They were convinced that the SPRAR was not the right place for her.

Another case which I witnessed during my research was that of Albert, a young African migrant. At the end of his six-month extension, despite the help and support given to him, he didn't develop independence and his contract expired:

> *"[you can find people] like Albert, who doesn't integrate even with his own [peers] [...] in my opinion, apart from his psychological problems [...] there was this idea that we should assist him until the end. If he needed a certificate: "you have to accompany me!" He has been here for two years...we explained him how to do this and how to do that...now he has to go." (Carlo)*

Those like Albert or Naemi, who are more resistant to change and unable to adapt to the new life, are considered unmanageable, not able and not committed to integrate. The SPRAR workers alone cannot save their lives. The best outcome of every SPRAR project is supposed to be the stipulation of an employment contract. However, according to the data available on the 30th of June 2016, only less of the 30% of the migrants left the SPRAR with an employment (SPRAR, 2016). The remaining 70% is divided between those who left the project voluntarily (28.7%), those who left due to the termination of the contract and/or completion of the project (37.9%), those dismissed after unilateral decision of the centre (4%) and those accessing 'assisted return program' to their homeland (0.1%). There are

currently no data about the life conditions of this 70% of SPRAR beneficiaries. Albert is part of that nearly 40% of migrants, entitled to protection, who left the SPRAR after the termination of their contract. Many like him have to leave the SPRAR looking for 'luck' elsewhere in another Italian region and become 'invisibles'. If the government's plan to reduce the SPRAR continues, the numbers of migrants who fail integrating could rise, forcing them to find employment in the black market or in crime organisations.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have described how the relationship between the two SPRARs and the extra-organisational environment influences organisational discourses and practices of integration. As emerged within this chapter, the SPRAR has recently undergone various legislative transformations that affected the centres' work. These changes have hindered their mission of constructing a network linking local organisations, citizenry and migrants. As a consequence, both centres were experiencing problems in involving local organisations to foster the encounter between hosts and migrants. The members of the two SPRARs described themselves as 'bridges' connecting migrants and hosts to promote mutual integration. The activities of the SPRAR centres therefore target both migrants and citizens, as their ultimate goal is the well-being of both communities and the wider society. The SPRAR workers can be seen as modern pastors working for two 'flocks', different communities sharing the same path towards integration.

The relationship between SPRAR and citizenship is particularly problematic within a socio-political context increasingly intolerant towards foreigners. This hostile environment has strong repercussions on the power/knowledge relationships unfolding both inside and outside the organisation. As I have explained, such construction of a negative social environment, affects organisational practices and discourses. Another problem that emerged is the poor synergy between reception centres, local authorities and organisations. SPRAR workers therefore tried to fill the gaps in the welfare system and the local infrastructure of public and private services. The two SPRARs tried to overcome the external pressures by promoting the integration of migrants and a culture of tolerance and reciprocity.

For several workers, being a member of the SPRAR offered a chance to resist government's exclusionary policies. The integration promoted by both centres was based on principles of equality and mutuality and by encouraging the contact between migrants and hosts it would be possible to build a hybrid multicultural society, more inclusive and democratic. However,

a tension between the 'symbolic' and 'practical' levels of integration emerged. The mission to promote a multicultural society was complicated by the social and economic problems described previously. Not considering themselves capable of transforming the society, the workers were pushed to promote a covert assimilationism as the only possible solution. In conclusion, I have described how workers transmit their knowledge about the Italian culture through micro-practices of integration targeting the everyday lives of migrants and making use of various technologies to normalise and responsibilise migrants.

Chapter 8

The SPRAR and the threshold: concluding discussion and contribution

Introduction

It is difficult to conclude a thesis, especially when you recognise that your work has almost taken on a life of its own. I still feel like it is not finished, nor finishing. It is still pounding, and I can feel its attempt to transform again. I will approach this chapter as a blurred and grainy photograph of an entity in continuous development. It is now here, but who knows where it might go at a later observation.

Despite all the instability, there is a common thread running through the whole thesis. I refer to the bridging of tension between opposing concepts: security and solidarity, voluntary and forced migration, coercion and freedom, autonomy and dependence. The analysis of these tensions through Foucauldian lens has been surprisingly illuminating for the study of the social phenomena and the organisational processes under inquiry, showing how the combination of conflicting concepts can create new unforeseen insights.

This conclusive chapter is structured as follows. In the first part I summarise the previous chapters, highlighting the main tension informing each of them, to introduce the discussion of the findings that emerged in the empirical chapters. By reconnecting the findings to the theoretical assumptions made in the previous chapters I will also address the research questions. Finally, the second part of this chapter discusses the theoretical and methodological contributions of the study, its practical implications, the limitations of the study and the recommendations for further research.

8.1 Summary of the previous chapters

As mentioned above, the whole thesis is punctuated by a series of tensions between contrasting concepts. I will refer to these tensions to make of the positioning of the SPRAR within politics and practices of inclusion. Accordingly, in Chapter 2 (see Objective a.), I have critically reviewed the multidisciplinary literature about migrants' management during the 2015 Refugee crisis and offered a synthesis of the knowledge about migrants' integration. What emerged within these fields, is the existence of a leading tension between *liberal* and *non-liberal* methods of government (a general theme bridging all the following

dichotomies) epitomised by a form of governmentality merging two opposed rationales: the *humanitarian government* and the *domopolitics.* This tension, imbuing public and political discourses about migration and migrants, ultimately affects the development of policies regarding migrants' integration and the understanding of the very concept of integration. Moreover, the literature about migrants' integration suggest that the academic debate, despite the attempts to create more nuanced models, is still grounded on macro-approaches such as *assimilation* and *multiculturalism,* overlooking lived experiences.

In Chapter 3 (Objective b.), I have discussed Foucault's theory and offered an alternative understanding of migrants' integration in the field of MOS. Aware of the predominance of macro-approaches to study integration, Foucault's theory helped me to develop a micro-perspective, focused on the power/knowledge relations between migrants and hosts. Thus, I defined integration processually, as a *technology of subjectification, mediated by pastors adopting micro-disciplinary and self-examination practices within organisations surrounded by a governmental matrix of power/knowledge relationships.* This assemblage embeds two main tensions revolving around the role of the SPRAR workers described through the Foucauldian concept of pastoral power. One tension regards integration means, related to the adoption of a combination of *technologies of power* and *technologies of the self* (Foucault, 1988) and one regards its target, the migrant homo sacer, caught in the middle between *inclusion* and *exclusion* (Agamben, 1995).

In Chapter 4 (Objective c.), I explained how, during my doctoral studies, I developed an embodied methodology nurturing my becoming as a researcher/subject. Adopting a post-qualitative perspective, I was able to creatively reconnect theories, methods and personal experiences. Even within this chapter it was possible to identify an overarching tension between methodological *conformity* and *creativity*. Followingly, in Chapter 5 I presented the Italian context, the national reception system, the SPRAR network and the organisation that participated to this research. Here, another tension emerged. The Italian context, in fact, is characterised by a continuous transformation of institutions and policies related to migration, swinging between *securitarian strategies* aimed at controlling migrants and *benevolent approaches*, more focused on their caring.

Finally, in Chapters 6 and 7 (Objective d.), I have presented an ethnographic account of the SPRAR centres, focused on the power/knowledge relations unfolding within the centres' mundane life, to grasp the organisational discourses and practices of integration. In doing so, I become aware of the complex processes by which workers guide the transformation of migrants toward integration and the form of resistance put in practices by migrants to resist

the effects of power. Working at the SPRAR means being able to overcome an infinity of contradictory and conflicting challenges related to the management of bare life, social relations and migrant's integration. Often, the solution to the countless organisational challenges lays exactly in the *middle*, as in the middle were the employees of the SPRAR constituting the organisations, the go-betweens of an increasingly polarised society torn by racism, intolerance and suspicion towards 'the other'. I will return to this argument later in the chapter, after I address the research questions, which I recall below:

- By which means are migrants and refugees constituted and constantly reformed as subjects suitable to live in Europe according to Italian ways of being?
- How do pressures from the extra-organisational environment affect the discourses of integration and the activities carried out by the SPRAR centres' employees?

8.2 Research Question 1

Within the empirical chapters I have explored the effects and the modes by which power/knowledge relations affect the organisational life of the SPRARs that participated to my research. In Chapter 6, I focused on two areas: the SPRARs' objectives and the work of the staff members; the relationships between migrants and workers and the tensions determining their development. Despite being part of the national reception system, the SPRAR has a distinguishing liberal and humanitarian approach. Departing from the paradigm of the 'refugee camp', migrants are not enclosed in a limited space but, conversely, are introduced to the community and pushed to interact with the hosts. From my ethnographic account, it emerged that these centres were organised around the image of a 'household', a comfortable space where workers act as mentors for migrants, with whom they form a group bonded by a common task: the integration between foreigners and hosts.

Accordingly, the SPRAR centres' *modus operandi* is coherent with the advanced liberal perspective of governmentality (Foucault, 2005; Rose, 1999). In fact, both centres employed a set of pedagogically oriented techniques to govern migrants 'at a distance', balancing disciplinary and subjectification practices (Dean, 2010). The SPRAR promotes migrants' integration and emancipation through empowerment. As already mentioned, empowerment is central within the governmentality project. For Cruikshank (1999: 67), empowerment can be seen as a technology "constituting citizens out of subjects and maximising their political participation". Originally developed to support the emancipation of the poorer sections of the population, the technologies of empowerment "act upon others by getting them to act in

their own interest" (Cruikshank, 1999: 68). Operating through their subjectivities, empowerment directs individuals towards 'appropriate' objectives, enhancing skills, motivations and aspirations, stimulating individuals' involvement within the society (Cruikshank, 1999).

Subjects are not robbed of their freedom, but they are "equipped with a moral agency" based on specific modes of living, supporting their ability to act ethically and freely (Rose, 1999: 72). Following the 2015 crisis, empowerment programs have been increasingly employed to sustain the resettlement of displaced migrants (Dykstra-DeVette & Canary, 2019; Paloma et al., 2020). Migrants arriving in the EU are commonly described as individuals with low levels of self-efficacy and self-esteem who have lost the ability to control their lives (Paloma et. al, 2020; SPRAR, 2015). This condition is seen as a consequence of the disruption of migrants' social networks, and the state of learned helplessness exacerbated by the post-migration shock (Paloma et. al, 2020).

Within my research I have focused on the post-migration experiences and the effects of power/knowledge relations within the reception centres. According to several scholars, the intra- and transnational reception systems are guided by a biopolitical logic based on caring about migrants, but also controlling and normalising their life (Agier, 2005; Cammelli, 2017). Resuming Cammelli's (2017) words, this approach may be the by-product of a deep-rooted prejudice according to which individuals are inextricably linked to their motherland, whose abandonment determine a cultural and moral void. Likewise, as Lippert (1999) and Malkkii (1992) emphasise, displaced migrants have been historically considered as subjects in need of educational support to compensate the flaws of the socio-political system that firstly nurture and then force them to flee.

After their arrival, migrants are introduced into a bureaucratic machinery that objectify them in a similar fashion to the disciplinary institutions[12] described by Foucault (1975; McLaughlin, 2010). Regarding the Italian reception system, the de-subjectification process begins at the time of disembarkation and continues throughout the first phase. During this stage, a reconstruction of migrants' personal histories takes place, functional to guarantee the protection status. Migrants are reduced to 'bare life', replacing their individuality by 'convenient images' of asylum seekers or refugees, depoliticising and restructuring their identities, experiences and worldviews (Agamben, 1995; Manocchi, 2014; Zetter, 2007).

---

[12] This initial phase of the reception system also shows a sovereign character, whenever it accepts or bans migrants, sending them back to their countries. Within this research, I focused on migrants who were granted protection and the biopolitical moment of the reception system.

They become 'homines sacri', de-subjectified individuals exposed to care or threat of sanctions (De Vos, 2013). Here, a first ambivalence of these biopolitical machines emerge. The reception system recalls the *pharmakon*, poison and antidote simultaneously that, on the one hand, provides a cure for suffering while, on the other, creates new dimensions of vulnerability that only the system itself can repair by supporting migrants' re-inclusion.

Here the SPRAR comes into play, representing the second phase of the Italian reception system. This phase of reception prepares migrants for life in the host community, boosting the process of '(re)subjectification'. As I will explain in the following sections, such transformation can be achieved through a good 'helping relationship' facilitating a so-called 'inner empowerment' (Cammelli, 2017). The SPRAR tries to overcome a reception model based on the mere provision of care that could de-responsibilise migrants discouraging their resourcefulness. Hence, the SPRAR appears as a form of organisation which, although constituting the national reception system, distances itself from it by adopting an approach developed from the tradition of third-sector humanitarian organisations.

Suitably, SPRAR workers mainly employ non-coercive techniques to guide migrants towards autonomy and self-management. This feature represents the foundation for the organisational identity, constituted in contrast with the first reception centres, defined by the members of the SPRAR as its antithesis. The SPRAR denies the refugee camp paradigm instead embracing a form of micro-communitarian, sustainable and dispersed reception (Manara & Piazza, 2018). The SPRAR is a 'home' and not a 'prison'; SPRAR workers are 'guides' and not 'guards'; "at the SPRAR you have to be autonomous" was employees' motto. Discipline was needed only whenever migrants appeared to flounder in managing their freedom. When this occurred, SPRAR workers used to blame the first reception centres that, employing a non-educational approach, reinforced the unresponsiveness of migrants and their dependence from the SPRAR and the welfare.

The SPRAR is caught in a dilemma between the dangers of governing too much - compromising the residual abilities of migrants - and governing too little – thus failing to deliver on its pedagogical mission (Rose, 1999). Still, it denotes a new, certainly more liberal, approach to the institutional management of migrants in Italy. Such novelty poses a great challenge for workers, pushed to reinvent their methods, lacking information and established practices, sailing on sight, alone in a sea of uncertainties and ambiguities. Workers had to juggle between ethical dilemmas, such as giving support to migrants and mediate the pressures from stakeholders; matching migrants' needs and expectations with local community resources; being truthful to their personal ideals, belief and professional

objectives performing in a transparent way; managing the workload without limiting migrants' freedom, and so on. SPRAR workers manage their job by creating new-fangled educative practices, often grounded on psychological oversimplification of migrants (Lipsky, 2010). Recalling my findings, I will now explain how the concept of pastoral power can help to grasp the logic behind the SPRAR workers' methodology.

8.2.1 The SPRAR centres as pastoral organisations

For De Vos (2013), the life of every homo sacer is bonded to psy-experts, the social workers endowed with the power to restore migrants' existence, psychologising bare life and supporting their re-settlement. Towards the migrants, they can assume the role of caregiver, sovereign, disciplinary agent and intermediary officer of governmentality, organising and supervising the integration process and its outcomes. Acting as agents of transformation, they operate between different planes of existence, offering the impetus for personal development. De Vos (2013: 100) suggests that it is necessary to study these experts to understand the effects of the psychological knowledge that they embody: "via a psychologising discourse refugees […] are valued in their suffering, in their emotional needs and their human dignity. But on the other hand, this psychologising discourse also locks them up in their victimhood and blocks the way for people to react subjectively and politically". Despite their goodwill, social workers risk reproducing discourses about the migrants as marginalised strangers, producing subtle form of social abjection (De Vos, 2013; Tyler, 2013).

As the findings showed, integration is described by SPRAR workers as a rebirth and psychological development, a transition to adulthood. The task of every SPRAR worker is to lead migrants toward a renovated life, the reintegration of zoè into bíos (Agamben, 1995). The migrants hosted by the SPRAR should be freed from the suffering connected to their past and from any inappropriate behaviour hampering their rebirth. Re-adapting Rose's (1999: 70) words this is the stage for the "disciplinary organisation of time, space and activity" in the new community, and the creation of "forms of life and modes of individuality" through which disciplined migrants can integrate themselves. Ideally, the successfully integrated migrants are subjects who, overcoming the trauma of the migratory ordeal, will regain control of their life, autonomously self-determining their new future. Those who fail risk disappearing, guilty of not having proved themselves suitable for the Western world.

Precisely because of this balanced merging of sovereignty, discipline and subjectification power, the SPRAR centres can be described as pastoral organisations. Foucault's (1981, 1982) pastoral power helps to understand the rationale behind the work of SPRARs' employees. As psy-experts and engineers of the soul, their principal tool was the 'helping relationship', a depoliticised, pedagogical and supportive liaison (also functional to solve everyday issues) swinging back and forth across the threshold between formality and informality. Through such relationships, workers can define a personalised integration plan, oversee migrants' private and public behaviours and vouch for the reaching of benchmarks. In Chapter 3 I have illustrated the four elements composing pastoral power's theoretical core (Bell & Taylor, 2003; Foucault, 1981, 1982). These are *responsibility, obedience, knowledge, salvation*. I will now discuss each one, reconnecting them to the findings to understand how they shape the peculiar power/knowledge relation between migrants and workers.

8.2.2 Responsibility, obedience, knowledge, salvation

Within the SPRAR, responsibility and obedience are connected by a circular relationship. The first element that I will discuss is *responsibility*. According to Foucault (1981, 1982), each pastor is responsible for the behaviour of the flock and each of its members. To perform their role in a good way, the pastors must give an account of the behaviour of each sheep: "all the good or evil they are liable to do, all that happens to them" (Foucault, 1981: 236). This was managed in a slightly different way within the two centres. While within the Janus centre the workers supervised all migrants without distinction, in the Cardea centre migrants were divided into subgroups assigned to each worker. Despite these differences, the SPRAR workers were the direct responsible for the whole group of migrants and for each of its members.

The information about migrants' behaviour were collected through assessment of progress and regular reports. These data were periodically transmitted to the Central Service of the SPRAR which in turn collected them in a database made available to the SPRARs and the local authorities. In this way, migrants' desirable and sanctionable attributes or behaviours can be recorded, measured and observed. These accounting techniques are instrumental to the planning of migrants' individual projects. Accordingly, workers foster the responsibilisation of the migrants within the SPRAR, making them accountable for meeting

social expectations and ensuring that appropriate outcomes are achieved in accordance with established plans and timeframes.

However, "between each sheep and its shepherd [there is] a complex exchange and circulation of sins and merits" (Foucault, 1981: 236). This implies a transmission of responsibility. The migrants were responsible for their actions to the pastor, but the latter is ultimately responsible for the success or failure of the migrants to the authorities. The outcomes of the integration projects ultimately determine the efficiency of each SPRAR centre. If too many projects fail, the centre risks failing. To avoid that, the pastors must be ready to sacrifice themselves for 'their migrants'. I had the opportunity to witness various forms of sacrifice by the workers of the SPRAR: whenever they chose to give up their wages in times of crisis to guarantee the liquidity necessary to support migrants; whenever they worked overtime to satisfy the needs of migrants; whenever they put their psychophysical balance at stake to solve the manifold problems that might arise. Furthermore, their sacrifices were barely recognised, as their successes were rarely celebrated by the local community and migrants showed less gratitude than workers wished.

Responsibility is closely related to the second element of the pastorate, that of *obedience*. The Christian pastorate "conceived the shepherd-sheep relationship as one of individual and complete dependence" (Foucault, 1981: 237). The sheep had to submit to the will of the pastor, abandoning any passion. Concerning the SPRAR, I showed that the obedience element doesn't work in the same way as described by Foucault as it was very rare for the workers to purposely establish a relation of dependence with migrants. On the contrary, the aim of the SPRAR pastoral relationship was to stimulate autonomy. This explains the general preference for subjectification practices rather than discipline. Accordingly, direct disciplinary methods were adopted only at the beginning of the integration path or to reintegrate those straying from norms and rules or mismanaging their freedom (Waring & Martin, 2018). Migrants were never asked to live without will, however, to reduce the chance of failure, they were indirectly expected to assume a position of compliance towards the workers.

Earlier I explained that the constant monitoring of the individual projects facilitated the adjustment of interventions on the basis of their progress. SPRAR workers considered migrants' participation in this process an essential step for developing autonomy. However, due to the power/knowledge relation between migrants and workers, the involvement of the former was often superficial. Migrants' scarce involvement was not motivated by workers' intention to impose a specific project, but it was linked to the implicit model through which

migrants were represented. The SPRAR workers felt compelled to compensate the migrants' presumed passivity and poor knowledge about the growingly adverse Italian context. Accustomed to work within ambiguity, workers tended to choose by themselves the plan considered better for their clients. The power asymmetries were evident here, potentially affecting the development of migrants' autonomy. Subtly, migrants were asked to accept the truth established by the staff, ultimately modelling migrants' worldviews, identity work and experiences (Abbott & Wallace, 1998). This contributed to the process of transformation of migrants as governable subjects, affecting also workers as responsible for the integration policies' implementation (Lehman et al., 2016; Mennicken & Miller, 2014; Shamir, 2008).

Findings showed that responsibilisation triggered workers' disquiet, and they felt compelled to cast migrants aside in the integration planning. This disquiet was reduced through a continuous search for feedback to ensure that policies were efficiently implemented. In Lipsky's words (2010: 152), "the teacher's pet is not only an obedient child but also one who confirms to the teacher the teacher's own capability". Accordingly, staff members assumed more favourable behaviours towards the cooperative migrants, while the others were expected to comply and receive a more stringent supervision. This was functional to the reproduction of discourses dividing migrants in two categories: the 'frightened' and the 'active'. While the frightened were seen as more in need of discipline and educative practices, the active were introduced to subjectification through exercises of self-examination and technologies of the self.

These dynamics lead directly to the problem of *knowledge* that I will discuss in conjunction with the element of *salvation*, the ultimate objective of the pastorate. Concerning the first, Foucault (1981: 237) explains that the "pastorship implies a peculiar type of knowledge between the pastor and each of his sheep", one that is individualising and totalising. This implies that the pastor must know (and satisfy) the needs, the "public sins" (what is done) and the "secret sins" (what is going on within the soul) of each member of the flock to support their path towards salvation (ibidem). The element of salvation, the most important of the entire pastorship, is described by Foucault (1981: 239) as a symbolic "everyday death" necessary to access to a new life. It is no coincidence that within SPRAR integration was conceived as a 'rebirth'. If we look at this in a metaphorical sense, it is easy to notice the parallels. The renunciation of the earthly world symbolises the liberation of the individual from the past and the abandonment of behaviours incompatible with the customs and values of the host nations. This path of inner development should ultimately lead migrants to a 'new life in a new world', characterised by freedom and autonomy.

Salvation is achievable only if workers establish an omni-comprehensive knowledge about each migrant. The two main tools for obtaining this knowledge are "self-examination and the guidance of conscience" (Foucault, 1981: 238). The guidance of conscience represents a means but also a condition, as the sheep (migrants) must be constantly conducted towards the right path. However, in the case of SPRAR, this condition should be only temporary. In fact, direct guidance was limited to the initial stages of reception, to gradually leave room for autonomy whenever migrants proved to be ready to walk unaccompanied, self-examining their progress towards salvation. Obviously, in case of setbacks, workers were ready to take back their acolytes by the hand. Thus, the pastoral relationship of guidance and self-examination constantly fluctuates between discipline and technologies of the self. Accordingly, to recognise the most suitable approach to help migrants manage themselves, SPRAR workers relied on confessional practices, the principal tool to assess the progress of their clients.

Through individual interviews (formal and informal) and mutual-help group activities, the workers could extract the truth of each migrant. This was necessary to determine the past, the present and the future of migrants and operate on their new subjectivity and life. Accordingly, subjectification through pastorate deeply rely on individual truth-telling practices. These modern forms of confession, developed within the psychological context, are at "the hearth of the procedure of individualisation" (Foucault, 1978, cit. in Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018:74). As Lorenzini and Tazzioli (2018) suggest, such practices are framed by specific regimes of truth and acts of truth. This is in line with Foucault's analysis of classical Greece and Roman Empire, according to which "humans subjectified themselves through problematizing themselves in relation to the prevalent ethics" (Ek et al., 2007: 8).

This is relevant for migrants, victims of bureaucratic procedures of identification, labelling and categorisation (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018; Zetter, 2007). Accordingly, they embody a contradictory position, required 'to be subjects' but 'not-yet ready' for that. Migrants represent "suspect subjects", solicited to declare their truth to formally establish their protection, but simultaneously "considered incapable of telling the truth" (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018: 72). This condition creates distrust as migrants inside the centres were generally considered unreliable. Therefore, examination and constant supervision of individuals and the whole group (also to promote mutual help) were justified and necessary to recalibrate the pedagogical approach.

Integration thus materialises as a biopolitical assemblage of different technologies of power through which migrants are re-subjectified and introduced to the local community. The 'homines sacri', as outcast 'quasi-subjects', are supported to become 'true-subjects' able to enact a full social and political life. To achieve this condition, migrants must comply with a regime of truth that wisely use different tactics targeting bodies, guiding conscience and conducts. They are in a state of constant evaluation, and the threat of returning to the state of exception is always present like a sword of Damocles ominously swinging over their heads. Whether it is the State with its officials, or the social workers themselves, the threat of sovereign exclusion is always present to motivate, guide and potentially intimidate. However, as Nicoli and Paltrinieri (2014) explain, these regimes not only define obligations with respect to the ruler but also the ways in which individuals manifest and relate to the truth about themselves. Put it simple, it transcends the obedience/freedom dichotomy, to outline *how* subjects *will want* to live their freedom.

Within the SPRAR, the control of migrants' bodies and subjectivities is elusive, based on productive discourses of proactivity guiding without obliging, advising without imposing. An (unrecognised) element of non-coercive power is thus produced that, enhanced by organisational needs, takes concrete form in various ways: through indirect but pervasive control of migrants' lives; through the sympathetic attitude of workers giving 'unconditional' support and advices; with the idea that building a close relationships with righteous locals is essential for the achievement of autonomy. This can determine a rationalisation of the relationship between workers and migrants and foster the idea according to which workers should provide a model of virtuous behaviour: "the pastor must teach through his [sic] own example, with his [sic] own life" (Foucault, 2005: 137). During my fieldwork in the SPRARs, I had the chance to observe that genuine relationships between migrants and workers were born and, like any relationship, misunderstandings and conflicts were also common.

However, these affiliations cannot be seen only as neutral relationships of 'friendship'. Conversely, they are characterised by a pedagogical-educative rationale and a veiled governmental intent. Depoliticising such relationships, the workers unintentionally risk facilitating technologies of state control and conditions of precarity (Balch, 2016). Although social workers were driven by compassion and altruism, they participate to an institutionalised and asymmetrical framework of power relations such as that existing between tutor and disciple, between guide and guided, between expert and inexpert. Institutionally grounded power/knowledge dynamics, organisational hierarchies, role

responsibilities and accounting technologies reinforce these asymmetries, establishing an unbalanced and non-reciprocal connection between different typologies of (governable) subjects.

Following Agamben's (1995) perspective, life inside the reception centres appears as a limbo, an intermediate phase of subjectivation propaedeutic to integration. Through a depoliticised and rationalised relation with social workers, migrants are prepared to self-determine their life, the elusive dream characterising the condition of the modern Western subjects (Fromm, 1941). Moreover, such relationship offers a chance for social workers to define themselves as 'good or bad workers' and recalibrate their approach. Embodying a biopolitical street-level pastoral power, the integration programmes they put in practice entail a dynamic merge of "discipline and auto-discipline" (De Vos, 2013: 106). By conveying information functional to the circulation of specific truths about subjects and wider society, workers can contribute to the functioning of the modern governmentality, safeguarding the wellbeing not only of migrants but also host communities. I will address this aspect in the next section.

8.3 Research Question 2

In Chapter 7 I focused on another relationship, namely that between the SPRARs and the extra-organisational environment. I described the macro-system of external stakeholders including local authorities, public institutions, other organisations and the host town or city. Many of these actors constitute the local community with which the SPRAR was working to establish relationships of mutual exchange. Thus, I tried to grasp the effects of power exerted by the community over the organisations to understand how these effects could affect the power/knowledge relations inside the centres, and how they shape practices and discourses of integration (Fleming & Spicer, 2014). I showed that the SPRAR represents the point of articulation of a coordinated multilevel network of services that aimed to connect migrants, host citizens and the wider community. However, it emerged that the SPRAR centres were profoundly entrenched into an unstable relationship of dependence with this network, in ways that enable but simultaneously constraint their activities.

I focused my analysis on the effects of the cultural and socio-political context, profoundly shaped by the transformation of the governmental apparatus, conditioning the relationships between SPRAR, individuals and groups composing the local community. Between 2017 and 2018, the timeframe in which I conducted my fieldwork, Italian public opinion exhibited

an upsurge in feelings of racism and intolerance towards migrants. Employees in both centres struggled to involve local public and private organisations and encourage the reciprocal integration between hosts and migrants. Their attempts were often met by the local community with disinterest. This scepticism and distrust contributed to generate an organisational climate characterised by uncertainty and precariousness, shaping workers' identities and roles. I believe that any description of the organisational life of the SPRAR must necessarily take this element into account.

As I described in Chapter 5, the constitution of the SPRAR has undergone various legislative transformations that affected the organisations in manifold ways. In 2015 it was expanded and its capacity increased, placing the SPRAR system at the heart of the national reception system. Later, the government change in 2018 facilitated the introduction of a series of decrees progressively downscaling the SPRAR system, followed by a cutback of the funding allocated for the management of the projects and the elimination of some humanitarian protection statuses. So, if at the beginning of my research the SPRAR centres were heavily burdened by the large influx of migrants, by its end they were dealing with the consequences of the new restrictive migration policies. Within an already weak welfare system, these amendments were hindering SPRAR's capacity to establish strong communitarian bonds between local organisations, citizens and migrants.

Consequently, the SPRARs' employees were toiling to reclaim their legitimacy in a social system shaped by a government endorsing securitarian and exclusionary measures to contrast migration. Earlier in this section, I mentioned that the relationship of dependence with the local community was able to affect positively the activities of the SPRARs, but simultaneously constraining them. To put it differently, the relational dynamics between the SPRAR and the extra-organisational environment, on the one hand allowed the SPRAR to exist while, on the other, they compromised SPRAR's legitimacy and the accomplishment of its objectives. I will now discuss the facilitating aspect of this rapport. The first element to take into consideration is the nature of the SPRAR centres as pastoral organisations promoting a 'two-way integration'.

I already explained that these organisations offer aid and integration support to migrants endowed with a protection status and this support must be reinforced through active work with the local community. The SPRAR activities therefore target the immigrants hosted within the centres but also the Italian citizens present in the organisations' jurisdiction. The establishment of a solid relation of exchange between the centres and the local community is thus a fundamental precondition for the existence of the SPRAR itself. Moreover, as the

model of integration promoted by the SPRAR is founded on mutualism and multiculturalism, the quality of this relationship strongly impacts on the outcomes of the projects (SPRAR, 2015). So, it is correct to say that the relations with the 'outside world' deeply shapes the nature of these centres and workers' roles. Being a 'heterotopic organisation' (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986), the SPRAR's gaze is always turned outwards, to the outside world. In light of this, it is possible to expand my theorisation about the SPRAR workers as 'modern pastors' exploring their connection with the local community.

8.3.1 A particular kind of pastorate

In his late works, Foucault (1982: 784) explained that pastoral power has "spread out into the whole social body", turning into a general tactic of power targeting individuals and the population, leading to an exponential growth of the so-called "officials of pastoral power". Various studies have analysed the modern manifestations of this power, describing the ways in which the pastors construct obedient and self-governing subjects (see Chapter 3, §4.2). In general, it seems that there are as many pastors as there are 'flocks' within a territory, each of them requiring a tailored pedagogical methodology. My argument is that the symbiotic relationship between the organisations and the local community, transmutes the SPRAR workers into a specific typology of pastors, targeting simultaneously two culturally diverse communities requiring different approaches to reach the same objective. To grasp this peculiarity, I kept in mind the principle according to which pastoral power "not only construct the subjects of surveillance (the known)" but also "the medium of surveillance (the knower)" (Waring & Latif, 2017: 1070).

Accordingly, from the interviews conducted with workers and the more informal conversations I had with them, it emerged that they describe themselves as 'bridges', connecting migrants and hosts, working through their dissimilarities to endorse a more inclusive society. This function of social bridging represents a central dimension of their multi-layered profession, where the supervision of migrants represents just one face of it. Within this research I mainly focused on the practices targeting the migrants, however, workers were strongly committed in raising citizenry's awareness about issues of hospitality and multiculturalism. Accordingly, if SPRAR workers did not engage in practices aimed at educating the locals alongside migrants, any attempt to create a favourable environment would have been vain. All the workers explained to me that, to manage the interactions between migrants and hosts, it was necessary to act on two levels of truth: on one side

instructing migrants about life in Italy, while on the other explaining to Italians the different realities conveyed by these 'others'. Both actions transmit different faces of the same regime of truth to shape both migrants and citizens' conducts. In a nutshell, both groups were pushed to abandon inappropriate behaviours and adopt new ones, morally and ethically functional to the establishment of a multicultural society composed by self-governing subjects supporting each other.

Therefore, to describe the peculiarities of these pastors, I recalled the ancient Greek figure of the *proxenus* (O'Gorman, 2005). For the purposes of this research it is my interest to draw a parallel between the SPRAR workers and these Greek officers. As anticipated in the previous chapter, by describing the workers of the SPRAR as *modern proxenoi* it is possible to reformulate the Foucauldian pastorate within a multicultural context. The proxenus were institutionalised mediators of ancient Greece responsible for the *proxenia,* the accompaniment of foreign travellers within the host community (Saunders, 2001). Kristeva (1991) describes the proxenoi as intermediaries between the *polis* and the members of a foreign community, inhabiting a twilight zone from which it was possible to support outsiders while preserving the interests of the host community. As Giaccaria and Rossi (2012) explain, the proxenoi were simultaneously both private citizens and public officials, acting between spaces of public and private hospitality.

The word proxenus derives from the Greek word *xenos* (ξένος), meaning opposite concepts such as 'foreign enemy' and 'ritual friend' (Curi & Giacomini, 2005). Pro-xenos means literally 'before or in favour of the foreigner' (Giaccaria & Rossi, 2012; O'Gorman, 2005). I will now briefly introduce some principles of the Greek hospitality anticipating the birth of the proxenia. As Balch (2016) states, the classical Greek hospitality payed much attention to the ways in which hosts should treat their guests. Guests had to be treated in the best way possible and the hosts' duty was to make them feel at home, providing them with everything they needed. The reason for this behaviour stems from the belief that every guest could have been a God in disguise (*theoxenia*), potentially bringing luck or misfortune depending on the host's performance (Balch, 2016).

As O'Gorman (2005) explains, hospitality was regulated by a series of rules, the observance of which honoured Zeus, the Patron of Strangers. The masters of the households were responsible for the reception of every guest and they could form allegiances with other households, as being hospitable was a sign of social prestige. Classical oeuvres, such as the Odyssey, can be seen as hospitality guides outlining positive and negative practices regarding both guests and hosts (Balch, 2016; O'Gorman, 2005). For example, the Cyclops

were "the guest-eating monsters", the most famous of which, Polyphemus, embodied the *xenodaites*, the "one that devours guests" (O'Gorman, 2005: 143). As Balch (2016) adds, within Homer's work, it is also possible to find references to the positive reception reserved to Ulysses by the Phaeacians and Nausicaa. Similarly, the Odyssey highlights the responsibilities of the 'good guests' and the consequences for exploiting the hosts' kindness. The most famous example comes from the suitors, fiercely killed by Ulysses as a retaliation for abusing of Penelope's hospitality. Accordingly, the guests did not only have the obligation to respect the hosts, but they must also participate to the reception ceremony reproducing relations and hierarchies of power (Balch, 2016).

Balch (2016) traces a series of principles that I will connect and contrast with the style of reception implemented within the SPRAR. First of all, Greek hospitality had the purpose of demonstrating that the community was civilized and generous with respect to the foreign guest; secondly, hospitality was not based merely on altruism, but on reciprocity (i.e. reassurance of hierarchies) and survival, as the guest could have been a potential enemy; finally, Greek hospitality existed on the edge between private and public reception - although the proxenia is formally introduced only with the emergence of the polis and the institution of citizenship (Balch, 2016). I can now draw a parallel with the reception of the SPRAR to understand the relations of power/knowledge established within these organisations. Concerning the essence of SPRAR's hospitality, although the organisations had no profit target, the pressures from external stakeholders pushed each centre to operate and dispense their services in the best possible way. Every centre's activities were monitored by the local authorities, the central service of the SPRAR and the other bodies overseeing the functioning of the national network. One of the strengths of the SPRAR was in fact the transparency of its procedures. The good reception carried out by each single structure was thus a manifestation of the proper functioning of the national SPRAR network, which in turn showed to the European community that Italy was a hospitable and benevolent country.

In Balch's (2016: 228) word, "the classical version of hospitality as 'guest–friend' is reminiscent of […] the idea of immigration as mutually beneficial". This is perfectly in line with the principles of the two-way, reciprocal integration promoted by the European Community and officially endorsed by the SPRAR and its employees. This approach tries, on one side, to surpass the idea of the migrant as a threat and foster sustainable forms of reception, avoiding ghettoization and marginalisation. On the other, it promotes a narrative "about the refugee as a potential friend to local communities" that actively contribute to the host societies' well-being (Manara & Piazza, 2018: 48). This in turn establish a specific

power/knowledge relation, binding workers, hosts and migrants, based on mutuality, commitment and responsibilisation of all the parties involved. These relations also have the purpose of reifying contextually grounded hierarchies of power, where migrants are (indirectly) asked to show gratefulness and compliance towards workers, but also towards the host community and the country that saved them.

Concerning the private/public tension, the SPRAR workers' statements highlighted that their profession involves both public and private spheres, as well as professional and personal levels of experience. This was particularly evident when taking into consideration the identity insecurity and the conflicts intrinsic to their occupation. As seen previously, the interpersonal aspect is central in the work with migrants, and a good or bad relationship can determine the outcomes of the entire integration project. Employees told me that it was difficult to keep emotional detachment and avoid personal involvement with their clients. This would have compromised their ability to support migrants, but also to cope against the suffering and the separation anxiety experienced by the end of each project. Accordingly, being a good SPRAR worker implies being rational and efficient, but also showing empathy and sensitivity to the lives of migrants. In other words, the good SPRAR worker/migrant relationship goes beyond the bureaucrat/client relationship and being hospitable was as a professional duty and a moral obligation. However, the tensions between the public and private dimensions do not wind-up with the need to positively and productively manage the interpersonal relations and the ethical dilemmas related to the profession. As I will discuss in the next section, this dilemma re-emerges regarding integration, the core of SPRAR activities.

8.3.2 Integration

To introduce the topic of integration within SPRAR centres, it is necessary to recall the historical-social context of this research. As I have already discussed, between 2016 and 2018 Italy went through a period of political transition that led to the legitimisation of a conservative, protectionist and nationalist 'regime of truth'. The SPRAR, in turn, was promoting an opposite 'regime of truth', based on multiculturalism, humanitarianism and openness to 'the other'. This 'clash for the truth' profoundly shaped the relationship between SPRAR and local communities, in a way that severely constrained scope, extent and activities of the SPRAR centres. In a period of economic and cultural crisis, a large section of the citizenry was criticising the SPRAR, in a discursive configuration exacerbating

conflicts between citizens and migrants. The new government, backed by the media, has fuelled this diatribe by promoting a narrative portraying migrant as a "threat to host societies, stealing jobs and corrupting host societies' culture" (Giorgi & Vitale, 2017: 74).

My findings show that this environment deeply shaped power/knowledge relations, influencing organisational discourses and practices of integration. Working within the SPRAR has been described by workers as a form of 'resistance' against government and the national reception system. This truth about themselves had two main effects. On the one hand, on a psychological and identity level, it has shaped the sense of belonging to the organisation. Working with the SPRAR was a political choice and a moral vocation, justifying the decision to stay on the frontline to concretely support migrants. On the other hand, it motivated a firm juxtaposition against migration officials who, occupying decision-making roles in the public administration, were allegedly favouring government's exclusionary policies (i.e. the commissioners assessing the asylum requests). SPRAR workers were therefore in opposition to the same public institutions they were meant to collaborate with, and which determined the existence of their profession. This conflict was affecting the workers' perception about the extra-organisational environment, reinforcing the sense of abandonment. Specifically, citizenship and local organisations were often not perceived as resources, but as obstacles to surmount in order to achieve their integration objectives.

This dynamic determined a tension between theoretical and practical levels of integration, attributable to its macro and micro dimensions. In fact, although employees generally supported a 'mutual integration' approach based on equality, universalism and solidarity, this was not always reflected at the level of the practices. At a macro-theoretical level, all workers agreed that integration should be based on solidarity between citizens and migrants, which can be implemented through direct encounter and mutual knowledge. In fact, some workers preferred to speak of 'interaction' rather than integration. As explained in Chapter 7, such approach recalls Allport's (1954) influential 'contact hypothesis', a psychological theory that influenced social policies aimed at reducing discrimination between groups (Paluck et al., 2019). Yet, this process of psychologisation of integration was depoliticising the entire process, minimising the influence of the socio-political context and responsibilising the single individuals. Within a hostile social context, the promotion of multiculturalism and mutual integration was considered impossible, especially without the local community network's support. Hence, a new 'truth' related to the practicalities of integration materialised, according to which the outcomes of the integration process were

attributable to the willingness of the individuals to accept 'the other'. Thus, as fostering the local community's inclusivity was deemed impossible, the SPRAR centres chose to direct their efforts mainly towards the migrants.

Being able to work only at an individual level, the SPRAR workers approached integration as a micro-process of personal growth, feasible through the constitution of compliant and self-governing subjects. In other words, migrants were required to trust the legitimacy of workers' advice to adapt to the host society, bypassing multicultural/reciprocal integration. Accordingly, most of the interventions carried out within both centres were aimed at achieving socio-economic self-sufficiency, learning the Italian language and understanding hosts' values and customs. On the practical side, despite the political and ideological positions of the workers, a covert assimilationism pushing migrants to adapt to national dominant values and norms became prevalent. This tendency could be explained not as a voluntary choice of subjecting migrants to the dominant culture, but as a reaction to the sense of abandonment experienced by workers and their perceived powerlessness in transforming the local community.

As Lipsky (2010) explains, the construction of a discourse according to which 'the external world is hostile and to integrate you must adapt to it' offers the possibility for the workers of the SPRAR to absolve themselves from the responsibilities of any possible failure. This was also favoured by the insecurity due to the lack of concrete integration methodologies, and by the overload of work due to the need to compensate the local networks' flaws. The tendency to take an "environmental point of view" intersects with the simplified perception of the beneficiaries (Lipsky, 2010:153). Therefore, if migrants were perceived as poorly motivated, workers could hardly criticise themselves for their poor progress. On the contrary, any possible failure could be attributed to the scarce resources offered by the community and the general inefficiency of the local organisational infrastructure. By sharing such discourse, the SPRAR workers could re-legitimate their approach and pastoral role, where disciplinary and subjectification practices were essential to educate the migrants to the life within Western world.

Accordingly, migrants were generally considered not equipped with the necessary skills to autonomously develop a long-term life project, in just six months and within such environment. Thus, they were constantly tutored on the planning of their life and the micro aspects of Western culture: from choices about the outfit to time management and good manners within formal and informal interactions with the hosts. It is precisely around these micro-domains that the actions carried out within the centres were influenced by a covert

assimilationism, nurturing good guests' behaviours as required by the domopolitics' rationale of hospitality (Balch, 2016). This attention to the aspects' of everyday life was interpreted by the employees as legitimate and politically neutral advice. However, this method penalised individuals who were struggling to adapt to Western ways of being or those rebelling against the life-plan promoted by the organisations.

As it happens within the classical Greece hospitality, migrants within the centres were subtly invited to reproduce the power/knowledge relationships and reassure the workers about their value and the goodness of their work. Conversely, those who could not, or did not want to respect this relational injunction, risked being seen as oppositional, partly endangering the integration project and their future life in the host community. To some extent the findings suggest that the SPRAR workers, while declaring a position closer to the humanitarian government, were in fact inadvertently reproducing the 'regime of truth' of the domopolitics, based on the 'domestication of migrants' for the sake of country's harmony. According to Kristeva (1991), in order to accept the strangers coming to Europe in search of new possibilities, we should embrace the *stranger in ourselves*. That is possibly the key for a more inclusive society. Unfortunately, from my findings it seems that what is happening is exactly the opposite to Kristeva's suggestion, and that we are, in fact, transforming the *strangers into ourselves*. Below, I will discuss how workers try to achieve this and how migrants react to this pressure.

8.3.3 Migrants' resistance

I have described how migrants are instructed about specific regimes of truth, through integration programmes concerning collective and private life, in order to prescribe ways of living and outline how individuals can enact and manifest their freedom. I also explained that this process does not end with the migrants. Integration in fact transcends the boundaries of the SPRAR centres, to infuse the local community with a certain ethical and moral knowledge. The ultimate goal is the good of the whole community, a well-being that can be preserved through the actions of all its members. But going back to the migrants hosted in the SPRAR centres, is it really possible to teach them how to self-manage their lives in the Western world in such a short period?

It is a difficult question to answer and the SPRAR workers were aware of this. For example, they told me that "*doing integration is like becoming parents*". The prevailing approach to foster migrants' integration was to intrude on every aspect of migrants' private and collective

life. This was partly motivated by the necessity to counterbalance the flaws of a local community unable to offer the necessary services so that social workers could give space to migrants' initiative. The workers' interventions were not necessarily driven by the will of obliging, but rather explaining, showing, guiding, providing examples and so on. In this way it was possible to intervene on migrants' bodies, behaviours, perception of time and management of emotions and refine all the aspects related to the life in the Western world, without using coercive means but balancing discipline and subjectification practices. Accordingly, subjectification operates through "a series of micro-practices which function on the level of everyday life" and "normalises a particular way of being in that social order" nurturing individuals' perceived free will (Fleming & Spicer 2014: 244-245; Foucault, 1977).

Yet, such intrusive approach was not enough to stimulate the development of autonomy, on the contrary, from the data it emerged that it risked producing dependence on the organisation. The two centres I visited had a different way of dealing with this scenario. The Janus centre focused on internship programs, which necessarily pushed migrants towards a clear-cut detachment from the organisation. The Cardea centre relied mainly on practices of psychologisation of integration. Through individual and collective meetings, they targeted the deep level of migrants' consciousness, training the ability to reflect and declare their personal experiences, emotions, motivations, behaviours and relationships. Migrants were pushed by the SPRAR workers to search for an intrinsic motivation to stimulate the 'taking charge' of their own life. These techniques of subjectification, dynamically mixed with psychological disciplining, entailed a circulation of responsibility, extended to the whole group of migrants, invited to actively support their fellow adventurers in this inner transformation process.

Nonetheless, Foucault suggests looking for spaces of resistance whenever power stretches its claws. In fact, during the fieldwork, I witnessed various manifestations of migrants' resistance. As described in the previous chapter, these forms of opposition did not consist in acts of open rebellion but were mostly actions of passive resistance such as refusal to participate in daily activities by not getting out of bed; avoiding interaction with staff members; ignoring questions, or hiding their faces under a hood, in a desperate attempt to dodge any involvement during collective meetings. Arguably, the goal was to withdraw from the immediacy of the interaction and, in the gravest cases, from existence itself, with threats of running away from the centre or committing suicide. Using Agamben's words (1998: 101) here "passivity does not simply mean […] the mere fact of being affected by an external

active principle [...] here everything happens within the subject, activity and passivity must coincide and the passive person must be active with respect to his own passivity". But why did migrants choose passivity?

From a Foucauldian standpoint, subjects are not "disconnected from the historical and cultural contingency or outside the concreteness of singular biographies and collective experiences" (Rebughini, 2014: 3). Historical, institutional and contextual elements frame a particular typology of desirable subjects within a given context: "[Western modern] society and organisations need autonomous and responsible individuals, capable of giving an account of themselves" (Rebughini, 2014: 3). Such account corresponds to the confession of the truth about oneself. It is possible to understand this method of resistance by keeping in mind the type of organisations examined in this study. In fact, as Lorenzini and Tazzioli (2018: 77) suggest, this was an attempt "to reverse the injunction for the subject to tell the truth about himself or herself [starting] from the *impossibility of truth* which characterises the conduct of the [migrants]".

By refusing to engage in the relationships, many migrants were resisting this injunction. The apparent impossibility to communicate with them was not due to the migrants' inability to interact, but the possible manifestation of their 'refusal to confess'. This space of de-subjectivation, in response to the alleged incapacity of performing a 'normal subjectivity', offers a possibility to resist the regimes of truth and the governmental attempts of subjection or objectivation (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018): "the first thing which the [colonised] learns is to stay in his [*sic*] place, and not to go beyond certain limits" (Fanon, 2004, cit. in Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018: 78). Integration within reception centres offers a space for a 'struggle for subjectification' that migrants fight by avoiding the struggle itself or better, by withdrawing from it.

Agamben (2006) supports this argument again as he sees de-subjectification as inevitable within any process of subjectification. Agamben (1998) developed his vision of subjectivity by analysing the narrations of the Nazi camps' survivors trapped by the shame and guilt of being still alive (Ek et al, 2007). Agamben highlights the centrality of such feelings, intimately linked to the sense of (in)existence affecting individuals' construction of subjectivity. By disavowing the negative aspects of one's own subjectivity, a de-subjectivation moment is produced to fulfil subjectification (Ek et al, 2007). Here, "subjectification, […] crumbles and erases itself, and brings to light the constitutive de-subjectivation of every subjectivation" (Agamben, 1998, cit. in Ek et al, 2007: 9). Ek and colleagues (2007: 10) stress the need to acknowledge how power within organisations can

seize important elements from subjects in terms of selfhood, belonging, and worldviews: "subjectification implies the notion of powerlessness, self-loss, servitude and the exposure of the subject's own disorder". Accordingly, every subjectivation implies the detachment from the splinters of one's own subjectivity, opening new productive spaces of domination and/or liberation. This consideration appears to be particularly relevant if one considers the process of subjectification of migrants within western humanitarian organisations.
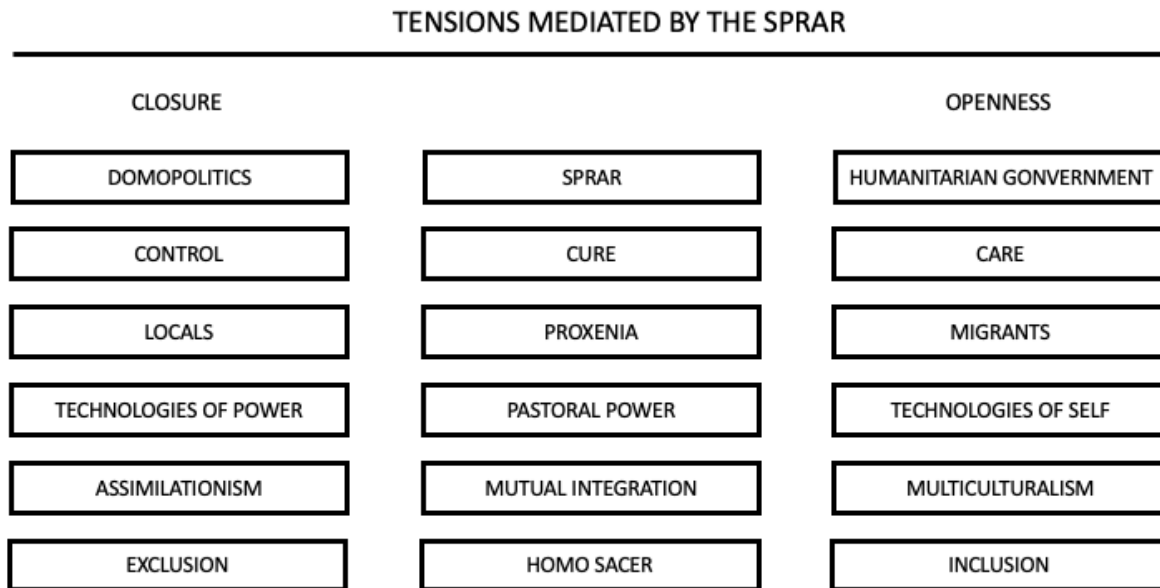
8.4 A threshold organisation

Having finally addressed the research questions, there is still one issue to address: how can the SPRAR be understood? Foucault offers a possible answer. In reconnecting the figure of the student with the madman, Foucault (2017: 39) explains that universities, like the asylum or the hospital, firstly exclude certain categories of subjects and then reintegrate them into marginal circuits of society:

> *"[...] this is the first function of the University: to put students out of the way. Its second function is that of integration. Once the student has spent six or seven years in this artificial society, it becomes assimilable: society can consume it. Insidiously he [sic] has received the values of this society. He has received socially desirable models of conduct, forms of ambition, elements of political behaviour, so that this ritual of exclusion ends up taking the forms of inclusion".*

Similarly, the SPRAR integrate subjects previously excluded from the society by transmitting desirable values and behaviours. Through processes of depoliticisation, individualisation and psychologisation, integration turns into an apolitical empowering venture affected by the capacity of individuals to re-adapt and self-govern themselves. Migrants are guided by social workers, using pastoral relationships as a professional tool. By depoliticising and rationalising power relations, SPRAR workers introduce migrants to Western life as a pre-stage to a full-fledge subjectification, in the attempt of empowering them to finally settle as self-governing subjects. It is important to recontextualise the activities of the SPRAR within a broader scope, for its role in the biopolitical governmentalisation of society after the 'refugee crisis'. Accordingly, by supporting and taking care of migrants, the SPRAR should create bonds of solidarity between foreigners, local communities and the State, preserving the harmony and well-being of the '*domos*' (Walters, 2004).

However, what really confers peculiarity to the SPRAR, is understandable in light of the tensions highlighted in the summary of the previous chapters provided earlier. Accordingly, the main characteristic of the SPRAR is its position 'in between'. As a *'threshold organisation'* existing between poles of *closure* and *openness* towards migrants, it mediates between several tensions. As Fig. 8.1 below graphically represent, the SPRAR is a typology of organisation in the middle between dichotomous concepts such as domopolitics and humanitarian government, counterbalancing both by connecting the principles of 'cure, care and control' (Cammelli, 2017). The SPRAR promotes a form of mutual integration in the middle between assimilationist and multiculturalist approaches. Furthermore, the centres' pastoral activities are aimed, on one side, at the management of the bare life of the homines sacri, existing in a paradoxical state of exclusion/inclusion; while on the other, the target is the community of locals that necessarily need to be transformed to foster migrants' inclusion.

TENSIONS MEDIATED BY THE SPRAR

CLOSURE		SPRAR		OPENNESS
DOMOPOLITICS		SPRAR		HUMANITARIAN GONVERNMENT
CONTROL		CURE		CARE
LOCALS		PROXENIA		MIGRANTS
TECHNOLOGIES OF POWER		PASTORAL POWER		TECHNOLOGIES OF SELF
ASSIMILATIONISM		MUTUAL INTEGRATION		MULTICULTURALISM
EXCLUSION		HOMO SACER		INCLUSION

Fig.8.1 – Tensions surrounding the SPRAR **(**Source: author's own)

8.5. Contributions

Given the complexity of the phenomenon and the lack of studies focused on the organisations that work to foster the integration of migrants, this exploratory study of the SPRAR Reception Centres makes several contributions. It offers a dynamic view of the SPRAR, potentially relevant for the study of organisations acting between the government and the third sector to support migrants and/or participating to the management of dispossessed groups. This research contributes to the field of organisation studies, showing how a governmentality-oriented approach can be used to explore the lived experience of

migration and its management (Walters 2015). From a theoretical perspective, this thesis used Foucault's theory to explore the organisational life of the SPRAR centres. By adopting the concept of pastoral power, my analysis went beyond discipline and domination within organisations. Linking micro- and macro- levels of analysis, I showed how governmentality affects the lived experiences of individuals and organisations. Moreover, I highlighted the liberal/non-liberal tensions inherent to migration governmentality to describe the multifaceted process of integration and how it promotes the inner transformation of the migrant subjects. Below I will summarise the main theoretical and methodological contribution, the implication for practice and the limitation of this study, also suggesting further directions for future research.

8.5.1 Theoretical contributions

Pastoral power is a concept apparently undervalued within MOS and one of the less developed concepts of all Foucauldian theory. Nevertheless, it is a concept with great explanatory potential, which allows to thoroughly theorise the work and role of social/care workers and employees in the welfare sector. Following Martin and Waring's (2018) call for studies describing modern pastors' activities, I adopted the Foucauldian concept to investigate the refugee integration centres' work. I described the ethical challenges faced by their employees, the relations of power/knowledge between workers and clients and their effect of the process of subjectification. In doing so, I extended pastoral power theory in three ways.

Firstly, I showed how modern pastors go beyond the simple mediation of discipline and subjectivation to create new hybrid practices based on the professionalisation of interpersonal relationships. Thus, I explained that the relationship is not just a tool to exercise discipline, enforce migrant's surveillance or foster subjectivation practices, but it represents the primary channel of subjectification, encompassing a dynamic combination of discipline and technologies of the self. By exploring the pastoral relationship as both means and field of power/knowledge and 'truth-making' I also showed how migrants challenge the pastoral practices. Hence, within the field of pastoral relations, subjectivities are reproduced but also resisted. By analysing workers' activities and migrants' passive forms of resistance enacted to withdraw from pastoral relationships, I shed light on the everyday micro-processes of subjectification. Subjectification through pastoral power is not a linear process of

transmission of knowledge but a dynamic power struggle (or iterative dance), involving both pastors and pupils, moving between subjection, objectification and de-subjectification.

Secondly, I extended some aspect of the ambiguous relationship bonding pastors and their community. Waring and Latif (2017:5), explain that, for Foucault (1982), both responsibility for the flock's behaviours and the status of the pastors depends on "their relations with both the church and congregation". It suggests that the Church and the community 'judge' the pastors' performances. I suggest that the relationship between modern pastors and local communities is more complex and nuanced. Following the proliferation of both pastors and flocks within 'superdiverse' and multicultural communities (Vertovec, 2007), the pastors do not target only the 'stray sheep', but the wider community itself becomes the pastors' target, as if the entire community was 'strayed'. While literature stresses the relationship with one flock, by introducing the notion of proxenia I illustrated how specific forms of modern pastorate can guide two (or more) culturally diverse flocks (communities) toward a common overarching objective of inclusion. The intersection between pastorate and proxenia shows that pastors do not just guide but also mediate between these different communities for the common good. Future research could specifically focus on the effects and practical management of different flocks and how these can resist pastors, affecting their legitimacy and the subjectification processes.

Thirdly, I offered an empirically grounded picture of the pastoral management of the 'bare life' (Agamben, 1995). By exploring the ethical and moral dilemmas characterising the SPRAR workers' performances, this study highlights how macro-dynamics of power are experienced by pastors themselves and how these affect the micro-level of their work. I analysed the conflicts between pastors and migrants, but also the positive aspects of their relationship. I described the motivations, identity work and values of the social workers but also the challenges and dilemmas inherent to their roles. All these aspects are generally overlooked by literature, where pastors are depicted as 'intermediaries' between governmentality and their clients, merely transmitting the 'contents' of the former to the latter. Accordingly, in addition to reproducing regimes of truth, pastors can resist them by promoting alternative 'realities'. However, due to the wider context in which SPRAR workers were operating, their attempt at resistance produced unexpected outcomes. The SPRAR workers participating to this research, constituted a truth about themselves as 'opponents' of central government policies. The poor support from local networks of organisation and a general climate of intolerance towards migrants, have partially determined an involuntary tendency to comply with government policies.

Shifting the focus from the micro-level to the macro-, this study also enlightened the ambiguous relations of power between governments and reception centres. The process by which these organisations perpetuate or resist governmental strategies showed paradoxical developments. In a period of political upheavals, the SPRAR centres, openly against government's position on migration, were unwittingly reproducing the politics they tried to ostracise. The unintentional reproduction of governmental discourses was hampering SPRARs' endeavours, jeopardising governmentality strategy of nurturing self-governing subjects and potentially dis-empowering migrants. It appears that reception centres, operating to emancipate individuals within a chauvinistic State, risk pursuing their objectives by adopting social welfare interventionist approaches framed by the boundaries of the State itself (Foucault, 2008). This seems to suggest that the power of governmentality is all-pervasive and almost impossible to escape. However, it also suggests that these organisations, if supported by a stable socio-political background and supportive organisational network, can overcome the institutional boundaries and develop alternative approaches to reach their objectives. It would be interesting to explore the connections between Foucault's theory of governmentality and pastoral power with other theories, such as Lipsky's (2010) 'street-level bureaucracy', to further explore these macro- and micro-dynamics and unravel the dilemmas at the core of these organisations.

8.5.2 Methodological contributions

Concerning the methodological contribution, this research has provided some insight to advance the post-qualitative research methods within MOS. The post-qualitative movement is still overlooked in the field of organisation studies, so it offers a vast space for developing future inquiries aimed at discussing the methodological and ethical implication of such approach (Benozzo, 2018). Due to its open-ended nature and the rejection of the rigid guidelines of conventional methods, it allows to reconnect the experiences of both researcher and researched to creatively develop alternative, embodied and affective methodologies (Gherardi, 2018). I contributed to this field in two ways.

Firstly, following Jackson and Mazzei (2012) and St. Pierre (2017: 42) suggestions about "using concepts as/instead of methods", I have applied the Foucauldian theory of power/knowledge to develop my own ethnographic approach. Rather than trying to follow a specific method, I used Foucault's concepts to analyse the studied organisations in accordance with the theory's epistemological assumptions. As Foucault never developed an

ethnographic approach, I creatively developed an approach that allowed me to study the relations of power 'within' and 'upon' the organisations and the effects of these relationships (Fleming & Spicer, 2014); the construction of objects and subjects of knowledge and the processes through which reality was continually negotiated and reconstructed (Bonham & Bacchi, 2015; Jackson & Mazzei, 2012; Ribeiro et al., 2018). In line with the principles of the post-qualitative approach, I did not provide a series of guidelines that could be followed to replicate the method I developed. However, this study illustrates how to use theories creatively and potentially allows scholars who would like to embrace the post-qualitative approaches, to understand how to develop their own research method in a non-conventional way.

Secondly, my research provides a glimpse on the process of developing a tailored methodological and analytical approach, going beyond the mere coding of data and using the 'writing' as a tool to favour the researchers' embodied and emotional involvement with research and research participants. Traversing the threshold between research practice and real life, the abductive approach (Brinkmann, 2014) that I have employed can encourage the process of becoming-diverse-other (Deleuze, 1990), as both researchers and individuals. Such approach, that cannot be standardised nor translated into a series of steps, allows researchers to emancipate themselves from any methodological rigidity. With this thesis I showed how it is possible to remain sensitive to the deep changes that the temporal dimension of research involves, creating new knowledge and 'doing research well' through creative and ethical research methodologies.

8.5.3 Implications for practice

Regarding the practical implications of this thesis, from an empirical perspective this research enhances scholarly and critical understanding of the impact of mass migration flows on the work and management practices of refugee reception centres. It shows how their relationship between local communities, funders and public institutions affects organisational practices and discourses. This study offers an overview of the daily challenges that SPRAR workers face in carrying out their duties and raise awareness about the importance of their work and the consequences of the poor support offered by governments and ineffective local networks of organisations. These organisations, frequently targeted by xenophobic criticism, play a fundamental role in supporting disadvantaged sections of the population, often abandoned by public institutions and mainstream organisations. The study

also contributes to the field of forced migration and refugee studies by providing empirical insights on the 'doing' of integration, on both national and organisational levels. This research shows how the lack of agreement, among EU States, about definitions of integration and the absence of coordinated national strategies, policies and practices, influences the work of the organisations supporting displaced migrants during their re-settlement process.

Accordingly, I consider my contribution to the general debate on integration as more empirical rather than just theoretical. This choice of mine was driven by two reasons. On the one hand because integration is considered and conceived as the main practical objective of the reception centres that I have studied; on the other, because the classical conception of integration influences organisational practices in a significant way. Obviously, this aspect is closely related to the theoretical contribution of the thesis. By shifting the focus from the macro processes to a micro-political perspective, this thesis has highlighted how the concept of integration can reveal two faces. If on the one hand integration is motivated by the will to promote inclusion, it also becomes a conservative instrument limiting the freedom of migrants to self-determine their life and eventually reproduce discriminations.

Conceiving integration as an abstract and macro-political concept risks transforming it into a simple goal to be achieved or a series of benchmarks to reach. In this thesis I have developed my own perspective on integration. This shows that conceiving integration as a transformative process, mediated by subjects in continuous transformation through different technologies of power, can reveal its contradictions, ambiguities and dangers. By shedding light on the relations of power inherent to the work of the refugee reception centres, this study has the merit of offering an alternative and critical perspective on integration practices. This can offer new insights towards more ethical and sustainable integration activities, sensitive both to the needs of migrants and attuned to the resources and possibilities in the hands of social workers. Moreover, this research has the potential to affect the development of more inclusive migration policies. Going beyond notions of integration and classical conceptions of those who host (social workers, reception centres and local communities) and those being hosted (migrants), the aim is to guarantee better living conditions for migrants and communities breaking down the walls of prejudices afflicting our societies' wellbeing.

8.5.4 Limitations and recommendations for future research

Despite my commitment to respect the principles of the theories and methodologies that I have adopted, it would be incorrect and superficial (and even presumptuous) not to recognise

the limitations of this study. These limitations, in particular, derive from the temporal aspect of 'doing research' and the process of professional and personal maturation that I have undergone during the PhD (described in Chapter 4). My experience has grown over time and some decisions I took at the beginning of this experience could no longer be changed. A few months before the submission I thought: "Now I feel ready to start a PhD!" I am therefore aware of the limitations of this research. To understand it, I asked myself the following question: "How would I do the same research if I had to start it now?" I came to the conclusion that two main limitations can be found at a methodological and theoretical level and both influence each other in a reciprocal way.

From a theoretical point of view, the main limitation is that I did not integrate the Foucauldian theory within a post-colonial perspective or addressed the issue of racism more directly. Foucault has been widely criticised for having developed his theories referring exclusively to the Western world and has never directly addressed the issues of migration. At the beginning of my research, one of my goals was to fill this gap. However, for reasons of time and space, I had to downsize my scope and I decided to focus on pastoral power and the concept of integration. In the future, it would be very interesting to continue this work and develop Foucault's theory in the direction of its de-colonisation. A good starting point would be to expand the reasoning about the forms of resistance enacted by migrants within the reception centres. This limitation is strongly connected with the methodological choices I made within this thesis.

Going back to my first year of PhD, I wanted to explore two organisations: one in Italy and one in the UK. After my probation, I decided to focus only in the Italian context, but I kept my idea about studying two different reception centres. Now I think that it would have been better if I had focused my research on one centre instead of two. While many 'orthodox ethnographers' could argue that my research is not an ethnography at all, this is not the reason why I would change this. Actually, the reason is that by spending the same amount of time (or more) in only one centre, I could have partially solved the issue of migrants' recruitment for the interviews. This methodological choice deeply affected the production of data and consequently my theoretical perspective, as I spent most of my time with the social workers rather than with migrants. In other words, if I had spent more time in one organisation, I could have strengthened my relationships with the migrants to better understand integration from their perspectives. This would have provided me with a stronger base on which to ground my critical take on Foucault's theory.

Another limitation connecting both theory and research methods is related to my methodological approach and some specific concepts from Foucault's theory. I am referring to Foucault's 'confessional practices' and how they can possibly clash with post-qualitative and autoethnographic approaches. Accordingly, I explained that post-qualitative methods can help scholars to acknowledge their personal involvement with their own research method for producing and analysing data. From a Foucauldian perspective, these can be seen as confessional practices as they help researchers to produce a specific 'truth about themselves' affecting the development of subjectivities and identities (Rose, 1999). Is this truth and methodology really emancipatory and empowering? As researchers, is this truth bounding us to new 'invisible' limits? As individuals, are we disciplining or freeing ourselves? Due to lack of time and space I have to delay these and other reflections to my future works, as they offer a potentially interesting area of research still underdeveloped in the field of MOS.

References

Abbott, P. & Wallace, C. (1998). Health visiting, social work nursing and midwifery: a history. In: P. Abbott & L. Meerabeau (Eds.). *The Sociology of the Caring Professions, 2nd edition* (pp. 20-53). London: UCL Press.

Abou-Chadi, T. (2016). Political and institutional determinants of immigration policies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 42*(13), 2087–2110

Accorinti, M. (2015). Centri di accoglienza: varietà tipologica e dibattito collegato. *Rivista delle Politiche Sociali, 2*(3), 179-200.

Achilli, l. (2016). Back to Syria? Conflicting patterns of mobility among Syrian refugees in Jordan. *Orient, 57*, 7-13. Retrieved from Cadmus, European University Institute Research Repository, at: http://hdl.handle.net/1814/38826

Afonso, A. (2013). Whose Interests Do Radical Right Parties Really Represent? The Migration Policy Agenda of the Swiss People's Party between Nativism and Neoliberalism. In U. Korkut, G. Bucken-Knapp, A. McGarry, J. Hinnfors, & H. Drake, (Eds.). *The discourses and politics of migration in Europe* (pp. 17-35). Palgrave Macmillan US.

Agamben, G. (1990). *La comunità che viene*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Agamben, G. (1995). *Homo sacer. Il potere sovrano e la nuda vita*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore.

Agamben, G. (1998). *Quel che resta di Auschwitz. L'archivio e il testimone*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

Agamben, G. (2006). *Che cos' è un dispositivo?* Roma, Nottetempo.

Ager, A., & Strang, A. (2008). Understanding integration: A conceptual framework. *Journal of refugee studies, 21*(2), 166-191.

Agier, M. (2005). Ordine e disordini dell'umanitario. Dalla vittima al soggetto politico. Annuario di *Antropologia, 5*(5), 49-65.

Agrusti, G., Damiani, V., & Schirripa, V. (2017). Questioni metodologiche e analisi di contesto nello sviluppo di risorse educative aperte per i rifugiati. MeTis-Mondi educativi. *Temi indagini suggestioni, 7*(2). Retrieved at: http://www.metisjournal.it/index.php/metis/article/view/40

Ahmed, S. (2014). Making Strangers. *feministkilljoys, August 4, 2014*. Retrieved at: https://feministkilljoys.com/2014/08/04/making-strangers/

Al-Qdah, T., & Lacroix, M. (2011). Iraqi refugees in Jordan: Lessons for practice with refugees globally. *International Social Work, 54*(4), 521-534.

Alcoff, L. M. (2013). Foucault's normative epistemology. In C. Falzon, T. O'Leary, J. Sawicki (Eds.). *A Companion to Foucault* (pp. 207–225). Blackwell: London.

Allievi, S. (2014). Immigration, religious diversity and recognition of differences: the Italian way to multiculturalism. *Identities, 21*(6), 724-737.

Allport, G.W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Althusser, L. (1970). *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays: ideology and ideological state apparatuses (notes towards an investigation).* La Pensée.

Althusser, L. (2004). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In J. Rivkin, & M. Ryan (2004). *Literary theory: an anthology, 2nd edition* (pp. 693-702). Blackwell Publishing.

Alvesson, M., & Kärreman, D. (2011). Decolonializing discourse: Critical reflections on organizational discourse analysis. *Human Relations, 64*(9), 1121-1146.

Ambrosini M. (2008). *Un'altra globalizzazione*. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Ambrosini, M. (2011). *Sociologia delle migrazioni*. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Ambrosini, M. (2017). *Migrazioni*. EGEA spa.

Ambrosini, M., & Boccagni, P. (2015). Urban multiculturalism beyond the 'Backlash': New discourses and different practices in immigrant policies across European cities. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 36*(1), 35-53.

Ambrosini, M., & Van der Leun, J. (2015). Introduction to the special issue: Implementing human rights: Civil society and migration policies. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 13*(2), 103-115.

Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* Verso books.

Arendt, H. (1948). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt & Brace.

Asad, T. (2006). Trying to understand French secularism. In H. De Vries & L. Sullivan (Eds), *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World* (pp. 494–526). New York: Fordham University Press.

Atkinson, D. J., Field, D. F., Holmes, A. F., & O'Donovan, O. (Eds.). (2013). *New Dictionary of Christian ethics & pastoral theology.* InterVarsity Press.

Augustine, S. M. (2014). Living in a post-coding world. Analysis as assemblage. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 747-753

Bacchi, C., (2017). *Ontological Politics*. Retrieved at: https://carolbacchi.com/2017/12/10/ontological-politics/

Bacchi, C., & Bonham, J. (2014). Reclaiming discursive practices as an analytic focus- Political implications. *Foucault Studies, 17*, 179-192

Bailey, A. J., Drbohlav, D., & Salukvadze, J. (2018). Migration and pastoral power through life course- Evidence from Georgia. Geoforum, 91, 97-107.

Balch, A. (2016). *Immigration and the state: Fear, Greed and Hospitality*. Springer.

Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society, 28*(3), 801-831.

Barad, K. (2007). *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Bargu, B. (2014) Sovereignty. In L. Lawlor, & J. Nale (Eds.). *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (pp. 456-465). Cambridge University Press.

Barker, J. (1993). Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing work teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 38*(3), 408–437.

Barker, J. (2012). The ethnographic interview in an age of globalization. In R. Fardon, O. Harris, T. H. J. Marchand, M. Nuttall, C. Shore, V. Strang, & R. A. Wilson (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of social anthropology* (pp. 54-68). London, England: SAGE.

Barrett, T. (1997). Modernism and postmodernism: An overview with art examples. In J. Hutchens & M. Suggs (Eds.). *Art education: Content and practice in a postmodern era* (pp. 17-30). NAEA: Washington, DC.

Bauböck, R., & Scholten, P. (2016). Introduction to the special issue: "Solidarity in diverse societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism". *Comparative Migration Studies, 4*(1), 4.

Beckett, C., & Myers, M. D. (2018). Organizational culture in Business Process Management: The challenge of balancing disciplinary and pastoral power. *Pacific Asia Journal of the Association for Information Systems, 10*(1), 37-62.

Bell, C. (1969). A Note on Participant Observation, *Sociology, 3*, 417– 18.

Bell, E., & Taylor, S. (2003). The elevation of work: Pastoral power and the new age work ethic. *Organization, 10*(2), 329-349.

Benhabib, S. (2007). Another Universalism: On the Unity and Diversity of Human Rights. Presidential Address. *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association, 81*(2), 7–32.

Benozzo, A. (2018). Poststructuralism In: C., Cassell, A. L., Cunliffe, & G., Grandy, (Eds.). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Business and Management Research Methods* (pp. 86-101). Sage.

Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T., (1966). *La realtà come costruzione sociale*. Il Mulino: Bologna

Bergström, O., & Knights, D. (2006). Organizational discourse and subjectivity: Subjectification during processes of recruitment. *Human Relations, 59*(3), 351-377.

Berlingieri, A. (2015). *Challenging workplace bullying: The shaping of organizational practices toward systemic change*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, Canada. Retrieved at: http://www.buildingabiggerwave.org/images/uploads/ ChallengingWorkplaceBullying.pdf

Bernhard, L., & Kaufmann, D. (2018). Coping with the asylum challenge: tightening and streamlining policies in Western Europe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(15), 2506-2523.

Berry, J. W. (2011). Integration and multiculturalism: Ways towards social solidarity. *Papers on Social Representations, 20*(1), 2-1.

Bigo, D. (2002) Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease, *Alternatives, 27*(1), 63–92.

Biondi Dal Monte, F & Vrenna, M (2013) Il ruolo del terzo settore nelle politiche per gli immigrati, In E. Rossi, F. Biondi Dal Monte, & M. Vrenna, (Eds.), *La governance dell'immigrazione. Diritti, politiche e competenze* (pp. 289-326). Bologna: Il Mulino.

Blake, L. A. (1999). Pastoral power, governmentality and cultures of order in nineteenth-century British Columbia. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 24*(1), 79-93.

Bonham, J., & Bacchi, C. (2017). Cycling 'subjects' in ongoing-formation: The politics of interviews and interview analysis. *Journal of Sociology, 53*(3), 687-703

Bordignon, M., & Moriconi, S. (2017). The case for a common European refugee policy. *Bruegel Policy Contribution, 8*, 1-13.

Borevi, K., Jensen, K. K., & Mouritsen, P. (2017). The civic turn of immigrant integration policies in the Scandinavian welfare states. *Comparative Migration Studies, 5*(1), 9.

Braidotti, R. (2014). *Il postumano: la vita oltre l'individuo, oltre la specie, oltre la morte.* Derive Approdi.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. SAGE.

Brewer, J.D. (2000). *Ethnography: Understanding social research.* Buckingham; Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Brinkmann, S. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry in everyday life: Working with everyday life materials.* London, England: SAGE.

Brinkmann, S. (2014). Doing without data. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 720-725.

Bröckling, U., Krasmann, S., & Lemke, T. (2010). From Foucault's Lectures at the Collège de France to Studies of Governmentality: An Introduction. In U. Bröckling, S. Krasmann, & T. Lemke (Eds.). *Governmentality: current issues and future challenges* (pp. 1 - 34). Routledge.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, R., (2001). The return of assimilation? *Ethnic and racial studies, 24*(4), 531–548.

Bryant, A. (2014). The grounded theory method. In P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 116-136). New York: Oxford UP.

Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods*. Fifth Edition Oxford university press.

Buonfino, A. (2004). Between unity and plurality: the politicization and securitization of the discourse of immigration in Europe. *New Political Science, 26*(1), 23-49.

Burgess, R. (1984). *In the field. An Introduction to Field Research*. Unwin Hyman Ltd.

Burr, V. (2004). *La Persona in Psicologia Sociale.* Il Mulino: Bologna

Burrell, G. (1988). Modernism, post modernism and organizational analysis 2: The contribution of Michel Foucault. *Organization Studies, 9*(2), 221-235.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.

Cammelli, M. G. (2017). Per un'etnografia sperimentale. *Antropologia Pubblica, 3*(1), 117-128.

Campesi, G. (2013). *Immigrazione da questione sociale a minaccia per la sicurezza.* ISPI Commentary, 22 October. Retrieved at: https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/immigrazione-da-questione-sociale-minaccia-la-sicurezza-9251

Caneva, E. (2014). The integration of migrants in Italy: an overview of policy instruments and actors, INTERACT RR 2014/05, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. Retrieved at: https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/32019/INTERACT-RR-2014_05.pdf

Canovan, M. (1996). *Nationhood and Political Theory*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Cantle, T. (2005). *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team*. London: Home Office.

Caracciolo, L., & Roccucci, A. (2017). *Storia contemporanea: dal mondo europeo al mondo senza centro*. Le Monnier Università.

Carbone, T. (2007) *L'integrazione come "Pratica Sociale": Un'etnografia delle Seconde Generazioni a Modena*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Verona. Retrieved at: https://iris.univr.it/retrieve/handle/11562/501776/6232/tesi%20dottorato.pdf

Cardano, M. (2011). *La Ricerca Qualitativa*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Carvalho, J., & Ruedin, D. (2018). The positions mainstream left parties adopt on immigration: A cross-cutting cleavage? *Party Politics*. doi:10.1177/1354068818780533

Castiglioni, M. (2001). *Epistemologia e psicologia*. I.S.U. Università Cattolica: Milano.

Castles, S. (1995). *How nation-states respond to immigration and ethnic diversity. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 21*(3), 293-308.

Castles, S., Korac, M., Vasta, E. & Vertovec, S. (2002) *Integration: Mapping the Field. Report of a project carried out by the Centre for Migration and Policy Research and Refugee Studies Centre.* University of Oxford.

Chalaby, J.K. (1996) Beyond the prison-house of language: Discourse as a sociological concept. *British Journal of Sociology, 47*(4), 684-698, 1996

Chan, A., & Clegg, S. (2002). History, culture and organization studies. *Culture and Organization, 8*(4), 259-273.

Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded theory in the 21st century: Applications for advancing social justice studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 507-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative research.* Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Clarke, J. (2005) New Labour's citizens: activated, empowered, responsibilized, abandoned? *Critical Social Policy, 25*(4), 447–63.

Clegg, S. R., Courpasson, D., & Phillips, N. (2006). *Power and organization*. London: Sage.

Collinson, D. L. (2003). Identities and insecurities: Selves at work. *Organization, 10*(3), 527-547.

Colombo E., & Semi G. (2007) (Eds.). *Multiculturalismo quotidiano. Le pratiche della differenza.* Milano, Franco Angeli.

Colombo, M. (2018). The representation of the "European refugee crisis" in Italy: Domopolitics, securitization, and humanitarian communication in political and media discourses. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 16*(1-2), 161-178.

Commission on Integration and Cohesion (COIC, 2007). *Our Shared Future: Themes, Messages and Challenges: A Final Analysis of the Key Themes from the Commission on Integration and Cohesion Consultation.* London: HMSO. Accessed 5 May 2017. Retrieved at: http://image.guardian.co.uk/sysfiles/Education/documents/2007/06/14/ oursharedfuture.pdf

Constant, A. F., & Zimmermann, K. F. (2016). Towards a new European refugee policy that works. *DICE Report, 14*(4), 3.

Copland, F., & Creese, A. (2015). *Linguistic ethnography: Collecting, analysing and presenting data.* Sage.

Corbetta, P.G., (1999). *Metodologia e Tecniche della Ricerca Sociale (Methodology and Methods of the Social Research).* Il Mulino, Bologna.

Council of the European Union (2004). *Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union. Brussels, 19 November 14615/04 (Presse 321).* Accessed, 20 January 2020. Retrieved at: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/ en/jha/82745.pdf

Crane, A., Knights, D., & Starkey, K. (2008). The conditions of our freedom – Foucault, organization, and ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly, 18*(3), 299-320.

Crawley, H., & Skleparis, D. (2018). Refugees, migrants, neither, both: Categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's 'migration crisis'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44*(1), 48-64.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches.* Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.

Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research. Meaning and perspectives in the research process.* Los Angeles: Sage.

Crouch, D (2016). Sweden sends sharp signal with plan to expel up to 80,000 asylum seekers. *The Guardian*, 28 Jan 2016. Retrieved at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/28/sweden-to-expel-up-to-80000 rejected-asylum-seekers

Cruickshank, J. (Ed.). (2003). *Critical realism: The difference it makes.* Routledge: New York.

Cruikshank, B. (1993). Revolutions within: Self-government and self-esteem. *Economy and society, 22*(3), 327-344.

Cruikshank, B. (1999). *The will to empower: Democratic citizens and other subjects.* Cornell University Press.

Curi, U. (2005). Sul concetto filosofico di straniero. *Diritto Immigrazione e Cittadinanza, 3,* 42-58

Curi, U. & Giacomini, B. (Ed.) (2002). *Xenos. Filosofia dello straniero*. Padova, Il Poligrafo.

Czajka, A. (2014). Migration in the age of the nation-state: Migrants, refugees, and the national order of things. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, 39*(3), 151–63.

D'Angelo, L. (2008). Fuggire e cercare rifugio a Milano. In M. Van Aken (Ed.), *Rifugio Milano. Vie di fuga e vita quotidiana dei richiedenti asilo* (Chapter 3). Roma: Carta.

240

Dallavalle, C. (2016). Protection Versus Project: Italian Humanitarian Interventions Towards Refugees as a Challenge to Equity. Noblit, G. W., & Pink, W. T. (Eds.). *Education, Equity, Economy: Crafting a New Intersection*, (pp. 215-237). New York, NY: Springer.

Danziger, K. (1997). The varieties of social construction. *Theory & Psychology, 7*(3), 399-416.

Darling, J. (2011). Domopolitics, governmentality and the regulation of asylum accommodation. *Political Geography, 30*(5), 263-271.

Darling, J. (2014). Asylum and the post-political: domopolitics, depoliticisation and acts of citizenship. *Antipode, 46*(1), 72-91.

Davis, B. (1997). The subject of post-structuralism: A reply to Alison Jones. *Gender and education, 9*(3), 271-283.

De Boever, A. (2011). Biopolitics. In Murray, A. & Whyte, J. (Eds.) *The Agamben Dictionary* (pp. 39-40). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

De Giorgi, A. (2010). Immigration control, post-Fordism, and less eligibility – A materialist critique of the criminalization of immigration across Europe. *Punishment & Society, 12*(2), 147-167.

De Haas, H. (2008). The myth of invasion: the inconvenient realities of African migration to Europe. *Third world quarterly, 29*(7), 1305-1322.

de Jong, M., Kamsteeg, F., & Ybema, S. (2013). Ethnographic strategies for making the familiar strange: Struggling with 'distance' and 'immersion' among Moroccan-Dutch students. *Journal of Business Anthropology, 2*(2), 168-186.

De Koster, K., Devisé, I., Flament, I., & Loots, G. (2004). Two practices, one perspective, many constructs: On the implications of social constructionism on scientific research and therapy. *Brief Strategic and Systemic Therapy European Review, 1,* 74-80.

De Vos, J. (2013). *Psychologization and the subject of late modernity.* Springer.

Dean, M. (2003). Culture governance as individualisation. In H.P. Bang (Ed.) *Governance as social and political communication* (pp. 117–139). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Dean, M. (2010). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society* (2nd Ed.). Sage publications.

Dean, M. (2017). Power as Sumbolon: Sovereignty, Governmentality and the International. I P. Bonditti, D. Bigo, & F. Gros (Eds.), *Foucault and the Modern International: Silences and Legacies for the Study of World Politics* (pp. 97-114). Palgrave Macmillan.

Del Percio, A. (2016). The governmentality of migration: Intercultural communication and the politics of (dis) placement in Southern Europe. *Language & Communication, 51*, 87-98.

Deleuze, G. (1990). *Logic of sense*. The Athlone Press. London

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1988). *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Deleuze, G., & Parnet, C. (2007). *Dialogues II*. Columbia University Press.

Derrida, J. (1972). Signature, event, context. *Glyph, 1*,172–97

Diaconu, M., Racovita-Szilagyi, L., & Bryan, B. A. (2016). The Social Worker's Role in the Context of Forced Migration: A Global Perspective. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Best Practices in Global Development, 2*(2), 1.

Dijkstra, S., Geuijen, K., & De Ruijter, A. (2001). Multiculturalism and social integration in Europe. *International Political Science Review, 22*(1), 55-84.

Dixon, M. A. (2007). Transforming power- Expanding the inheritance of Michel Foucault in organizational studies. *Management Communication Quarterly, 20*(3), 283-296.

Doughty, K., & Murray, L. (2016). Discourses of mobility: institutions, everyday lives and embodiment. *Mobilities, 11*(2), 303-322.

Dreyfus, H.L. & Rabinow, P. (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics.* Brighton: Harvester.

Dykstra-DeVette, T. A., & Canary, H. E. (2019). Crystalline Empowerment: Negotiating Tensions in Refugee Resettlement. *Organization Studies, 40*(3), 323-342.

Ek, R. (2006). Giorgio Agamben and the spatialities of the camp: an introduction. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography, 88*(4), 363-386.

Ek, R., Fougère, M., & Skålén, P. (2007). Revisiting Foucault through reading Agamben: implications for workplace subjectification, desubjectification and the dark side of organizations. Paper presented at *The Fifth International Critical Management Studies Conference, Manchester*.

Elbow, P. (1998). *Writing without teachers*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Eleveld, A. (2009). Government through Freedom. The Technology of the Life Cycle Arrangement. In W. Zeydanlıoğlu & J.T. Parry (Eds), *Rights, Citizenship & Torture: Perspectives on Evil, Law and the State* (pp.167-189). Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press.

Erickson, F. (1990). Qualitative methods. In R. L. Linn & F. Erickson (Eds.), *Quantitative methods and qualitative methods* (pp. 75-194). New York: MacMillan

Esser, F. (2014). Mediatization as a challenge: Media logic versus political logic. In F. Esser and J. Strömbäck (Eds.), *Mediatization of politics. Understanding the transformation of Western democracies* (pp. 155–176). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Esses, V. M., Medianu, S., & Lawson, A. S. (2013). Uncertainty, threat, and the role of the media in promoting the dehumanization of immigrants and refugees. *Journal of Social Issues, 69*(3), 518-536.

European Union (EU, 2019) Governance of Migrant Integration in Italy. European Web Site on Integration. Accessed 20 February 2020. Retrieved at: https://ec.europa.eu/ migrant integration/governance/italy

Fairhurst, G. T., & Putnam, L. (2004). Organizations as discursive constructions. *Communication theory, 14*(1), 5-26.

Fanon, F. (2004). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Fassin, D. (2007). Humanitarianism as a Politics of Life. *Public culture, 19*(3), 499-520.

Fassin, D. (2011). *Humanitarian reason: a moral history of the present*. University of California Press.

Fassin, D. (2016). From Right to Favor. The Refugee Question as Moral Crisis. *The Nation*, April 5, 2018. Retrieved at: https://www.thenation.com/article/fromright-to-favor/.

Fendler, L. (2010). *Michel Foucault. Library of Educational Thought, Vol. 22*. Continuum, New York

Ferretti, D. (2017). Il welfare locale alla prova delle migrazioni. Un'analisi dei progetti Sprar nelle città medie italiane. *Autonomie locali e servizi sociali, 40*(1), 95-108.

Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2007). *Contesting the corporation: Struggle, power and resistance in organizations*. Cambridge University Press.

Fleming, P., & Spicer, A. (2014). Power in management and organization science. *The Academy of Management Annals, 8*(1), 237-298.

Foldy, G. (2002). Managing Diversity: Identity and Power in Organisations. In I. Aaltio and A. Mills (Eds.), *Gender, Identity and Culture in Organisations* (pp. 92–112). Routledge, London,

Fontana, A, & Frey, J.H. (2005). The interview: from neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research, 3rd Ed.* (pp. 695–727). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Ford, R., Jennings, W., & Somerville, W. (2015). Public opinion, responsiveness and constraint: Britain's three immigration policy regimes. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 41*(9), 1391-1411.

Foucault, M. (1969). *L'Archéologie du savoir.* Gallimard, Paris (trad. it. *L'archeologia del sapere, Rizzoli, Milano, 2017).*

Foucault, M. (1973). *Storia della follia nell'età classica*. R.C.S. Rizzoli.

Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and punish: The Birth of the Prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Microfisica del potere* (1968-1976). Einaudi, Torino.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality, Vol. 1: The will to knowledge*. London: Penguin.

Foucault, M. (1980a), Two Lectures, In C. Gordon, (Ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, (pp. 78-108). Brighton: Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1980b), Truth and Power, In C. Gordon, (Ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, (pp. 109-33). Brighton: Harvester Press.

Foucault, M. (1981). Omnes et singulatim: towards a criticism of 'political reason', In S. McMurrin (Ed.), *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values, Vol. 2,* (pp. 223-54). Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical inquiry, 8*(4), 777-795.

Foucault, M. (1988). Technologies of the self. In L. H. Martin, H. Gutman, & P. H. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the self: A seminar with Michel Foucault,* (pp. 16–49). Amherst: University of Massachusetts

Foucault, M. (1997). *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth. Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954–1984. Vol. 1.* New York: New Press

Foucault, M. (2000). *Power: Essential works of Foucault 1954–1984. Vol. III* (P. Rabinow, Ed.; R. Hurley et al., Trans.). New York: The New Press.

Foucault, M. (2003). *Society must be defended. Lectures at the Collège de France* (1975-1976). New York: Picador.

Foucault, M. (2005). *Sicurezza, territorio, popolazione: Corso al Collège de France* (1977-1978). Apogeo Editore.

Foucault, M. (2008). *The birth of biopolitics. Lectures at the Collège de France* (1978-1979). Springer.

Foucault, M. (2010). *The government of self and others: Lectures at the Collège de France* (1982–1983). Springer.

Foucault, M. (2011). *The courage of truth: Lectures at the Collège de France* (1983–1984). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Foucault, M. (2017). *Il filosofo militante. Archivio Foucault: 2, Interventi, colloqui, interviste, 1971-1977* (Ed. by A. Dal Lago, trad. It. A. Petrillo). Feltrinelli Editore.

Foucault, M., & Miskowiec, J. (1986). Of other spaces. *diacritics, 16*(1), 22-27.

Fox, N. J. (2014). Post-structuralism and Postmodernism. In W. C. Cockerham. R. Dingwall, & S. Quah, (Eds.). *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Health, Illness, Behavior and Society.* Chichester: Wiley

Frenkel, M. (2008). The multinational corporation as a third space: Rethinking international management discourse on knowledge transfer through Homi Bhabha. *Academy of Management Review 33*(4): 924–942.

Freudenstein, R. (2000) Río Odra, Río Buh: Poland, German, and the Border of Twenty-First-Century-Europe. In P. Andreas & T. Snyder (Eds.), *The Wall around the West: State Borders and Immigration Controls in North America and Europe* (pp. 173-184). Lanham Md: Rowman and Littlefield.

Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from Freedom*. New York. NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Fruggeri, L. (1998). Dal costruttivismo al costruzionismo sociale: implicazioni teoriche e terapeutiche. *Psicobiettivo, 18*(1), 37-48.

Gallagher, M. (2008). Foucault, power and participation. *The International Journal of Children's Rights, 16*(3), 395-406.

Gardiner, M. E. (2006). Everyday knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*(2-3), 205-207.

Gemignani, M. & Giliberto, M. (2020). Constructions of burnout, identity, and self-care in professionals working toward the psychosocial care of refugees and asylum seekers in Italy, *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*. doi:10.1080/10720537.2019.1700853

Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. American *Psychologist, 40*(3), 266.

Gerrard, J., Rudolph, S., & Sriprakash, A. (2017). The politics of post-qualitative inquiry – History and power. *Qualitative inquiry, 23*(5), 384-394.

Gherardi, S. (2019). Theorizing affective ethnography for organization studies. *Organization, 26*(6), 741-760.

Giaccaria, P. & Rossi, U. (2012). Hospitality/Ospitalità. In P. Giaccaria & M. Paradiso (Eds,) *Mediterranean Lexicon/Lessico Mediterraneo* (pp.197-211). Società Geografica Italiana, Rome.

Gilbert, T., & Powell, J. L. (2010). Power and social work in the United Kingdom- A Foucauldian excursion. *Journal of social work, 10*(1), 3-22.

Giorgi A., Vitale T. (2017). Migrants in the public discourse, between media, policies and public opinion. In S. Marino, R. Penninx, and J. Roosblad (Eds.) *Trade Unions and Migrant Workers* (pp. 66–89). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Girei, E. (2016). NGOs, management and development: Harnessing counter-hegemonic possibilities. *Organization Studies, 37*(2), 193-212.

Giudici, D. (2013). From 'Irregular Migrants' to Refugees and Back: Asylum Seekers' Struggle for Recognition in Contemporary Italy. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 22*(1), 61-85.

Gjerde, P. F. (2004). Culture, power, and experience: Toward a person-centered cultural psychology. *Human Development, 47*, 138-157.

Golder, B. (2009). Foucault and the genealogy of pastoral power. *Radical philosophy review, 10*(2), 157-76.

Gordon, C. (1991). Governmentality rationality: An introduction. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 1–52). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Grant, D., Hardy, C., Oswick, C., and Putnam, L. L. (2004). *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Discourse*. London: Sage.

Gray B (2006) Migrant integration policy: A nationalist fantasy of management and control. *Translocation: Irish Migration, Race and Social Transformation Review, 1*(1), 118-138

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln, (Eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 163-194). Sage: London.

Hacking, I. (2004). Between Michel Foucault and Erving Goffman: between discourse in the abstract and face-to-face interaction. *Economy and society, 33*(3), 277-302.

Hailbronner, K., & Thym, D., (2016). Legal Framework for EU Asylum Policy. In K. Hailbronner, & D. Thym (Eds.), *EU Immigration and Asylum Law. Commentary, 2nd Edition* (pp. 1023-1052). C.H. Beck/Hart/Nomos.

Hammar, T. (2010). Introduction to European immigration policy: a comparative study. In M. Martiniello & J. Rath (Eds), *Selected Studies in International Migration and Immigrant Incorporation* (pp. 45–58). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1983). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice.* London: Routledge.

Hammersley, M., & Traianou, A. (2014). Foucault and research ethics - On the autonomy of the researcher. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(3), 227-238

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Harvard University Press.

Hardy, C. (2001). Researching organizational discourse. *International studies of management & organization, 31*(3), 25-47.

Hatton, T. J. (2016). Immigration, public opinion and the recession in Europe. *Economic Policy, 31*(86), 205-246.

Heikkinen, S., Silvonen, J., & Simola, H. (1999). Technologies of Truth: Peeling Foucault's triangular onion. *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education, 20*(1), 141-157

Heinemann, A. M. (2017). The making of 'good citizens': German courses for migrants and refugees. *Studies in the Education of Adults, 49*(2), 177-195.

Hekman, S. (2010). *The material of knowledge: Feminist disclosures*. Indiana University Press.

Heron, N. (2011). Biopolitics. In Murray, A. & Whyte, J. (Eds.). *The Agamben Dictionary* (pp. 36-39). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Hingham, J. (1998). Multiculturalism and Universalism: A History and Critique. In M. W. Hughey (Eds.) *New Tribalisms* (pp. 212-236). Palgrave Macmillan.

Hindess, B. (2000). Citizenship in the international management of populations. *American behavioral scientist, 43*(9), 1486-1497.

Hindess, B. (2001). The liberal government of unfreedom. *Alternatives, 26*(2), 93-111.

Hinger, S., & Schweitzer, R. (Eds.). (2020). *Politics of (dis) integration*. Springer Open

HM Government, (2019). Integrated Communities Strategy: summary of consultation responses and government response. Retrieved at: https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/integrated-communities-strategy-green-paper

Hoffman, L. (1992). Constructing the theoretical context. In S. McNamee & K.J. Gergen (Eds.), Therapy as social construction (pp. 7–24). London: Sage.

Hollway, W. (1991). *Work psychology and organizational behaviour: Managing the individual at work*. Sage.

Holmes, S. M., & Castañeda, H. (2016). Representing the "European refugee crisis" in Germany and beyond: Deservingness and difference, life and death. *American Ethnologist, 43*(1), 12-24.

Hooijer, G., & Picot, G. (2015). European welfare states and migrant poverty: the institutional determinants of disadvantage. *Comparative Political Studies, 48*(14), 1879-1904.

Houston, S. (2004). Al di là del costruzionismo sociale. Lavoro sociale e realismo critico. *Lavoro sociale, 4*(1), 23-40

Howard, M. M. (2010). The Impact of the Far Right on Citizenship Policy in Europe: Explaining Continuity and Change. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36*(5), 735-751.

Howard, M. M. (2009). *The politics of citizenship in Europe.* Cambridge University Press.

Humphreys, M. & Watson, T. J. (2009). Ethnographic practices: from "writing-up ethnographic research" to "writing ethnography". In S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels & F. Kamsteeg, (Eds.), *Organizational Ethnography: Studying the Complexities of Everyday Organizational Life* (pp. 40–55). London: Sage.

IOM, (2017) Migrant Drownings Top 3,000 for 4th Straight Year, Despite Reduced Migrant Crossings of Mediterranean Retrieved at: https://www.iom.int/news/migrant-drownings-top-3000-4th-straight-year-despite-reduced-migrant-crossings-mediterranean

Ingold, T. (2011). *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description.* Routledge.

Iuzzolini, L, (2012) The Protection System for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR). Servizio Centrale – *SPRAR Legal office* [Slide Presentation]. Retrieved from: https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/180912-pm-b-Iuzzolini.pdf

Jackson, A. Y. (2017). Thinking without method. *Qualitative Inquiry, 23*(9), 666-674.

Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (2008). Experience and "I" in autoethnography: A deconstruction. *International review of qualitative research, 1*(3), 299-318.

Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (2012). *Thinking with theory in qualitative research: Viewing data across multiple perspectives.* Routledge.

Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (2013). Plugging one text into another- Thinking with theory in qualitative research. *Qualitative inquiry, 19*(4), 261-271

Jackson, A. Y., & Mazzei, L. A. (Eds.). (2009). *Voice in qualitative inquiry: Challenging conventional, interpretive, and critical conceptions in qualitative research.* Routledge.

Jensen, T. G., Weibel, K., & Vitus, K. (2017). 'There is no racism here': public discourses on racism, immigrants and integration in Denmark. *Patterns of Prejudice, 51*(1), 51-68.

Jessop, B. (2007). From micro-powers to governmentality: Foucault's work on statehood, state formation, statecraft and state power. *Political Geography, 26,* 34–40.

Johansson, L. (2016). Post-qualitative line of flight and the confabulative conversation: a methodological ethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 29*(4), 445-466.

Johnson, M. (2015). Surveillance, Pastoral Power and Embodied Infrastructures of Care among Migrant Filipino Muslims in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. *Surveillance & Society, 13*(2), 250-264.

Jones, L. (2018). Pastoral power and the promotion of self-care. *Sociology of health & illness, 40*(6), 988-1004.

Jones, M. O. (1996). *Studying organizational symbolism: what, how, why?* (Vol. 39). Sage.

Joppke, C. (2007). Transformation of immigrant integration: Civic integration and antidiscrimination in the Netherlands, France, and Germany. *World politics, 59*(2), 243-273.

Joppke, C. (2017). Civic integration in Western Europe - three debates. *West European Politics, 40*(6), 1153-1176

Joppke, C., & Morawska, E. (Eds.) (2003). *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states*. Springer.

Junker, B. H. (1960). *Field work: An introduction to the social sciences*. University of Chicago Press.

Kallen, E. (1995). *Ethnicity and Human Rights in Canada.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, P., Allender, S., & Colquhoun, D. (2007). New work ethics? The corporate athlete's back end index and organizational performance. *Organization, 14*(2), 267-285.

Kleinman, A., & Kleinman, J. (1996). The appeal of experience; the dismay of images: Cultural appropriations of suffering in our times. *Daedalus, 125*(1), 1-23.

Knights, D., & Collinson, D. (1987). Disciplining the shopfloor: A comparison of the disciplinary effects of managerial psychology and financial accounting. *Accounting, Organisations and Society, 12*(5), 457-477.

Knights, D., & Morgan, G. (1991). Strategic discourse and subjectivity: Towards a critical analysis of corporate strategy in organisations. *Organization Studies, 12*(2), 251-273.

Kondo, D. (1987). Creating an Ideal Self: Theories of Selfhood and Pedagogy at a Japanese Ethics Retreat. *Ethos, 15*(5): 241–72.

Kondo, D. (1990) *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Korkut, U., Bucken-Knapp, G., & McGarry, A. (2013). Immigration and integration policies: assumptions and explanations. In U. Korkut, G. Bucken-Knapp, A. McGarry, J. Hinnfors, & H. Drake, (Eds.). *The discourses and politics of migration in Europe* (pp. 1-14). Palgrave Macmillan US.

Koselleck, R., & Richter, M. (2006). Crisis. *Journal of the History of Ideas, 67*(2), 357-400.

Kristeva, J. (1991). *Strangers to ourselves*. Columbia University Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*. Clarendon Press.

Kymlicka, W. (2003). Immigration, citizenship, multiculturalism: exploring the links. *The Political Quarterly, 74*(1), 195-208.

Kymlicka, W. (2015). Solidarity in diverse societies beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism. *Comparative Migration Studies, 3*(1), 17.

Larin, S. J. (2020). Is it really about values? Civic nationalism and migrant integration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 46*(1), 127-141.

Lather, P. (1991). *Getting smart: Feminist research and pedagogy with/in the postmodern*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Lather, P. (1993). Fertile obsession: Validity after poststructuralism. *The sociological quarterly, 34*(4), 673-693.

Lather, P. (2013). Methodology-21: What do we do in the afterward? International Journal of *Qualitative Studies in Education, 26*(6), 634-645.

Lather, P. (2016). Top Ten+ List- (Re) Thinking Ontology in (Post) Qualitative Research. Cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies, 16(2), 125-131.

Lather, P., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2013). Post-qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education, 26*(6), 629-633.

Le Grange, L. (2018). What is (post) qualitative research? *South African Journal of Higher Education, 32*(5), 1-14.

Leerkes, A. S., Engbersen, G., & Van der Leun, J. P. (2012). Crime among irregular immigrants and the influence of internal border control. *Crime, Law and Social Change, 58*(1), 15–38.

Legard, R., Keegan, J. & Ward, K. (2003). In-depth interviews. In J. Ritchie, and J. Lewis, (Eds,) *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, (pp. 138–169). London: Sage Publications.

Lehman, C., Annisette, M., & Agyemang, G. (2016). Immigration and neoliberalism: three cases and counter accounts. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal, 29*(1), 43-79.

Limki, R. (2018). On the coloniality of work Commercial surrogacy in India. *Gender, Work & Organization*, *25*(4), 327-342.

Lippert, R. (1999). Governing refugees: The relevance of governmentality to understanding the international refugee regime. *Alternatives, 24*(3), 295-328.

Lippert, R., & Pyykkönen, M. (2012). Introduction – Immigration, governmentality, and integration assemblages. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 2*(1), 1-4.

Lipsky, M. (2010). *Street-level bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the individual in public service.* Russell Sage Foundation.

Little, A., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2017). Stopping boats, saving lives, securing subjects: Humanitarian borders in Europe and Australia. *European Journal of International Relations, 23*(3), 533-556.

Loch, D. (2014). Integration as a sociological concept and national model for immigrants - scope and limits. *Identities, 21*(6), 623-632.

Lorenzini, D., & Tazzioli, M. (2018). Confessional subjects and conducts of non-truth: Foucault, Fanon, and the making of the subject. *Theory, culture & society, 35*(1), 71-90.

Lucidi, F., Alivernini, F., & Pedon, A. (2008). *Metodologia della ricerca qualitativa*. Bologna, Il Mulino.

Lumby, J. (2015). In the wings and backstage: exploring the micropolitics of leadership in higher education. Research report. *Leadership Foundation for Higher Education*. Retrieved at: https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/386161/

Lyotard, J. F. (1979). *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir*. Minuit.

Mader, M. B. (2014) Knowledge. In L. Lawlor, & J. Nale (Eds.). *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (pp. 226-235). Cambridge University Press

Malkki, L. H. (1996). Speechless emissaries: Refugees, humanitarianism, and de-historicization. *Cultural anthropology, 11*(3), 377-404.

Manara, M., & Piazza, G. (2018). The depoliticisation of asylum seekers: Carl Schmitt and the Italian system of dispersal reception into cities. *Political Geography, 64*, 43-52.

Manna, A., Mastropierro, E. & Russo, A. (Eds.) (2009). *L'uniforme e l'anima. Indagine sul vecchio e nuovo fascismo* (Letture di: Bataille, Littell e Theweleit, Jackson, Pasolini, Foucault, Deleuze e Guattari, Agamben, Eco, Ballard). Bari, Edizioni Action30.

Manocchi, M. (2014). Richiedenti asilo e rifugiati: Processi di etichettamento e pratiche di resistenza. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, 2*, 385-409.

Mansfield, N. (2000). *Subjectivity: Theories of the self from Freud to Haraway*. NYU Press.

Mantovani, G. (2003). *Metodi qualitativi in psicologia*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Mantovani, G. (2008). *Analisi del discorso e contesto sociale: teorie, metodi e applicazioni*. Il Mulino: Bologna.

Maravelias, C. (2009). Health promotion and flexibility: Extending and obscuring power in organisations. *British Journal of Management, 20*, 194-203.

Marchetti, C. (2014). Rifugiati e migranti forzati in Italia: il pendolo tra 'emergenza' e 'sistema'. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana, 22*(43), 53-70.

Marrus, M. R. (1985). *The unwanted: European refugees in the twentieth century.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Martin, G. P., & Waring, J. (2018). Realising governmentality- pastoral power, governmental discourse and the (re) constitution of subjectivities. *The Sociological Review, 66*(6), 1292-1308.

Martín, I., Arcarons, A., Aumüller, J., Bevelander, P., Emilsson, H., Kalantaryan, S., ... & Vidovic, H. (2016). *From refugees to workers: mapping labour market integration support measures for asylum-seekers and refugees in EU member states. Volume II: Literature review and country case studies.* Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh.

Mavelli, L. (2017). Governing populations through the humanitarian government of refugees: Biopolitical care and racism in the European refugee crisis. *Review of International Studies, 43*(5), 809-832.

Mazzara, B.M. (Ed.) (2008). *I discorsi dei media e la psicologia sociale: ambiti e strumenti di indagine*. Carocci: Roma.

McCarthy, T. (1990). The critique of impure reason: Foucault and the Frankfurt school. *Political Theory 18*(3), 437–69.

McCuaig, L., Öhman, M., & Wright, J. (2013). Shepherds in the gym - Employing a pastoral power analytic on caring teaching in HPE. *Sport, Education and Society, 18*(6), 788-806.

McKinlay, A., & Pezet, E. (Eds.). (2017). *Foucault and managerial governmentality: Rethinking the management of populations, organisations and individuals*. Taylor & Francis.

McKinlay, A., & Starkey, K. (Eds.). (1998). *Foucault, management and organization theory: From panopticon to technologies of self.* Sage.

McLaughlin, K. (2010). Psychologisation and the construction of the political subject as vulnerable object. *Annual Review of Critical Psychology, 8*, 63-79.

McNay, L. (1994). *Foucault: A critical introduction.* New York, NY: Continuum.

McPherson, M. (2010). 'I Integrate, Therefore I Am': Contesting the Normalizing Discourse of Integrationism through Conversations with Refugee Women. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 23*(4), 546-570.

Mennicken, A. & Miller, P. (2014), Michel Foucault and the administering of lives. In P.S. Adler, P. Du Gay, G. Morgan & M Reed (Eds.). *Oxford Handbook of Sociology, Social Theory and Organization Studies: Contemporary Currents* (pp. 11-38). Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Meyers E (2002). *International Immigration Policy: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mezzadra, S. (2008). *La condizione postcoloniale: storia e politica nel presente globale.* Verona Ombre Corte.

Mignolo, W. D. (2007). Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. *Cultural studies, 21*(2-3), 155-167.

Miller, P., & O'Leary, T. (1987). Accounting and the construction of the governable person. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, *12*, 235–265.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1988). The Tavistock programme: The government of subjectivity and social life. *Sociology, 22*(2), 171-192

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (1995). Political thought and the limits of orthodoxy: A response to Curtis. The *British journal of sociology, 46*(4), 590-597.

Miller, P., & Rose, N. (2008). *Governing the present: Administering economic, social and personal life*. Polity.

Moeran, B. (2009) From Participant Observation to Observant Participation. In S. Ybema, D. Yanow, H. Wels & F. Kamsteeg (Eds.). *Organizational Ethnography: Studying the Complexities of Everyday Life* (pp. 139-155). London: Sage.

Mohanty, C. (1988). Under Western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist review, 30*(1), 61-88.

Mol, A. (1999) Ontological politics: A word and some questions, In J. Law and J. Hassard (Eds.), *Actor network theory and after* (pp. 75–89). Oxford: Blackwell.

Mol, A. (2002). *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Duke University Press.

Moore, K., Berry, M., & Garcia-Blanco, I. (2018). Saving refugees or policing the seas? how the national press of five EU member states framed news coverage of the migration crisis. *Justice, Power and Resistance, 2*(1), 66-95.

Moreno-Lax, V. (2018). The EU humanitarian border and the securitization of human rights: The 'rescue-through-interdiction/rescue-without-protection' paradigm. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 56*(1), 119-140.

Mulack, G. (2016). Editorial. *Orient, 57*, 3 Retrieved from: https://www.orient-online.com/issues/ORIENT-I/2016

Mumby, D. K., Thomas, R., Martí, I., & Seidl, D. (2017). Resistance redux. *Organization Studies, 38*(9), 1157-1183.

Murray, A. (2011). Zoè. In Murray, A. & Whyte, J. (Eds.) *The Agamben Dictionary* (p. 206). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nadesan, M. H. (2008). *Governmentality, biopower, and everyday life*. Routledge.

Nash, M., Wong, J., & Trlin, A. (2006). Civic and social integration: A new field of social work practice with immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. *International Social Work, 49*(3), 345-363.

Neumayer, E. (2005). Bogus refugees? The determinants of asylum migration to Western Europe. *International studies quarterly, 49(3*), 389-409.

Neyland, D. (2007). *Organizational ethnography*. Sage.

Nicoli, M. & Paltrinieri, L. (2014). Il management di sé e degli altri. *Aut Aut, 363*, 49-74.

Niiniluoto, I. (2002). *Critical Scientific Realism*. Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Noviello, V. (2010). Politiche di Integrazione nel Contesto Euro-mediterraneo. Il caso di Francia, Gran Bretagna, Germania, Spagna e Italia. *Quaderno ISSM*, 153. Retrieved at: http://www.issm.cnr.it/progetti/emigrazione/pubblicazioni/153_2010_Noviello. pdf

O'Gorman, K. D. (2005). Modern Hospitality: Lessons from the past. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management, 12*(2), 141-151.

O'Gorman, K. D., & MacIntosh, R. (2015). *Research methods for business and management* (2nd Edition). Goodfellow Publishers Limited.

Paloma, V., de la Morena, I., Sladkova, J., & López-Torres, C. (2020). A peer support and peer mentoring approach to enhancing resilience and empowerment among refugees settled in southern Spain. *Journal of Community Psychology*. doi:10.1002/jcop.22338

Paluck, E. L., Green, S. A., & Green, D. P. (2019). The contact hypothesis re-evaluated. *Behavioural Public Policy, 3*(2), 129-158.

Paoletti, E. (2010). *The migration of power and north-south inequalities: the case of Italy and Libya.* Springer.

Papadopoulos, D. (2008). In the ruins of representation Identity, individuality, subjectification. *British journal of social psychology, 47*(1), 139-165.

Parker, I. (1992). *Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for individual and social psychology*. London Routledge

Parker, I. (1998). Realism, Relativism and Critique. in Psychology. In Parker, I. (Ed.). *Social constructionism, discourse and realism* (pp. 1-9). Sage, Thousand Oaks: CA

Paunova, M., & Blasco, M. (2017). Who Should Adapt 'At Home'? Microdynamics of Social Exchange for Reciprocal Integration Among Migrants and Hosts. Paper presented at *The 33rd EGOS Colloquium 2017.*

Pearce, W. B. (1992). A camper's guide to constructionisms. Human Systems: *The Journal of Systemic Consultation and Management, 3*(1), 139-161.

Phillips, N., & Oswick, C. (2012). Organizational discourse: Domains, debates and directions. *Academy of Management Annals, 6*, 435–481.

Philo, C. (2012). A 'new Foucault' with lively implications–or 'the crawfish advances sideways'. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 37*(4), 496-514.

Piattoni, S. (2005). La governance multi-livello: sfide analitiche, empiriche e normative. *Rivista italiana di scienza politica, 35*(3), 417-446.

Pickering, A. (2017). The ontological turn: Taking different worlds seriously. *Social Analysis, 61*(2), 134-150

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative studies in education, 16*(2), 175-196.

Pinelli, B. (2008). Etnografi a della vulnerabilità. Storie di Donne richiedenti asilo a Milano. In M. Van Aken (Ed.), *Rifugio Milano. Vie di fuga e vita quotidiana dei richiedenti asilo* (Chapter 4). Roma: Carta.

Pizzorno, A. (2007). *Il velo della diversità: studi su razionalità e riconoscimento.* Feltrinelli.

Polzer, T. (2008). Invisible integration how bureaucratic, academic and social categories obscure integrated refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 21*(4), 476-497.

Prasad, A. (2003). *Postcolonial theory and organizational analysis: A critical engagement.* Springer.

Prasad, A. (2014). You can't go home again: And other psychoanalytic lessons from crossing a neo-colonial border. *Human Relations, 67*(2), 233-257.

Pries, L. (2019). Introduction: Civil Society and Volunteering in the So-Called Refugee Crisis of 2015—Ambiguities and Structural Tensions. In M. Feischmidt, L., Pries, & C., Cantat (Eds.). (2019). *Refugee protection and civil society in Europe*. (pp. 1-22). Palgrave Macmillan.

Rabinow, P. & Rose, N. (Eds), (2003) *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault: 1954-1984*. The New Press, New York.

Raco, M. (2003). Governmentality, subject-building, and the discourses and practices of devolution in the UK. *Transactions of the institute of British geographers, 28*(1), 75-95.

Raffnsøe, S., Mennicken, A., & Miller, P. (2019). The Foucault effect in organization studies. *Organization Studies, 40*(2), 155-182.

Rajaram, P. K. (2002). Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee. *Journal of refugee studies, 15*(3), 247-264.

Rajas, J. (2012). Assemblage of Pastoral Power and Sameness. *Nordic journal of migration research, 2*(1), 5-15.

Rebughini, P. (2014). Subject, subjectivity, subjectivation. *Sociopedia.isa*, 1-11.

Redaelli, E. (2010). Foucault e il potere. Discipline, dispositivi, biopolitica. In R. Fabbrichesi, (Ed.). *Corpo e comunità* (pp.145-183). Cuem, Milano.

Reed, H. E., Ludwig, B., & Braslow, L. (2016). Forced migration. In M. J. White, (Ed.). *International handbook of migration and population distribution* (pp. 605-625). Springer Netherlands.

Revel, J. (2014) Power. In L. Lawlor, & J. Nale (Eds.). *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (pp. 377-385). Cambridge University Press.

Ribeiro Junior, H., Rosa, R. M., & Dorneles Junior, H. B. (2018). Methodology of power analysis in Michel Foucault's thought. *International Journal for Innovation Education and Research, 6*(1), 149-158.

Richardson, L., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2005). In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 959–978). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Romitelli, V. (2005). *Etnografia del pensiero. Ipotesi e ricerche*. Roma: Carocci editore.

Rose, N. (1990). *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self.* Taylor & Francis/Routledge.

Rose, N. (1996). Identity, genealogy, history. In S. Hall, & P. Du Gay (Eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 128-150). SAGE Publications. Sage.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge University press.

Rose, N. (2001) The politics of life itself. *Theory, Culture and Society, 18*(6), 1-30.

Rose, N. (2006). Governing "advanced" liberal democracies. In A. Sharma, & A. Gupta (Eds.). *The anthropology of the state a reader* (pp. 144 – 162). London and New York: Blackwell.

Rose, N. (2007). *The Biopolitics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty First Century*. Oxfordshire: Princeton University Press.

Rose, N., & Miller, P. (1992). Political power beyond the State: Problematics of government. *British Journal of Sociology*, 43, 173–205

Rossi, E., & Vitali, L. (2014). Refugees Perceptions, Rights Compliance and the Implications on European Reception Policy: Results from a Survey. *Sociology and Anthropology, 2*(5), 169-178.

Rossi, G. (2011). Quali modelli di integrazione possibile per una società interculturale. In D. Bramanti (Eds.), *Generare luoghi di integrazione. Modelli di buone pratiche in Italia e all'estero.* Franco Angeli, Milano

Roulston, K. (2019). Ethnographic interviewing. In P. Atkinson, S. Delamont, M. Hardy, & M.Williams (Eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Research Methods.* London, England: Sage.

Russo, A. (2009). Giorgio Agamben: Il fascismo che viene, o la democrazia a pugni chiusi. In A. Manna, E. Mastropierro & A. Russo (Eds.). *L'uniforme e l'anima. Indagine sul vecchio e nuovo fascismo* (Letture di: Bataille, Littell e Theweleit, Jackson, Pasolini, Foucault, Deleuze e Guattari, Agamben, Eco, Ballard) (pp. 169-189). Bari, Edizioni Action30.

Sales, R. (2002). The deserving and the undeserving? Refugees, asylum seekers and welfare in Britain. *Critical social policy, 22*(3), 456-478.

Sales, R. (2005). Secure borders, safe haven: a contradiction in terms? *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28,* 445-462.

Sanders, G. (2012). Help for the soul - Pastoral power and a purpose-driven discourse. *Journal of Cultural Economy, 5*(3), 321-335.

Sassen, S. (2008). *Territory, authority, rights: From medieval to global assemblages.* Princeton University Press.

Saunders, R. (2001). Uncanny Presence: The Foreigner at the Gate of Globalization. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East, 21*(1), 88-98. Retrieved from: https://www.muse.jhu.

Sawicki, J. (2014) Freedom. In L. Lawlor, & J. Nale (Eds.). *The Cambridge Foucault Lexicon* (pp. 156-161). Cambridge University Press

Sayad, A. (2004). *The suffering of the immigrant*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Scheurich, J. J. (1995). A postmodernist critique of research interviewing. *International journal of qualitative studies in education, 8*(3), 239-252.

Schirripa, V. (2017). The SPRAR reception system a forge of new professional profiles. *Studium Educationis,* (3), 85-90. Retrieved at: https://ojs.pensamultimedia.it/index.php/studium/article/view/2471

Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations Implications for politics and policy. *American political science review, 87*(2), 334-347.

Scholten, P. (2011). *Framing immigrant integration: Dutch research-policy dialogues in comparative perspective.* Amsterdam University Press.

Schrag, F. (1999). Why Foucault now? *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 31*(4), 375–83.

Schulzke, M. (2015). Power and resistance: Linking Gramsci and Foucault. In D. Kreps (Ed.) *Gramsci and Foucault: A reassessment* (pp. 57-74). Ashgate.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 189–213). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scott, J. C. (1990). Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts. Yale University Press.

Seremani, T. W., & Clegg, S. (2016). Postcolonialism, organization, and management theory: The role of "epistemological third spaces". *Journal of Management Inquiry, 25*(2), 171-183.

Sewell, G., & Wilkinson, B. (1992). Someone to watch over me: Surveillance, discipline and the just-in-time labour process. *Sociology, 26*(2), 271–289.

Shamir, R. (2008). The age of responsibilisation: On market-embedded morality. *Economy and society, 37*(1), 1-19.

Sigona, N. (2005a). Refugee integration(s): policy and practice in the European Union. Refugee Survey Quarterly, 24(4), 115-122.

Sigona, N. (2005b). Italia: un "quasi sistema" d'accoglienza. In A. D'Angelo, & A. Ricci (Eds.) *Diritti rifugiati in Europa,* (pp. 141-154). Roma: Relazioninternazionali.

Singer, B. C., & Weir, L. (2006). Politics and sovereign power- Considerations on Foucault. *European Journal of Social Theory, 9*(4), 443-465

Smith, E. (2016). *The Role of Syrian Refugees in the Sharing Economy and Technology Sector in Germany: A Neoliberal Approach to Integration and Empowerment.* Retrieved at: https://dukespace.lib.duke.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/10161/11864/ Smith_Emma_ICS_Honors_Thesis1.pdf?sequence=1

Soysal, Y. N. (1994). *Limits of citizenship: Migrants and post national membership in Europe.* University of Chicago Press.

Spivak, G. C. (1993). *Outside in the teaching machine.* New York, NY: Routledge.

SPRAR, (2010). *I volti dell'Integrazione Il ruolo delle comunità locali, dei cittadini e dei mass media nei processi di inclusione dei rifugiati in Italia.* Retrieved at: http://www.sprar.it/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Ricerca-I-volti-della-Integrazione-Cittalia-2010.pdf

SPRAR, (2015). *Manuale operativo per l'attivazione e la gestione di servizi di accoglienza integrata on favore di richiedenti e titolari di protezione internazionale e umanitaria.* Ministero degli Interni. Retrieved from: https://www.siproimi.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/SPRAR_-_Manuale_operativo_2015.pdf

SPRAR, (2016). *Rapporto annuale SPRAR 2016: Sistema di protezione per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati.* Atlante Sprar. Retrieved at: http://www.sprar.it/wp-content/uploads/2017 /06/Atlante-Sprar-2016-2017-RAPPORTO-leggero.pdf

St. Pierre, E. A. (1997). Methodology in the fold and the irruption of transgressive data. International *Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 10*, 175-189.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2012). Another postmodern report on knowledge- Positivism and its others. *International journal of leadership in education, 15*(4), 483-503

St. Pierre, E. A. (2013a). Post qualitative research: The critique and the coming after. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials* (4th ed., pp. 447-480). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2013b). The posts continue: Becoming. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 26*(6), 646-657.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2013c). The appearance of data. Cultural Studies? *Critical Methodologies, 13*(4), 223-227.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2014). A brief and personal history of post qualitative research: Toward "post inquiry". *Journal of curriculum theorizing, 30*(2). Retrieved at: https://journal. jctonline.org/index.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2017). Post qualitative inquiry: The next generation. In N. K., Denzin & M. D., Giardina (Eds.). *Qualitative inquiry in neoliberal times* (pp. 37-47). Taylor & Francis.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2018). Writing post qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative inquiry, 24*(9), 603-608.

St. Pierre, E. A., & Pillow, W. (Eds) (2000). *Working the ruins: Feminist poststructural theory and methods in education.* New York: Routledge.

St. Pierre, E. A., & Jackson, A. Y. (2014). Qualitative Data Analysis After Coding. *Qualitative Inquiry, 20*(6), 715–719.

Starkey, K. & McKinlay, A. (1998), Afterword: deconstructing organization – discipline and desire. in A. McKinley & K. Starkey (Eds), *Foucault, Management and Organization Theory: From panopticon to technologies of self* (pp. 230-241). Sage Publications, London.

Stepputat, F., & Nyberg Sorensen, N. (2014). Sociology and forced migration. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, G. Loescher, K. Long, & N. Sigona. (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of refugee and forced migration studies* (pp.86-98). OUP Oxford.

Stewart, E., & Mulvey, G. (2014). Seeking safety beyond refuge: the impact of immigration and citizenship policy upon refugees in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40*(7), 1023-1039.

Switzer, A. (2010). Anxiety and the voice of unreason: Reading Foucault with Freud. *PhaenEx, 5*(2), 45-86.

Taylor, C. (1984). Foucault on Freedom and Truth. In Taylor, C. (Ed.) *Philosophy and the human sciences* (pp. 152–183). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, C. (2011). Biopower. In D. Taylor, (Ed.). *Michel Foucault – Key Concepts* (pp. 41-54).

Taylor, P. C., Alcoff, L. M., & Anderson, L. (Eds.). (2017). *The Routledge companion to the philosophy of race*. Routledge.

Toulmin, S. (1990). *Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity*. University of Chicago Press

Townley, B. (1993). Foucault, power/knowledge, and its relevance for human resource management. Academy of Management Review, 18, 518–545.

Tudor, A. (2017). Queering migration discourse- differentiating racism and migratism in postcolonial Europe. *Lambda Nordica, 22*(2-3).

Turner, B. S. (2006). Citizenship and the Crisis of Multiculturalism. *Citizenship Studies 10*(5): 607–18.

Tyler, I. (2010). Designed to fail: a biopolitics of British citizenship. *Citizenship studies, 14*(1), 61-74.

Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolting subjects: Social abjection and resistance in neoliberal Britain.* Zed Books Ltd.

UNHCR (1951). *Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees.* Retrieved at: http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html

UNHCR (2015). *Seven Factors behind Movement of Syrian Refugees to Europe.* Briefing Notes, September 25. Retrieved at: http://www.unhcr.org/560523f26.html.

UNHCR (2016a). 'Refugees' and 'Migrants' – Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs). Retrieved at: https://www.unhcr.org/afr/news/latest/2016/3/56e95c676/refugees-migrants-frequently-asked-questions-faqs.html

UNHCR (2016b). Policy on alternatives to camps. Retrieved at: http://www.unhcr.org/protection/statelessness/5422b8f09/unhcr-policy-alternatives-camps.html.

UNHCR (2017) *Global report.* Retrieved from: http://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/gr2017/pdf/GR2017_English_Full_lowres.pdf

UNHCR (2018a). Global trends. Forced displacement in 2018. Retrieved from: https://www.unhcr.org/globaltrends2018/

UNHCR (2018b) Italy Sea Arrivals Dashboard January – December 2016. Retrieved at: https://data2.unhcr.org/fr/documents/download/53356

UNHCR (2018c) Italy weekly snapshot - 10 Jun 2018. Retrieved at: https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/64006

Välikangas, A., & Seeck, H. (2011). Exploring the Foucauldian interpretation of power and subject in organisations. *Journal of Management & Organization, 17*(6), 812-827.

Valtonen, K. (2016). *Social work and migration - Immigrant and refugee settlement and integration.* Routledge.

Van Aken, M. (Ed.) (2008). *Rifugio Milano. Vie di fuga e vita quotidiana dei richiedenti asilo*. Roma: Carta.

Van Maanen, J. (1979). The fact of fiction in organizational ethnography. Administrative Science *Quarterly, 24*(4), 539-550.

Van Maanen, J. (2010). A song for my supper: More tales of the field. *Organizational Research Methods, 13*(2), 240-255.

Van Maanen, J. (2011). *Tales of the field: On writing ethnography (2ⁿᵈ Edition).* University of Chicago Press.

Venturini, A. (2016). Case Study Italy. In I. Martín, A. Arcarons, J. Aumüller, P. Bevelander, H. Emilsson, S. Kalantaryan, ... & H. Vidovic (Eds.). *From refugees to workers: mapping labour market integration support measures for asylum-seekers and refugees in EU member states. Volume II: Literature review and country case studies* (pp. 79-92). Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh.

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. Ethnic and racial studies, 30(6), 1024-1054.

Vitale, A. (2005). Verso un ordine imperiale delle migrazioni. In G., Sivini (Ed.), *Le migrazioni tra ordine imperiale e soggettività* (pp. 11-38). Rubbettino, Soveria Mannelli.

Voicu, A (2009) Immigration and Integration Policies in Uk. *Romanian Journal of European Affairs, 9*(2), 71-86.

wa Thiong'o, N. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature.* London: Heinemann.

Walters, W. (2002). Deportation, expulsion, and the international police of aliens. *Citizenship studies, 6*(3), 265-292.

Walters, W. (2004). Secure borders, safe haven, domopolitics. *Citizenship studies, 8*(3), 237-260.

Walters, W. (2011). Foucault and Frontiers: Notes on the Birth of the Humanitarian Border. In U. Bröckling, S. Krasmann and T. Lemke, (Eds.). *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenge,* (pp. 138–64). Routledge.

Walters, W. (2015). Reflections on Migration and Governmentality. *Movements. Journal for critical migration and border regime studies, 1*(1) 1–25.

Walters, W. (2017). Microphysics of Power Redux. In P. Bonditti, D. Bigo, and F. Gros, (eds.) *Foucault and the Modern International* (pp. 57–75). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Waring, J., & Latif, A. (2017). Of shepherds, sheep and sheepdogs? Governing the adherent self through complementary and competing 'pastorates'. *Sociology, 52*(5), 1069-1086.

Waring, J., & Martin, G. (2016). Network leadership as pastoral power: The governance of quality improvement communities in the English National Health Service. In M. Bevir (Ed.), *Governmentality after neoliberalism* (pp. 135–151). London, UK: Routledge.

Weaver, M. (2010). Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed'. *The Guardian*, 17 October 2010. Retrieved at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed

Webb, K. (2011). From de-responsibilization to re-responsibilization: global institutionalization of the social responsibility norm – exploring the key role of non-state actors and rule instruments in regulating multinational corporations. Paper presented at *CRIMT Conference: Multinational Companies, Global Value Chains and Social Regulation, Quebec.*

Wetherell, M. (2007). A step too far: Discursive psychology, linguistic ethnography and questions of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 11*(5), 661-681.

Wieviorka, M. (2014). A critique of integration. *Identities, 21*(6), 633-641.

Williams, C. (2014). Refugees and social theory: from the politics of "bare life" to refugees as political subjects. *Acta Academica, 46*(4), 117-131.

Williams, C., & Graham, M. (2014). 'A world on the move': Migration, mobilities and social work. *The British journal of social work, 44* (1), 1-17.

Williams, J. M. (2016). The safety/security nexus and the humanitarianisation of border enforcement. *The Geographical Journal, 182*(1), 27-37.

Willig, C. (2013). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology (3rd Edition).* Open University Press. McGraw-Hill Education.

Wittgenstein, L. (1972). *Philosophical Investigations*, (1st ed. 1953). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wodak, R. (2015). *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean.* London, UK:Sage.

Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Methods for critical discourse analysis*. Sage.

Wood, G. (1985). The Politics of Development Policy Labelling. *Development and Change 16*, 347–73.

Woodilla, J. (1998) Workplace conversations: The text of organizing. In D. Grant, T. Keenoy, & C. Oswick, (Eds), *Discourse and Organization* (pp. 31-50) London: Sage,

Yanow, D. (2000) *Conducting interpretive policy analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ybema, S., Yanow, D., Wels, H., & Kamsteeg, F. H. (Eds.). (2009). *Organizational ethnography: Studying the complexity of everyday life*. Sage.

Zaun, N. (2018). States as Gatekeepers in EU Asylum Politics- Explaining the Non-adoption of a Refugee Quota System. *JCMS- Journal of Common Market Studies, 56*(1), 44-62.

Zembylas, M. (2010). Agamben's Theory of Biopower and Immigrants/Refugees/Asylum-seekers: Discourses of Citizenship and the Implications for Curriculum Theorizing. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 26*(2), 31–45

Zetter, R. (2005) 'Le politiche d'integrazione dei rifugiati', In A. D'Angelo & A. Ricci. (Eds) *Diritti rifugiati in Europa* (pp. 41-76). Roma: Relazioninternazionali.

Zetter, R. (2007). More labels, fewer refugees: Remaking the refugee label in an era of globalization. *Journal of refugee studies, 20*(2), 172-192.

Zetter, R. (2015). *Protection in crisis: Forced migration and protection in a global era.* Migration Policy Institute.

Ziarek, E. (2008). Bare life on strike: Notes on the biopolitics of race and gender. *Quarterly, 107*(1), 89–105.

Žižek, S. (2016). Against the Double Blackmail: Refugees, Terror and Other Troubles with the Neighbours. Penguin UK.

Appendices

Appendix A1 – Field note example

Observation protocol   **Date**: 17/05/2017

I have arrived a bit later (9,15). When I arrived P, L and C were in their offices. The first thing I heard was B having an argument with one of the migrants. They were talking in a mix of Italian and English and the only thing I could understand was that she could not give him more money because his time with the project was expired and this would have been a problem concerning accounting procedures. B said the they have done everything for him extending his time as much as they could and helping him. He was not able to integrate, learn Italian and find a job. For what I heard the guy was speaking very loudly and seemed very angry trying to protest. I couldn't see who he was. I've left my bag in R's office and we looked at each other. P looked at me with a strange expression to say something like: "what a mess!"	I was worried that my late would have been a problem. Once there no one seemed to care about because something more interesting was happening. The shouting inside B's office made me think: "oh good this is a good start" and that this was the second time I could hear S discussing with one of the beneficiaries so loud. Everyone was silent, doing their own things. P was basically pretending to look busy, but she was trying to understand wat was happening, trying to catch up as many information she could. I just took a chair and sit. I waited for someone to talk first before saying anything. I was curious and waited for the consequences of this event.
B came out of her office and get inside P and C office. She looked exhausted and desperate probably because she was having problem of communication with the guy. She said that she doesn't know what to do because it was impossible to find a solution to this situation. He did not want to cooperate. I asked her if she needed any help from me. He was an English speaker as I am. She was just waiting for me (or at least this was what it seemed like by looking at her reaction). She said "thank you, help me please! I don't know what to do anymore!"	At the beginning, I saw her face I thought that she looks always tired. I can speak English (no one can speak a good English inside the centre), so this was the perfect situation that would have given me the chance to do something important for two reasons: do something good for the organization that would have made me earn their trust & have a chat and a direct encounter with one of the guy benefitting from the centre services.
We moved into the meeting room, a big and bright room, the walls are empty. An oval table in the middle of the room with 10 blue office seats all around. B sat at the extreme left of the table. I sat on her right while A took a seat far from us, one seat was dividing us. He was all dressed in black, he was nervous, eager to continue the talking. He gave me his hand and looked at me with a mix of sadness and angriness, He was ready to "fight".	I was nervous; I didn't know if I could give the help they need. Moreover, I didn't know the reason of the talking I just heard something, but I needed some explanation. S asked me to do the interpreter and translate what she was trying to say to him. Unfortunately, I didn't have the chance to take any note during the conversation and this was scaring me because I was sure that plenty information would have emerged during the conversation. I took a deep breath and sit down.

Appendix A2 – Interview Guide

Staff Members

• What is your work experience? How did you get started?

• Have you worked in other organizations like this?

• What are your duties / what is your role within the organisation?

• How would you describe your work? What do you like about this job?

• What are the main difficulties this work presents? Critical aspects of the SPRAR

• How do you feel about your job?

• What does it mean to be a SPRAR worker? Which features should a good worker have?

• What distinguishes a good SPRAR worker from a bad SPRAR Worker?

• Who are the migrants for you? How would you describe your relationship with them?

• How would you describe integration? What is integration for you?

• What do you think is important to do to promote migrants' integration?

• What is the best way to promote migrants' integration?

• What do you actively do to promote integration?

• Are there any characteristics that a migrant should have in order to be successful?

• Who are the (potentially) successful beneficiaries? And who is not?

• Do you want to tell me a story of a success and a failure? What do you think about it?

Migrants/Refugees

• What is your experience as a refugee/asylum seeker? (Why/When/How…)

• How did you feel when you arrived in Italy?

• What are the challenges of being a refugee/asylum seeker?

• How the organisation is helping you?

• How can the organisation improve its work?

• How would you describe your relationship with the staff members?

• How would you describe your relationship with the organisation?

• What are your expectations? What do you expect from Italy/local community?

• Could you describe a typical day within your house/flat?

Appendix A3 – Interview example

[...]

SIMON: In the West, the last coast...see...

MARCO: So, you made this route?

SIMON: Si, we come to North Africa here, so is very very far, very far distance so I think I said where is this have happened this way, I will not have money to go back [inc.] you can try it, [but if you try to go back (?)] you will die in the desert nobody will take you back in the desert, so they let me join 'em because in the desert to Libia is not that far, watch you know, so...we come to that place in Tripoli, we stayed there in the place named [inc.] so we're living there, those people [inc.] used to come out, collect us and they have work, to go and work for them...so...if you have work he will come and collect two three five people in your car [inc.] many many people have gone, they will just pick up one from the checkpoints, to come and arrest us the guard put us in the house and they say it's prison, they're going and put us there, and they say if you don't have money you will die here, there's no food you will see some people are dying there with no food, no medication, not only me...thousand people in the prison, no food no medication nothing...you know, but this one [inc.] man come he says he's looking for people who can go and work for him so fortunately he choose me...so he paid money [inc.] he paid money so...to go out then I go and work for him...this man I work for him for one week he said that I should work for him for five months, the money I spend in the present is for five months [inc.] before I'm freed to him, when I'm working for this man he don't use to bring food for me I work all day from 7 o'clock up to 7 in the night so 7 in the morning up to 7 in the night, I said I'm tired he will not, he say no I should work he didn't care I said ok no problem I work for one week [inc-]

MARCO: What were you doing?

SIMON: Farm work, we have a big farm in Tripoli there...

MARCO: So, you knew how to do the work...

SIMON: Si...so I decide to run away from him, I don't know where, I go to one city they call [inc.] so I work there for two months then when I go for work they will change dinars and they'll give you food so is from there I, but that time every day they use to fire on 24 hours, to fire bomb, you cannot walk in the street as a black man, if they see you they will catch you, no freedom of movement, nothing...if they catch you, you see somebody you have [inc.] they spit on you, we no say nothing, there is small law, that country is lawless you know...any

kind of bad thing you see in that country so I work there for two months, the man [go [inc.] and] gave me one small room for me to sleep there when I work for the first month I [inc.] to give me the money, go to him to pick that for me go to him to keep the money for me, you know when the money finish I asked him for the money I say give me the money I want to do something he slapped me saying that don't have nothing for me and see I talk him and he would kill me [inc.] if I talk, he would kill me you know, then is there…I leave that house again then I went to the place again…then I went to that place again that to I work for one month I have money then I see people, I have dinars I heard that people is crossing the sea to come to Europe, I say uh I say yeah [inc.] I don't come, in my mind don't give up to me to go to Europe because I don't have that money to come to Europe, in my country if you want to apply for visa is very difficult then they say leave that is not visa you will just use the boat but is so risky you know, is so devastating then they told me the price when I work for that one month then I pay the money to the guy then the guy propose to put me...

MARCO: You already knew this guy?

SIMON: No, I don't know that guy, so I pay the money to him he use to work that port to bring people he say [inc.] man, he says yeah [inc.] off, one group until [inc.] boats, he says [inc.] that group ask my boys, so when I'm there I pay the money to him he was supposed to put me in the next one week, he then put me after 3 weeks then when the times' coming he puts us, puts us on the boat then we came, they've come and rescue us...you know...the time they bring us in ██████ here...

MARCO: So, you arrived in ██████ directly?

SIMON: Yes...

MARCO: You knew that you were in ██████?

SIMON: No no, we didn't know it was my first time in Italy

MARCO: What did you thought when you saw ██████ for the first time?

SIMON: You know, I didn't know it was ██████, is one cross [a man] there who is working (?) in this port, he can't speak [English], the I talked to him, si is ██████...but the time I was in my country you know we used to watch the game, [inc.] football yeah, so I know ██████, I know Ac Milan, I know Palermo, I know Napoli, I know all this Football Clubs. So, I was aah ok ok, I said yeah, it's ██████ ok...

Appendix A4 – Organisation consent form

The Open University

Business School

Pastoral power and the integration of migrants: an exploratory study of discourses and practices of integration within Italian refugee reception centres

Organization Consent Form

- I have read/ the researcher has read to me the Research information sheet and I have been given the opportunity to ask questions. ☐

- I understand that the organization's participation is voluntary, that participants are free to withdraw and that they will not be penalized for withdrawing nor questioned about their motivation ☐

- The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained to me and that participants and interviewees will be assigned a reference code number and a pseudonym, and all data will be anonymized ☐

- I understand that the research data gathered may be archived and that in its aggregated form may be used in journal papers, conference papers, presentations, exhibitions, books or other publications ☐

- I understand that if I or other organization members (employees, volunteers and clients) will be asked to participate in an interview a separate consent form will need to be signed for interviews ☐

- I understand that the researcher will observe and keep note of the various activities and interactions that take place in this organization ☐

- I, along with the Researcher, consent to the organization participating in this research. ☐

- I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I request this. ☐

Name: Researcher name:

Signature: Signature:

Date:

Appendix A5 – Interview Consent form

Department of People and Organisations

Interview Consent form

Pastoral power and the integration of migrants: an exploratory study of discourses and practices of integration within Italian refugee reception centres

Name of participant:

Name of principal investigator(s): Marco Distinto

- I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me ☐
- I have been given the opportunity to ask questions and I have been provided with a written statement in plain language to keep ☐
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and will involve taking part in an interview which will be audio-recorded ☐
- I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement ☐
- I acknowledge that:

    (1) the possible effects of participating in this research have been explained to my satisfaction; ☐

    (2) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided ☐

    (3) the project is for the purpose of research ☐

(4) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I
provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements ☐

(5) I have been informed that with my consent the data generated will be
stored on The Open Universities secure server and will be destroyed after
ten years ☐

(6) any data from me will be anonymized in any publications arising from
the research ☐

(7) I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will
be forwarded to me, should I request this ☐

I consent to any interview(s) with Marco Distinto being audio-recorded

☐ yes   ☐ no

I wish to receive a copy of the summary project report on research findings

☐ yes   ☐ no

Please give your details of the preferred way to receive a copy of the research findings
(email address or home address)

Participant signature: Date:

Appendix A6 – Interviews participants

Janus Centre's Staff

Name	Role
Beatrice	Project manager
Paolo	Social worker – employment and integration advisor
Patrizia	Legal advisor
Carlo	Social worker – Reception and socio-sanitary advisor
Luisa	Social worker – Reception, relationship with schools
Rachele	Caseworker
Moussa	Cultural mediator

Cardea Centre's staff

Name	Role
Vanessa	Project manager
Fabio	Social worker – Socio-sanitary, employment and integration advisor
Alice	Social worker – Reception, relationship with schools
Elisa	Social worker – Reception, economic administration
Mirko	Legal advisor
Laura	Caseworker
Eleonora	Psychologist, psychotherapist
Viola	Social worker – Reception
Fatima	Cultural Mediator

Migrants

Name	Country of origin
Kamal	Ghana
Emmanuel	Gambia
Darren	Mali
Jennifer	Nigeria
Kunta	Gambia
Marianne	Syria
Simon	Sierra Leone
Amina	Syria
Yussu (no audio)	Ghana