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## Migration



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# Migration

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**Due to their quantity and selectivity, migration processes are increasingly relevant to planning processes. Migration leads to demographic and social changes; strategies of migrant integration must therefore take into account their heterogeneity and the spatial selectivity of their residential location. The different definitions of migrant status in the statistics must also be considered.**

# 1 Introduction

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Migration is an important aspect of contemporary societies. In 2013, according to data from the United Nations, 232 million people (3.2% of the world population) lived outside the country in which they were born, compared with 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990 (UN 2013).

The relevance of migration processes for spatial planning is due to its selectivity, which is reflected in categories such as age, gender, and educational status, but also in the spatial selectivity of the regions of departure and arrival. Since migration decisions are usually made early in a person's adult life, regions of departure are affected by accelerated aging while regions of arrival experience a rejuvenation effect.

Regional selectivity is evident in the preference of certain regions due to structural characteristics. For example, international migration is primarily oriented towards large agglomeration areas, so that the share of foreign nationals in urban and rural regions differ considerably (▷ *Agglomeration, agglomeration area*). Internal migration is also mostly oriented towards agglomeration areas, whether by changing a residential location from the core city into the city's environs (▷ *Suburbanisation*) or by leaving rural peripheral regions in favour of the cities (▷ *Reurbanisation*). For the rural regions of origin, that process has triggered an accelerated demographic aging and population shrinkage process (▷ *Demographic change; ▷ Shrinking cities*), which can negatively impact the maintenance of public ▷ *Infrastructure* (▷ *Provision of public services*) and general future prospects (Berlin Institute for Population and Development [*Berlin Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung*] 2013).

But also in the regions of arrival, public infrastructure has to be adapted to immigrants and population growth. Due to the age selective influx of population, the educational and childcare infrastructure needs to be expanded, which is a challenge for many large cities. In addition, the growing heterogeneity of urban populations in the cities must be considered in urban planning and governance. Notably the accommodation and social integration of refugees will remain challenging for German cities in the years to come.

## 2 Definitions and analytical perspectives on migration

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Migration, derived from the Latin *migrare*, is generally defined as a movement in space connected with a change of residence. In recent years, the Latin term *Migration* (migration) has prevailed over the German term *Wanderung* (as in *Einwanderung* [immigration] or *Auswanderung* [emigration]) in everyday and professional language in Germany, whereby everyday language usually refers to international migration while professional language also includes internal migration (Han 2010: 5).

This is essentially contrasted with forms of ▷ *Mobility* not connected with a change of residence, such as the daily or weekly commute to work. Changing one's residence implies a finality of the mobility process that requires migrants to reorient themselves to a new socio-spatial environment the farther they move. This especially affects migration over national borders, known as international migration, while processes of internal migration – changing residences within national borders – is seen as requiring less integration effort from the migrant

and also less support by state institutions.

Another important differentiation is the duration of migration. Although registering and deregistering a place of residence is taken as an indication of permanent migration in Germany, a differentiation between long-term and short-term migration has prevailed internationally. The commonly used recommendation of the United Nations distinguishes between long-term migration if one's permanent residence is changed for at least one year, and temporary or short-term migration if a residence is changed for less than a year (UN 1998: 18).

However, this binary differentiation, which is geared towards administrative needs, cannot grasp the complexity of modern migration. For example, due to ▷ *Globalisation* and the innovations of ▷ *Information and communication technology*, multilocal lifestyles are increasingly common. Many migrant workers – as well as retirees or migration families – maintain more than one residence and orient their everyday routines and their lives to more than one reference space (cf. Pries 2010).

A differentiating criterium that is relevant to policy and planning is the migrants' legal status as defined by their residence permit. This results in important differentiations regarding participation in the ▷ *Labour market*, political participation, and whether they are eligible for social support or can claim benefits. Before obtaining a residence permit, one must have the opportunity to enter a state territory, such as through an entry visa or intergovernmental agreements, for example the Schengen Agreement. Migrants that enter without permission, stay in a state territory without a valid residence permit, or pursue gainful employment without possessing the appropriate work permit, are designated 'irregular migrants'. Under public international law, refugees and asylum seekers have a special position, since their refugee status gives them special rights to enter and reside in a state territory under the Geneva Convention on Refugees or pursuant to the right to political asylum.

The question of who is a migrant in a statistical or administrative sense cannot be unequivocally answered (see Table 1). There are various strategies and documentation methods, depending on research interest and on the availability of data. Many international organisations such as the United Nations, the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), and the EU (▷ *European Union*) (Schäfer/Brückner 2008) use the 'foreign born' concept, which defines migration by a birthplace lying outside national borders. In Germany, foreign citizenship was long used as a key indicator for identifying migrants. But this excluded important groups, such as ethnic German resettlers; naturalised migrants; and second- and third-generation migrants, who are usually German citizens. In light of efforts towards integration policy and social planning, the criterium of the migration background was developed and, since the beginning of the millennium, has been adopted in the various population statistics and specialised statistics. In Germany, the term encompasses 'all foreign nationals and naturalised former foreign nationals, anyone immigrating to the current territory of the Federal Republic of Germany as a German after 1949, and anyone born in Germany as a German who has at least one parent who is an immigrant, or who was born in Germany as a foreign national (Destatis 2015: 6). Depending on the particular interest or problem area, alternative definitions are used in the various specialised statistics. For example, statistics on children and adolescents also consider the family language so that the need for language support can be adequately estimated (VDSSt [Union of German Municipal Statisticians] 2013).

## Migration

**Table 1: Population according to migration status and gender – results of the 2013 microcensus (in thousands)**

Migration status		Total	Male	Female
Total population		80,611	39,454	41,157
1	Germans without migration background	64,074	31,162	32,911
2	People with migration background in a narrow sense	15,913	7,984	7,930
2.1	People with personal migration experience	10,490	5,135	5,355
2.1.1	Foreign nationals	5,489	2,748	2,741
2.1.2	Germans	5,001	2,387	2,614
2.1.2.1	German (late) repatriates	3,106	1,481	1,625
2.1.2.2	Naturalised citizens	1,894	906	989
2.2	People with no migration experience	5,424	2,849	2,575
2.2.1	Foreign nationals	1,338	723	615
2.2.2	Germans	4,085	2,125	1,960
2.2.2.1	Naturalised citizens	464	226	238
2.2.2.2	Germans whose parent(s) have a migration background	3,621	1,899	1,722

Source: Destatis 2015: 585

## 3 Types of international migration

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In recent years, the number of international migrants has increased, as has their diversity. Due to globalisation and the rapid innovations in communication technology, motives and migration strategies have changed. The fluidity of the processes, i.e. the lack of finality in migration decisions, is one of these decisive changes which affect settlement and integration processes in urban neighbourhoods. The following section gives a brief overview of the essential motives of international migration and the migration trends to Germany.

### 3.1 Labour migration

Labour migration includes all forms of migration with the goal of gainful employment. From an academic viewpoint, labour migration is mostly seen as the result of a rational cost-benefit calculation that triggers a movement from regions with low wages and poor job opportunities to regions with good job opportunities and high wages. Labour migration is normally highly structured by the receiving country, since not only the immigrants' entry but their access to the labour market can be configured according to the needs of that country. The intake of contract workers into the former German Democratic Republic and recruitment of guest workers into the Federal Republic of Germany during the 1960s and 1970s were the largest labour migration processes in Germany after the Second World War.

In the wake of ongoing technological development and the increasing tertiarisation of society, the need for a highly qualified workforce has increased in all industrialised nations in recent years. Although immigration was possible for low-qualified, temporary activities even after the recruitment stop of 1973, the adoption of the Immigration Act (*Zuwanderungsgesetz*) of 2003 and the liberalisations for labour immigration that have occurred since then constitute a paradigm shift of German migration politics. Since 2004, the share of foreign workforce has significantly increased in the German labour market. Those labour immigrants are either from third countries or from the Central and Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007. But there is also a growing number of workers from the Southern European countries who have been badly affected by the financial crisis (BA [Federal Employment Agency] 2014).

### 3.2 Educational migration

Educational migration means immigrating to receive an education or further training, and is primarily performed by students. The number of international students doubled from two to four million between 2000 and 2010, and Germany is a significant host country, with around 204,000 overseas students as of 2013 (DAAD [German Academic Exchange Service] / DZHW [German Centre for Higher Education Research and Science Studies] 2014: 8 et seq., 72 et seq.). Since the turn of the millennium, considerable efforts have been made to adjust the German higher education system to international standards and recruit students from abroad. Many international graduates of German universities decide to stay in Germany, at least temporarily, after completing their studies. Empirical studies have determined that half of international students intend to stay, and that between 25% and 50% actually do so (DAAD/DZHW 2014: 40 et seq.). In the context of efforts to attract highly qualified migrant workers, international students are an especially interesting group, since they have already gone through important phases of the acculturation process so that can expect fewer integration problems than is the case for new immigrants.

### 3.3 Family reunification and marriage migration

Another important reason for migration is family reunification. This type of migration developed in the context of labour migration. One family member pioneered in migrating and establishing a living abroad. Then, spouses and children migrated to reunite in the destination country. Due to globalisation and the increasing mobilisation of society, transnational relationships are increasing worldwide. In Germany, in 2012 there were 44,175 binational marriages between one German and one non-German partner, which equates to 11.4% of all marriages (Association of Binational

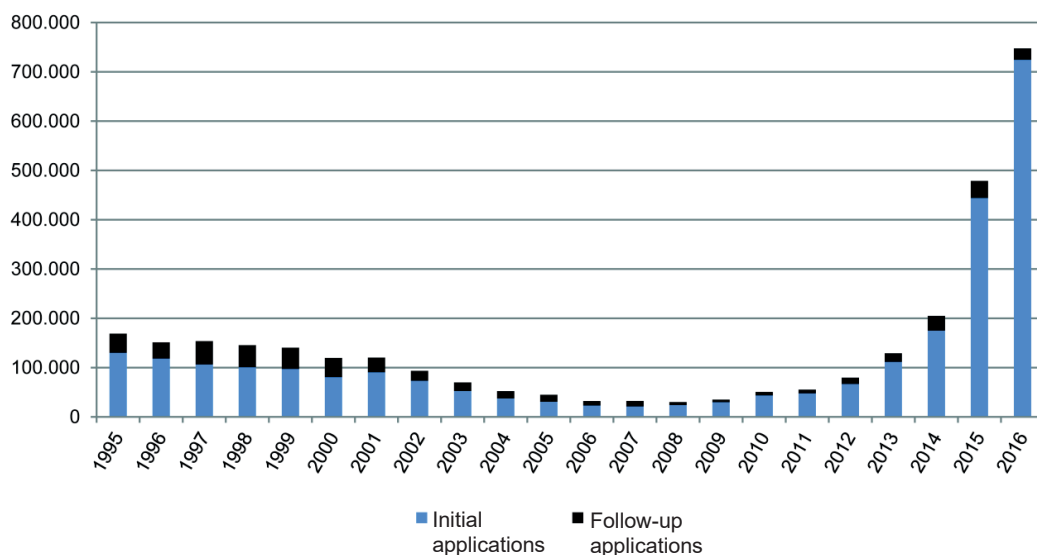
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Families and Partnerships [*Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften*] 2014). Marriage migration also occurs as a consequence of migration, when first or second generation migrants prefer a spouse from the country of origin. In Germany, this motive for marriage migration is frequently encountered with migrants of Turkish and Russian origin (*BMI* [Federal Ministry of the Interior] / *BAMF* [Federal Office for Migration and Refugees] 2014: 90 et seq.).

### 3.4 Refugees and asylum

The number of refugees worldwide has been increasing for years. Owing to Europe's close proximity to many regions of war and conflict, the number of asylum seeking migrants and refugees is high. The reception of refugees in the European Union is legally based on the Geneva Convention, the Dublin agreement of the European Union, and national legislation (for example, Article 16a of the Basic Law of Germany (*Grundgesetz, GG*), which grants protection from political prosecution). After the Second World War, Germany had a relatively liberal asylum legislation, just until the dissolution of the former Socialist blocks and the wars in Yugoslavia stimulated increasing arrival numbers. This led to a governance change, known as the 'asylum compromise' of 1992, which aimed to both accelerate the asylum procedure and restrict access to the asylum application process (cf. Han 2010: 185 et seq.). As a result of that compromise, the number of applicants decreased drastically: from a maximum of more than 400,000 in 1992 to a minimum of 20,000 in 2007. Since then, the number of asylum applicants has drastically increased, notably from 2012 on (see Fig. 1). For example, around 110,000 initial applications for asylum were submitted in 2013; around 173,000 in 2014; 441,899 in 2015; and a total of 722,370 in 2016. In 2015, asylum seekers' main countries of origin were Syria, Albania, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq; in 2016, asylum seekers from Syria and Afghanistan dominated, while the number of applications from Albania and Kosovo strongly declined, as a consequence of their classification as safe countries of origin in October 2015 (*BMI/BAMF* 2014: 73 et seq.; *BAMF* 2015, *BAMF* 2016). Asylum seekers are distributed among the federal states based on a quota system, the so-called 'Königstein key' (*Königsteiner Schlüssel*), in consideration of the number of inhabitants and the economic strength of the federal state. Asylum seekers must take up residency in the places to which they are assigned. Since finding accommodation and supplying them with adequate living space has become increasingly problematic, due not only to the lack of inexpensive accommodation, but also to the sometimes vehement protests of the resident population against the building of refugee shelters. Since then, however, social groups have also formed which actively support refugees, social integration and promote anti-discrimination work and the reduction of prejudice.

Figure 1: Annual asylum applications since 1995



Source: BAMF 2015: 4; BAMF 2016: 2

### 3.5 Migration of ethnic minorities

Ethnic minorities in Europe frequently originate from is the formation of nation states and changes of state borders. The resulting conflicts frequently generate migration pressure in the disadvantaged minority group. For the German context the migration of German minorities from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They migrated to Germany as ethnic German resettlers after the end of the Second World War until the mid-2000s, within the framework of the Federal Expellee Law (*Bundesvertriebenengesetz, BVFG*). They formed a relatively privileged group of immigrants within the migration population, since they were given all the rights of German citizens. However, many of these three million repatriates of German origin had to combat serious integration problems that sometimes continued into the second and third generation (Centre for the Prevention of Youth Crime [*Arbeitsstelle Kinder- und Jugendkriminalitätsprävention*] 2002; Dietz/Roll 1998). The settlement pattern of ethnic German resettlers within Germany indicates spatial concentration processes, which result from the controlled distribution among federal states and from concentration processes encouraged by migrant networks.

### 3.6 Migration for lifestyle purposes

Another type of migration that involves fewer numbers but is interesting from a planning perspective is migration for lifestyle purposes, which is frequently also called 'retirement migration', since it mainly comprises (younger) retirees and pensioners. The phenomenon was first observed in the US, followed by a growth of the phenomenon and academic research on it in the European Mediterranean region (Kaiser 2011; Williams/King 1997). Lifestyle or retirement migrants relocate to an environment with a more attractive climate and natural surroundings,



while often maintaining their previous residence. Migration movements for lifestyle purposes can also be observed in a domestic context: in the Bavarian lakes or the German Central Uplands, for example. In areas with populations that are otherwise stagnating or shrinking, retirement migrants are quite welcome and their settlement is sometimes actively encouraged (such as in Plauen and Görlitz) (Dörries 2012; Friedrich 2008). From a planning viewpoint, both the everyday organisation between multiple (temporarily vacant) residences are relevant, as are the effects of a controlled influx of retirement migrants into the local economy and society.

## 4 Theoretical approaches

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To understand migration processes, a number of theoretical approaches have been developed that are each rooted in a particular historical context (see Table 2). During the first half of the last century, research interest focused on the causes, circumstances, and consequences of migration, both for the individual and for the migrants' regions of origin and destination. Neoclassical approaches following economic logic, such as the 'rational choice approach', represented one such focus. Migration was seen as a reaction to regional disparities ( $\triangleright$  *Disparities, spatial*) that were operationalised primarily through the wage difference and availability of jobs. Expanding those economic components to include social and cultural factors gave rise to the 'push-pull models' (such as Lee 1966). These models focus on decisive 'push' and 'pull' factors as well as intervening hindrances that might hinder the realisation of migration decisions. Modern adaptations of the rational choice approaches also consider the incorporation of the migrating individual into larger social aggregates and conceptualise the cost-benefit calculation as a family decision (cf. Stark 1991).

During the 1980s, international migration movements changed in the context of economic and political globalisation. Accordingly, newer approaches focus on the relations of migrants' regions of origin and destination, and on the reciprocal effects of changing framework conditions and individual migration decisions (such as the migration system approach, cf. Mabogunje 1970; Kritiz/Zlotnik 1992). As part of that process, the migrants are also increasingly perceived as social stakeholders, and research following these approaches examines the effects of their transnational way of life on regions of origin and destination (such as the network approach, chain migration, and the transnational approach). Since the new migration patterns are also often associated with new integration patterns, research interests were increasingly tied to theoretical approaches on integration and critically examined the receiving population and its institutions and their role in the integration of migrants. For example the 'migration regime approach', which focuses on the interplay between stakeholder actions and institutional control and regulation mechanisms, thematises the constructivist character of migration and various migrant groups (Pott/Tsianos

2014).

Table 2: Migration theories over time

Historical epoch	Industrialisation, industrial era	Transition to the post-industrial era	Postmodern
<b>Observed phenomenon</b>	Rural-to-city migration, emigration	Multidirectional migration while maintaining social relationships in the country of origin, spatial and temporal persistence of migration systems	Transnational migration, spatial and temporal persistence of migration systems
<b>Focus of research</b>	Conditions and consequences of (international) migration	Conditions and consequences of (international) migration, perpetuation of migration movements	Independent dynamics of international migration, transnational social spaces, transnational integration processes and construction of identity
<b>Observation perspectives / key assumptions</b>	Container space, homo oeconomicus	Relational notion of space, human subjectivity and sociability	Relational and constructivist notion of space, action orientation of the individual
<b>Theoretical approaches (selection)</b>	Push-pull approach, rational choice approach, value-expectancy theory, new economics of migration	World-systems theory, theory of the new international division of labour, migration system approach, network approach	Migration system approach, network approach, transnational approach, migration regime approach, integration of social 'metatheories'

Source: The author

# 5 Effects of migration

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From the perspective of urban and spatial planning, various effects of (international) migration are to be considered that differ according to the type of region and the type of migrant groups.

## 5.1 Regional selectivity of migration and brain drain

Due to the selectivity of migration according to age, gender, and educational level, many regions of origin suffer a sustained loss of human capital (brain drain) and an unfavourable change in the age and gender structure of the population, while destination regions win out in both aspects. One example of domestic migration is the net East-West migration of around 1.7 million people within Germany after 1989, which considerably accelerated the demographic aging process in the East and led to a significant surplus of men (up to 25% in the 18 to 35 age group) in many (mostly rural) regions of East Germany, (cf. Berlin Institute for Population and Development 2007).

## 5.2 Regional concentration of migration and heterogenisation

International migration has also had very different effects within Germany, caused by the various motives and destinations of the different groups of immigrants. The regional concentration of the 1960s and 1970s labour migrants in West German industrial agglomerations resulted in a settlement pattern which is still relevant today, as also the descendants of those immigrants stayed put (see Table 3). For example, three-fourths of all Turks live in the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and Hesse. A similarly strong concentration can be observed for Italians and citizens from former Yugoslavia (*Ausländerzentralregister, AZR*). In contrast, only marginal percentages of those nationalities live in the East German Federal states (except Berlin), where migrants from the successor states of the Soviet Union (11.3 %) and from Vietnam (23.5%) have above-average representation.

Ethnic heterogeneity is mostly an urban phenomenon, while ▷ *Rural areas* have a relatively small percentage of foreign nationals. This poses additional challenges for cities regarding their integration policies.

**Table 3: Proportions of selected nationalities per federal state as a percentage of the total of each nationality across Germany, 2013**

Federal state	Share of foreign nationals	of which				
		Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia	Italy	Former Soviet Union	Vietnam
Baden-Württemberg	17.3	17.4	23.5	30.3	12.2	7.8
Bavaria	17.1	13.1	20.4	15.7	15.5	15.6
Berlin	6.4	7.2	5.6	2.6	7.7	20.5
Brandenburg	0.8	0.1	0.3	0.2	2.3	3.9
Bremen	1.2	1.6	0.8	0.4	1.3	0.7
Hamburg	3.3	3.2	2.9	1.1	3.5	2.2
Hesse	10.6	10.5	10.1	12.1	8.1	5.5
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	0.9	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.7	2.4
Lower Saxony	6.9	6.0	5.4	4.4	9.1	9.7
North Rhine-Westphalia	25.7	33.6	24.0	23.1	22.4	8.3
Rhineland-Palatinate	4.3	4.0	3.7	5.0	4.7	4.3
Saarland	1.1	0.7	0.7	3.4	1.0	0.5
Saxony	1.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	3.8	9.2
Saxony-Anhalt	0.7	0.1	0.4	0.2	1.7	4.7
Schleswig-Holstein	2.0	1.9	1.1	0.8	3.2	1.2
Thuringia	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.2	1.8	3.2

Source: The author, based on Destatis 2014

### 5.3 Residential segregation

International migration is mostly geared towards large cities and specific neighbourhoods within those cities (▷ *Neighbourhood/neighbourhood development*), so the percentages of foreign nationals within a city can vary widely. Today's concentration of migrants of various origins can be traced through their immigration motives and paths. Although the guest workers of the 1960s initially lived in barracks and workers' settlements, they began looking for housing once their families were allowed to join them – mostly in the older residential areas of the inner cities that were still unrenovated at that time, many of which stood vacant because they were so unattractive. The German late repatriates of the 1980s and 1990s frequently moved into the peripherally located large residential areas on the edges of cities that primarily arose as part of social housing (cf. Farwick 2001; Kapphan 2001). Due to the low rent, those residential areas were mainly inhabited by low income households and were soon stigmatised as social trouble spots (▷ *Socially Integrative City*). Attitudes and prejudices held by the more privileged population of the other parts of the city towards the ethnic and social groups living there are projected onto the residential neighbourhood, which is then avoided. The residents of the stigmatised neighbourhood appear isolated compared to the city as a whole, and concentrate their contacts and communication within their own neighbourhood. Since the neighbourhood sometimes has no political lobby and the needs of its residents are not articulated, the interests of the neighbourhood population regarding education, healthcare, leisure activities, and transport cannot be implemented in municipal policy due to competition with neighbourhoods who communicate more clearly (Han 2010: 242 et seq.).

### 5.4 Participation and discrimination based on origin

Migrants are exposed to general prejudice and discrimination more frequently than other population groups. Discrimination can be determined by legal conditions, such as limited opportunities for non-German citizens to participate in politics, failure to adapt opportunities for education and jobs due to restrictive recognition of educational qualifications and degrees, or discrimination in education because there is no option to consider language deficiencies. This results in a distinctly below-average participation of migrants in important areas of public life, such as politics, media, education, or public administration (cf. Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration [*Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration*] 2011: 132 et seq.). Instead, the designation of issues and planning approaches affecting migrants continue to be determined by non-migrants.

The prejudices that natives feel towards migrants result from the need to secure their own social position. Prejudices and stereotypes are buttressed by structural conditions that exclude migrants, such as a lack of opportunities to earn a living and, consequently, dependence on state benefits, which is the case for asylum seekers. Moreover, residential ▷ *Segregation* reinforces stereotypes, since most prejudices can be easily confirmed through the spatial concentration of socially disadvantaged migrants. Individual prejudices are expressed in turn through discriminating behaviour on the part of teachers, landlords, urban planners, politicians, editors, etc.

## 6 Implications for spatial planning

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Migration continually poses a challenge for spatial  $\triangleright$  *Planning* which, unlike other population processes, is frequently characterised by its high speed of change. This is currently exemplified most prominently by the influx of asylum seekers and the immense effects for the housing market and social integration. But the opposite movement – namely, the selective exodus of the population (from rural areas, for example) – also requires responses by planners that take the spatial aspects into account, such as when dealing with vacant properties or reorganising public service provision.

International migration has led to increasing heterogeneity among the residential population in Germany, which calls for differentiated planning approaches that consider socio-spatial aspects. To that end, the spatial focus should be on the level of the residential neighbourhood, with its opportunities for direct intercultural encounters in which the modalities of cohabitation are developed. When dealing with ethnically segregated neighbourhoods, planning approaches that contribute to a more equal distribution of migrants in the urban space through ‘social engineering’ measures (thereby following the ‘mantra of mixing’) compete with approaches that emphasise such neighbourhoods as ‘neighbourhoods of arrival’ in which immigrants can get a first orientation and inexpensive housing options (cf. Münch 2014: 332 et seq.). Funding programmes such as the ‘Socially Integrative City’ also decisively foresee measures that contribute to social cohesion and support the active, equal participation of all population groups in neighbourhood development programmes (cf. Kocks 2014: 270). The academic change of perspective – from a rather homogenising idea of integration to the acknowledgement of social diversity – exhibits notions of urban diversity that emphasise the productivity of cultural diversity and promote the collective identity of all citizens and residents. Examples are the guiding principles *Diversity is our Strength* in Toronto or *The city belongs to everyone* in Antwerp.

It has become clear that increasing diversity through migration represents a challenge that affects various political and planning areas that do not consider themselves primarily responsible for integration issues. The response to this challenge is an increasingly cross-sectional approach, which is able to integrate various sectoral perspectives, or those directed at the entire city, into the planning process. The administrative and planning authorities also need better intercultural training to develop an unbiased perspective on migration, integration, and heterogeneous lifestyles and to allow them to be included in planning approaches.

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