

The Bristol Integration Framework

THE EVERYDAY INTEGRATION PROJECT



The Everyday Integration Team
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and Natalie Hyacinth
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Acknowledgments

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The Bristol Integration Framework is available for download at www.everydayintegration.org.uk

Introduction

Bristol is a lively, prosperous city with a diverse population that makes for a vibrant civic, political, economic, and cultural life. It's also a city with pockets of economic stagnation, segregation, and neighbourhood-based deprivation that impede mobility across local and social spaces. Bristol is often characterised as a city of villages. Some neighbourhoods were in fact villages, swallowed up as the city pushed outwards. Others came into their identities within lines drawn by city planners, and still others took shape along immigrant, lifestyle, or socio-economic lines. Residents take pride in their neighbourhoods and the spaces where they come together, but some neighbourhoods are also stigmatised by their associations with entrenched economic, racialised, and spatial forms of exclusion. Bristol's unique combination of post-immigration diversity, a large transient student population, areas of deprivation in the centre and outlying estates, its history of social unrest and protest, and a vibrant arts and music scene make it a critical site for thinking creatively about integration.

Our approach to integration is inclusive. It involves – and invests – everyone to make Bristol a more accessible and more inclusive city.

Our approach to integration is bottom-up. It builds on the everyday work of integration Bristolians are already doing and looks to remove the things that get in the way of that work. Our approach is local. We see integration as something that occurs in and across neighbourhoods, cultural communities, and communities of shared interest in the city.

We acknowledge that integration is a much-disputed term – one even that many would avoid because of its association with assimilation. But we think the term can be put to use in helpful ways if we are clear about what it is, and what it is not, about. For us, integration approaches have too often been top-down, fixated on the national at the expense of the local, they have scapegoated particular groups as 'problem groups', and focused narrowly on (reforming) cultural values and identities. These approaches all begin with a deficit logic: there is an integration problem that needs to be fixed. Our approach to integration begins with a surplus logic: integration already occurs through the routine practices, mobilities, and exchanges of everyday life, and the things that need fixing are the institutional and other barriers that get in the way of this. Our approach looks to learn from these everyday practices to reimagine integration in a bottom-up way that includes everyone and learns from and responds to local contexts.

Our approach seeks to identify ways in which local government, community organisations, and local businesses can facilitate these everyday practices, exchanges and mobilities that make up integration and help remove the barriers that get in the way of them.

In the pages that follow we present an Integration Framework for Bristol to help realise these objectives. Our Framework is committed to channelling the knowledge we have in our communities into structures of local governance in Bristol so that bespoke integration interventions can be directed back to those communities where they're most needed. Our aim is not to design an integration policy but an integration process: durable but flexible processes and pathways for improving integration on the ground in Bristol.

Our Framework has two parts.

Part I outlines the evidence we collected and the knowledge we co-produced with our Community Partners which we use to develop and formulate our Everyday Integration methodologies.

Part II operationalises those methodologies to elaborate a Framework for Integration that feeds knowledge from varied communities into structures of local governance and enables collaborative, bespoke interventions to be made where they're needed.



Before we get to the Framework, though, we want to say a bit about how and why we got to where we are now. We'll recount some of the plusses and minuses of recent national and local approaches to integration so we can better appreciate why a new Everyday Integration approach is needed.

Integration has had a chequered past. It's spent much of its life being part of the problem more than part of the solution. But we think our local, inclusive, and bottom-up approach to integration can change this.

The broad package of challenges integration is supposed to address – insecurity and precarity, exclusion, racism, and division, mistrust and apathy, and isolation and immobility – won't go away of their own accord.

Whilst the fixes to these problems must be local and specific and don't need to fly under the banner of 'integration', it is also prudent to join them up under the rubric of Everyday Integration so that we as a city can develop a joined-up Bristolian approach to integration.

We present this Framework to the City of Bristol: all the people who live, work, study, and play in Bristol. They are the beneficiaries of the Framework. The users of the Framework are all the people in the city who work with and for Bristol's diverse communities.

Everyday Integration was a 30-month Research Council funded collaboration between the University of Bristol, Bristol City Council (BCC), the Mayor's Office, and 38 Community Partners representing different interests and communities across Bristol. In the first part of the project, we researched the everyday contexts, practices, and mobilities of integration in Bristol. This supplied our bottom-up evidence-base for how integration works (and doesn't work). In the second part of the project, we engaged with our findings and learning in a series of Workshops with our Community Partners to co-produce the Integration Framework you see here.

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List of Abbreviations

BCC	Bristol City Council
COIC	Commission on Integration and Cohesion
CONTEST	Counter Terrorism Strategy
CORE	Commission on Race Equality
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DLCG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DLUHC	Department for Levelling Up, Housing, and Communities
IWGB	Independent Workers’ Union of Great Britain
MHCLG	Ministry for Housing, Communities, and Local Government
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
RECCAP	Race Equality Community Cohesion Action Plan
VCSE	Voluntary, Community, and Social Enterprise
WECA	The West of England Combined Authority



UK Integration Policy Context

Integration is a much-disputed concept and there isn’t a clear consensus about what integration means, what (or who) should be the focus of integration policies, or who is responsible for implementing integration. Shaggar and Somerville suggest that integration policy in the UK has typically spanned three areas: ‘national identity’, ‘immigrant outcomes’ and ‘successful communities’ (2012: 1).

Migrant assimilation and immigration control

For many, integration is irredeemably associated with assimilation – the expectation that migrants to the UK should shed their ethnic or cultural identities in order to adapt to British culture and society. Assimilationist approaches dominated UK policies on migrant settlement in the post-war period and were heavily criticised for placing the responsibility for integration on migrants, without acknowledging the role of racism and discrimination in shaping migrants’ opportunities and outcomes. Race Relations legislation in 1965, 1968, and 1976 made racial discrimination in the fields of employment, the provision of goods and services, education, and public functions unlawful. Alongside this, however, were successive legislative efforts at curbing immigration, particularly from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (Solomos 2003) through the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968, the Immigration Act 1971 (which introduced the ‘patriality’ clause that limited automatic right of abode to those with British ancestry), and the British Nationality Act 1981.

This approach tended to frame integration in terms of managing excessive numbers of (non-white) migrants to the UK, rather than focusing on structures and process of welcome, settlement, or ensuring equal opportunities or outcomes.

It is sometimes claimed that the UK does not have an integration policy – in terms of a cohesive or sustained national strategy or programme for migrant settlement and integration. It wasn’t until 2000 that the UK government introduced a policy on the settlement and integration of refugees in response to the upsurge of those seeking asylum resulting from conflicts in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sri Lanka, and Yugoslavia in the 1990s. The provisions of that policy only applied to those whose asylum applications had been granted. Policies to integrate new migrants generally, in that period and subsequently, have been characterised as relatively lacking. The All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration observed that the ‘UK’s policy approach [...] has been remarkably non-interventionist – especially when compared to those of most European countries’ (2017: 14), whilst Jacqui Broadhead argued that there is a ‘vacuum in policy towards newcomers which to an extent continues to the present day’ (2020: 3). Integration in many instances has been a side-effect of other policy priorities and concerns.

Multiculturalist approaches

One example of this was the emergence of multiculturalism, seen by its advocates as an alternative to assimilationism, and which sought to recognise and accommodate ethnic and cultural differences. This was largely (and to a certain extent continues to be) pursued at the local level (Garbaye 2019), typically as an unplanned process often at variance with national level discourses on diversity – what Stuart Hall described as ‘multicultural drift’ (Hall 2000). An early national policy expression of multiculturalism was the 1985 Swann Report, *Education for All*, which advocated a multiculturalist approach to recognising and affirming the identities of pupils within the classroom and curriculum in order to address educational inequalities among migrant and ethnic minority children. In 2000, the Parekh Report, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, set out a wide-ranging blueprint for multicultural policymaking across several domains, including education, the criminal justice system, arts, media and sport, health, employment, immigration and asylum, politics and representation, and religion and belief. The Parekh Report was not well-received by government and was followed by a political backlash against multiculturalism. Nonetheless, Meer and Modood (2009) argue that this belies the more enduring commitments to multicultural accommodation that continue to be expressed in equalities, cohesion, and education policies, reflecting a tendency in the UK for hostile political rhetoric on multiculturalism to run alongside multicultural accommodation in practice in public institutions.

The Community Cohesion agenda

Political and policy rhetoric shifted away from multiculturalism towards ‘community cohesion’ in response to the disturbances in Bradford, Burnley, and Oldham in the summer of 2001. The government-commissioned Cante report (2001) into the disturbances blamed them on the failed integration of self-segregating ethnic communities in these towns who were described as living ‘parallel lives’. This lack of integration – or cohesion – was a problem that needed addressing. The Community Cohesion agenda that ensued was based on a contact theory and values-led approach to governing ethnic and cultural diversity that focused particularly on ethnic minority and white working-class communities. This focus under New Labour was underpinned by concerns with promoting citizenship and British identity and a continued emphasis on immigration control and border security.

As in the post-war period, integration was linked again to restrictive immigration controls. The 2002 White Paper, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain* set out to achieve integration through immigration control and border security, alongside instilling a sense of citizenship amongst everyone – particularly migrants and white working-class communities.

The 2004 Strength in Diversity: Towards a Community Cohesion and Race Equality Strategy that followed re-affirmed these national values by promoting: 1) race equality; 2) active citizenship (through a civic renewal agenda); 3) shared values and community cohesion; and 4) ‘a sense of pride in being British’ (2004: 10) – making an explicit association between integration policy and the promotion of British national identity.

A local approach to integration

Local approaches to integration received national attention in the 2006 *Strong and Prosperous Communities: A Local Government White Paper* which set out a locally targeted approach to supporting those areas that were deemed to ‘be facing particular community cohesion challenges’ (2006: 12) alongside ‘effective border controls’ and ‘modern race relations legislation’ as the ‘essential building blocks’ for community cohesion. New Labour’s localist approach was echoed in the 2007 report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (COIC), *Our Shared Future*, which made a strong argument for seeing integration and cohesion as a local, place-based phenomenon. The report affirmed that ‘We strongly believe in tailored and bespoke local activity to build integration and cohesion’ (2007: 4). Following from this, the Government set out a commitment to six key principles for integration and cohesion policy (2008: 5):

- 1. a move away from a ‘one size fits all’ approach;
- 2. mainstreaming of cohesion into wider policy areas;
- 3. a national framework for local support and guidance;

- 4. integration of new migrants and existing communities;
- 5. building positive relationships; and
- 6. a stronger focus on what works. (2008: 5).

Integration as a Preventing Violent Extremism (PVE) objective

Following the 2005 London bombings, the purported problem of self-segregating ethnic minority communities emphasised in the community cohesion approach shifted to Muslims and threats of ‘homegrown terrorism’ which was followed by increased emphasis on preventing violent extremism, shared values, and national identity within integration policy. This was signalled in then Prime Minister Tony Blair’s *Duty to Integrate* speech (2006) which set out ‘The right to be different. The duty to integrate.’ This stressed shared British values, which were framed in civic-national (rather than cultural-national) terms, with integration as key to preventing violent extremism. The government also signalled a need, following 7/7, for a new ‘hearts and minds’ response to preventing violent extremism, involving local authorities, communities, and citizens. This was elaborated in the 2007 *Preventing Violent Extremism: Winning Hearts and Minds* policy, which set out a new locally focused, community engagement approach to the Prevent strand of the CONTEST Counter Terrorism Strategy, which focused on deterring people from engaging in violent extremism. That approach involved significant overlaps in the aims and delivery of Prevent and Community Cohesion policy, leading to charges that cohesion in this period became securitised (O’Toole *et al.* 2016).

Muscular liberalism

With a change of government in 2010, the Conservative-led coalition government set out a more assertive disavowal of multiculturalism with then Prime Minister, David Cameron, calling in 2011 for an end to ‘state multiculturalism’ and for more ‘muscular liberalism’ in response to what he presented as a problem of the cultural isolation and mal-integration of young Muslim men, which purportedly lead to their radicalisation. Subsequent Counter Terrorism and associated Counter Extremism policies were driven by claims about the lack of integration of Muslims and related this to ongoing threats to security. The 2011 *Prevent Strategy*, for instance, introduced the need to promote ‘fundamental British values’ to counter extremism, and later was imposed as a statutory

duty on schools. This is a part of a trend of national government becoming more assertive in its approach to integration and emphasising national unity over multicultural diversity.

Local responsibility

Generally, the Coalition government did relatively little directly on integration policy until 2012, when the Department for Communities and Local Government (DLCG) published *Creating the Conditions for Integration*, which effectively devolved integration to local authorities/agencies, but with little resource attached. Whilst it noted that ‘Help from local, or exceptionally national, government, can create better conditions for integration’ (2012: 6), it went on to emphasise that integration was to be a locally led activity (alongside modest initiatives such as the Near Neighbours programme, which involved the Church Urban Fund disbursing small pots of funding for inter-faith or inter-ethnic community contact initiatives in four areas of England).

Immigration control and Counter Extremism

The Theresa May-led Conservative government from 2015 was comparatively more concerned with developing integration policies than its predecessors. Integration policy in this period combined 1) further restrictions on immigration with 2) countering extremism. In relation to 1), it is noteworthy that a significant amount of integration activity in this period was funded by the Controlling Migration Fund (and later by the Integrated Communities Innovation Fund). In relation to 2), the 2016 government-commissioned Casey Review into integration continued successive governments’ preoccupation with Muslim (particularly Pakistani/Bangladeshi-heritage) communities and their purported problems of extremism.

Local, place-based approach

The Casey Review was followed by the 2018 *Integrated Communities Strategy* Green Paper which assigned integration policy to the Department for Communities and Local Government and its successor, the Ministry for Housing, Communities, and Local Government (MHCLG). The Green paper defined integration as occurring in ‘communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities, and opportunities’ (2018: 5).This

approach focused on supporting new and resident communities, boosting English language provision, increasing economic opportunity, and promoting meaningful social contact. Significantly, it took a locally-focused, place-based approach through the Integration Area Programme which worked with five local authorities – Blackburn with Darwen, Bradford, Peterborough, Walsall, and Waltham Forest – to develop locally-focussed integration initiatives.

Measuring integration

Alongside the Green Paper came the release of the Home Office *Indicators of Integration Framework* in 2019, which were designed to measure ‘the experiences of any group of people whose integration into communities or society is of concern’ (2019: 13). Whilst the Green Paper presented integration as not solely a migrant or refugee-focused agenda, it still maintained the idea that integration policy should be focused on ‘problem’ groups. It framed integration in notably broad terms, underpinned by four principles which were that integration is: multi-dimensional (involving 14 different dimensions); multi-directional (requiring adaptation by all involved); the shared responsibility of migrants and members of receiving communities, including the government and employers; and context specific (requiring measures that take context into account).

Covid and Levelling Up

Work on the Integrated Communities programme has continued under the Johnson-led Conservative government with a focus on the impacts of Covid on integration and social connection. In 2021, the MHCLG was renamed the Department for Levelling Up, Housing, and Communities (DLUHC), and this was followed in 2022 by the publication

of the *Levelling Up the United Kingdom* White Paper. Although the White Paper touches on areas that might be considered relevant to integration – restoring a sense of community, local pride and belonging, or empowering local leaders and communities – its focus is on economic productivity. Thus, the White Paper makes little mention of either integration (except in terms of institutional or labour market integration) or cohesion (with one reference in relation to Northern Ireland).

Summary: What does integration policy in the UK seek to achieve?

- Over the decades, there has been a gradual shift away from assimilationist approaches to integration and an embedding of the notion that integration policies should respect cultural and ethnic differences, but this has occurred alongside an increasing emphasis on shared British values and civic nationalism, sometimes in assertive ways that are redolent of earlier assimilationist approaches.
- There has been a recent shift to framing integration as involving everyone, but in practice the focus of implementation remains on migrants and ‘problem communities’ – particularly refugees, white working classes, and Muslims.
- There has been an increasing focus on local approaches to and responsibilities for integration, but this too has been preoccupied with problem groups and areas, with strategies often developed in top-down rather than bottom-up ways, and where responsibilities for integration are unclear (with local authorities often given responsibility by central government for aspects of integration but without necessarily resources for or control over the conditions of integration).

Bristol Integration Policy Context

In common with the national policy context, the city of Bristol does not have and has not had a single, distinct policy on integration. We can instead trace how local integration policy and practice has developed over the past fifteen years following from the 2006 White Paper *Strong and Prosperous Communities*’ drive for local approaches to community cohesion.



Community Cohesion and local integration approaches

Bristol City Council (BCC) produced its three-year *Community Cohesion Strategy 2006-2009* to address perceived tensions around demographic change in Bristol and in particular the growth of the local Somali population in predominantly white working-class neighbourhoods (Jensen and Gidley 2014). In line with the priorities set out in the Community Cohesion agenda, integration under this strategy targeted newcomer communities (mainly Somalis and Poles), other ethnic minorities, and working-class white communities to build ‘a harmonious city where ethnic, religious, and other differences are respected and do not divide our communities’ (Bristol City Council 2007: 1). Community at Heart worked with Bristol City Council on the Race Equality Community Cohesion Action Plan (RECCAP) to help achieve these objectives. This approach to integration and cohesion focused on reducing community conflict and tensions where ethnic, religious, and class differences – and the communities embodying these differences – were seen as the source of division.

A shift in this approach was signalled in the Bristol *Community Cohesion Strategy Review* in 2007. The Review cited Bristol’s commitment to aligning local community cohesion practices with the definition set out in the Commission on Integration and Cohesion’s *Our Shared Future* report. This definition emphasised shared civic contributions, values, rights, and responsibilities. The new *Strategy Review* (Bristol City Council 2007: 3) similarly signalled

“a clearly defined widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region, or country. There is a strong sense of an individual’s rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in return.”

Despite the promise of a more bespoke, place-based approach to building integration and cohesion in the city, Bristol’s *Community Cohesion Plan* update for 2013-2014 continued to reflect national trends around cohesion measures, conflict-resolution, and demographic change. Specific reference was made to Bristol’s rising ethnic minority population and linked to national PVE initiatives: the need to work with Muslim communities ‘to reduce conflict, tension, extremism and hate crime across the city’ (Bristol City Council 2013: 7).





Equalities policies and the link to integration

Bristol has built a strong reputation for its race equality work as evidenced by the Beacon status it was awarded in 2005 for promoting racial equality.

Following the Cattle report (2001), local community cohesion strategies were closely aligned to the duties of local authorities to promote equality under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (Jones 2013). National community cohesion strategies, and particularly those linked to PVE, were seen to be at tension with local equality agendas because they encouraged a top-down shift away from local multiculturalism and replaced it with a decreasing emphasis on respect for diversity in favour of 'shared values' (Lewis and Craig 2014).

Bristol's more recent equalities policies, however, have brought together both respect for difference and shared values in line with the 2018 *Integrated Communities Strategy* Green Paper. The Council's *Equality and Inclusion Policy and Strategy 2018-2023* (Bristol City council: 2018: 30), for example, addresses the wider implications of inequality and exclusion by adopting an 'inclusive communities' approach'. Rather than focusing on the reduction of community tensions, the 2018 policy strategy centred on the 'progressive building of good relationships between different communities in Bristol so everyone is able to participate and contribute' (2018: 14). While the aims of the policy strategy are partly institutional in addressing inequality and exclusion within Bristol City Council's own organisation and services, it also addresses wider inequalities including the consideration of socio-economic issues such as food and fuel poverty, health and life expectancy, and employment and educational outcomes. The policy strategy itself doesn't refer to 'integration', but it reflects a much wider definition of 'inclusion' as being 'concerned with all the citizens of the city' where 'inclusion, by definition, is about everyone' (2018: 13).

One City Plan

The local integration context for Bristol discussed so far has reflected a largely, top-down implementation of national policies around equalities and community cohesion with a focus on race, ethnicity, and religious differences as the cause of community conflict and tensions. As a city that takes pride in its multicultural constitution, Bristol has been steadily working towards a changing definition of integration that moves from a more divisive community cohesion towards a wider consideration of inclusion and integration. For example, since 2017, Bristol has participated in the Inclusive Cities Project (COMPAS 2017) which draws on insights from across Europe and the United States to prioritise a shared ownership model for integration. The Inclusive Cities approach brings together local authorities with other key stakeholders from business, public, and voluntary sector organisations. Like earlier initiatives, however, its focus remains on the integration of newcomers in the city.

While migrants and ethnic minority communities continue to be prioritised in addressing inequalities and disadvantage, there have been other attempts to broaden the focus from conflict resolution and community tensions to the integration, engagement, and inclusion of all citizens.

Previous approaches to integration were closely aligned to national agendas but Bristol has taken an increasingly proactive strategic role in redeveloping the vision of the city. This has included the mainstreaming of integration measures without direct reference to population groups based on race, ethnicity, or immigration status (Jensen and Gidley 2014: 31). This more inclusive, localised approach to integration is best demonstrated in Bristol's *One City Plan 2019-2050* in which inclusion is aligned with the overall strategic development and growth of the city along with a commitment to redressing existing inequalities.

Integration doesn't feature explicitly in the *Plan* but its commitment to inclusion is embedded in different thematic priorities, such as transport systems, healthcare services, and neighbourhoods as well as digital and cultural inclusion. Responsibility is shared

between different stakeholders, institutions, and communities through a collaborative, long-term approach which links different policies and strategies across Bristol.

Examples of the diverse projects under the *Plan* include those aimed at promoting volunteering (eg, 'Can do Bristol' volunteer platform), equalities initiatives (such as the Bristol Commission on Race Equality, or CORE), the City of Sanctuary (for those fleeing violence and persecution), Age Friendly Streets (optimising opportunities for older people) and economic initiatives including tackling food insecurity (the *Food Equality Strategy and Action Plan 2022-2032*). Whilst there is still more work to be done, the *One City Plan* is ahead of the national policy curve when it comes to integration as a means of 'levelling up' communities (preceding the 2022 *Levelling Up the United Kingdom* White Paper) where Bristol strives to become 'a city of hope and aspiration, where everyone can share in its success' (2021: 1).

Summary: What does integration policy in Bristol seek to achieve?

- Bristol went from having no approach to integration (when it was seen as a matter for national government) to implementing national agendas and priorities on a local level to more recently developing its own local approach to integration as part of the *One City Plan*. In the process, local and regional authorities have gained a greater voice in matters relating to integration.
- Integration hasn't explicitly featured very much in Bristol's policy documents. Rather, there has been an increasing emphasis on and commitment to questions of equality, diversity, and inclusion. This shift has been important in helping Bristol move away from some of the more divisive policies and politics associated with integration.
- The *One City Plan* further devolves integration (and inclusion) to specific thematic priorities in local governance. This encourages a more nuanced but still joined-up approach to integration and inclusion within and across these domains.

Everyday Integration: Our Approach

Britain's – and Bristol's – evolving and shifting patchwork of integration policies and practices give us plenty to learn from and build on.

- **The local** Since at least 2006, the importance of cities and neighbourhoods to integration has been recognised, and some of the implementation of national integration frameworks, even as they've changed, has been and still is devolved to local authorities. Bristol has been part of this and has recently taken it a step further with its One City Plan.
- **Inclusion** The multicultural approaches of the 2000s established respect for diversity as a foundational principle of integration, though the emphasis this has received has shifted with different trends in integration policy. Bristol's local Equalities Agenda has helped maintain a consistent focus on diversity, inclusion, and equality.
- **Bottom-up** Some of the principles set out in the Home Office's 2019 Integration Framework – the multi-dimensional and multi-directional trajectories of integration – shift attention to the complexities of the everyday contexts of integration. These principles are also reflected in the One City Plan.
- **The national** A misplaced emphasis on national values and 'muscular liberalism' as the antidote to the perceived ills of non-integration – segregation, 'parallel lives', and, later, extremism – downgrades diversity and makes integration a test of belonging as opposed to an everyday practice. National values by themselves won't fix the kinds of problems that underlie concerns with integration.
- **Exclusion** The concern with 'problem communities' that motivated the Community Cohesion agenda and later the Counter-Extremism approach stigmatised and then securitised those communities as unintegrated. These strategies, more stick than carrot, risk marginalising the people they claim to want to integrate.
- **Top-down** Throughout all these twists and turns, integration remains something governments do, usually with national governments supplying the agendas and local authorities – like Bristol – implementing those agendas. This approach doesn't recognise the work people contribute to integration in the local contexts of their everyday lives.

At the same time there is still room for improvement in how we as a country and as a city approach integration.

There's plenty to build on and mistakes to learn from. But why does that mean a new approach to integration is needed? Why not just finetune what seems to be working already and phase out the bits that aren't working?

There are three reasons integration needs a more fundamental rethink.

First, the problem with all these approaches – both good and bad – is that the integration challenge they want to fix is difference. That is, there are two types of people in the world: those who are integrated, and those who aren't. It's the unintegrated people who are different, and who need to integrate. But approaches that begin with difference often end up hardening the difference they want to overcome. The integration 'fix' then becomes part of the integration 'problem'.

The Everyday Integration approach doesn't see difference as the problem, but distance: social distance. Social distance is a barrier to the everyday practices, exchanges, and mobilities of integration. Economic problems like zero-hour contracts and wages that don't cover basic needs make it difficult for people to find the time to do the things they'd like to do with friends and family. Social ills like racism, discrimination, and prejudice make people feel afraid, insecure, and uncertain. Legal constraints like immigration status and civic constraints like lack of voice, presence, or representation in decision-making make it difficult for some people to secure access to resources or participate in civic life. And spatial constraints like inadequate transport links and rising travel costs limit people's mobility.

Making people less different is not going to fix this set of problems. Integration involves all of us. We're not all the same, but we all contribute to integration. The Everyday Integration approach doesn't pit deprived communities against better off communities, minoritised communities against majorities, but involves and invests everyone in the everyday practices of integration. Difference isn't the problem, distance is. We need to lessen the barriers that create that distance so people can get on with the everyday work of integration.

Second, an approach is needed that recognises that the work of integration begins with people in their everyday lives. In other approaches it's the government that does the work of integration – sometimes national, sometimes local, often both. These approaches make people the *objects* of integration. We see people as the *subjects* of integration, already doing the work of integration in their everyday practices and mobilities, routines and habits, encounters, and exchanges. These are the building blocks of integration.

The role of government is not to tell people how to integrate but to enable the work of integration people are already doing by removing the things that get in the way of it and strengthening the things that help it.

Third, an approach is needed that works for Bristol. Even though many of the challenges and opportunities associated with integration have their causes elsewhere, we advocate an approach that begins with how they're experienced locally and then prioritises the scope for local citizens, groups, and institutions to shape responses to them. This requires an approach that begins with the knowledge in local communities and institutions about what works and also what is getting in the way of integration.

The Everyday Integration approach recognises that we already possess much of this knowledge in local communities and institutions. Different organisations across the city representing communities of place and communities of interest shape, collect, and respond to that knowledge. Mechanisms are needed to feed that knowledge into structures of local governance so that bespoke interventions can be developed for the communities where they're needed most.

In other words, we need a mindset shift on integration. There is no one-size-fits-all approach to integration, no integration endgame. Rather, integration requires an ongoing and shifting assortment of tweaks, adjustments, and sometimes bolder schemes to address the varied challenges faced by Bristol's diverse communities to enable more fluid social exchange and enhance social, spatial, economic, and civic mobility.

That is, we need a radically inclusive, bottom-up, and local approach to integration.

The next section sets out what that approach looks like in practice.



The Bristol Integration Framework

How do we take the learning from the Everyday Integration Project and turn it into an Integration Framework for Bristol? We do this in two parts. First, we begin with our research findings on integration to develop some insights into how we can improve integration in Bristol right now. Second, we draw on the learning and methodologies from this first part to distil a set of integration principles and institutional pathways for integration into Bristol’s future. Our aim is to design and deliver a durable but flexible set of bottom-up processes and institutional practices to sustain, improve, and evaluate the diverse and shifting challenges of everyday integration.

Part I

The Everyday Integration project began with collaborative research into the everyday contexts of integration in Bristol. This gave us our **Evidence Base**¹. We then worked backwards from that evidence to explore the institutional enablers of and barriers to integration with our Community Partners. This gave us the **Institutional Levers** for integration. From there we came up with ideas for how to adjust these institutional levers so they could enable, and not impede, integration. These were our **Next Steps**.

Here we share our learning from these three stages of the Everyday Integration project.

1. The evidence base

Integration begins in the everyday lives of Bristolians. Their everyday practices, exchanges, and mobilities are the building blocks of integration. Everyday Integration recognises the integration work Bristolians are already doing. We need to understand this work and the things that get in the way of it.

We developed different strategies to explore the social, economic, civic, and spatial contexts and practices of everyday integration:

- GPS logs to see how people get around Bristol
- Flash Focus Groups on Bristol Buses to understand their shared experiences of Bristol’s changing urban landscape
- Shadowing Exercises to observe Bristolian’s routine encounters and exchanges
- Uber Rides to see Bristol through the eyes of some of its precarious workers
- Participatory Forums for Local Citizens to learn about the possibilities for constructive dialogue

And then Covid happened. Lockdowns and social distancing rules made us rethink our entire approach to integration.²

We shifted our focus to:

- Whose Bristol Survey to understand the social, economic, spatial, and civic impact of the pandemic on everyday integration

- Neighbourhood Interviews as narrative tours of Hartcliffe, Easton, and Westbury-on-Trym through the eyes of local residents
- Precarity Interviews to understand the challenges faced by workers in the care sector, hospitality sector, and the creative industries
- Civil Society Interviews and a Participatory Workshop to understand civic integration in the city
- Day-in-My-Life-Photos to capture Bristol’s integration possibilities and challenges through the eyes of refugees, disabled people, older people, and Bristolians whose first language is not English

And this – in brief – is what we found.

Our research told us a lot about the social, spatial, economic, civic, and digital contexts of integration in Bristol. It showed us some of the creative practices and constructive strategies Bristolians have developed that contribute to their everyday integration. But it also showed us that the work they were doing was harder for some than for others. The experiences of integration were not the same for everyone. People had different strategies for and experiences of getting by and getting around. Sometimes integration varied by ward, neighbourhood, street, or other local context; other times it varied demographically, by ethnicity, social class, disability, age, gender, or something else.

Our aim was not to paint Bristol as a container for integration, but to view it as a diverse collection of overlapping and interconnected contexts and scales, each requiring their own focus and attention.

This is why we partnered with community organisations representing different neighbourhoods and interests across the city. Our Partners helped us think through our methodologies, introduce us to residents, and share their experiences of working in, for, and with different kinds of communities.

After collecting our evidence, we worked with our Partners in a series of Workshops designed to lead us to the co-production of our Integration Framework. In the first of those Workshops, The Evidence Base, we explored the Project’s findings around the social, economic, and civic contexts of integration.



This place is passed by many people, every day. A few months ago, a series of local artists undertook a project, and they completely transformed this area, injecting colour and excitement to what was a place a little dull before. Full of positive messages and has much more light with some impressive graffiti!

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Bristolians whose first language is not English*

* This and other captioned photos are from our Day-in-My-Life Community Partner research. This research was led by Age UK Bristol (older Bristolians), John Barbour (Bristolians whose first language is not English), Refugee Women of Bristol, and West of England Centre for Inclusive Living (disabled people living in Bristol). Each Partner recruited four or five people from their communities to take pictures of places in Bristol they felt connected to or comfortable in and other places they felt less connected to or comfortable in. They were then asked to provide captions briefly explaining their choices.



Graffiti. Some people may see this and like the colours and the brightness but to me it makes you wonder why these ‘artists’ feel it necessary to daub this horrible mess on any public wall... I feel that there is beauty all around this park to enjoy and thank nature for what we have. No need to clash against it.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Age UK Bristol

1 Turn to Appendix 2 for a Glossary of some of the key terms that appear in bold in the text.

2 Whilst we couldn’t execute our original research plan, we’ve included it here as examples of research strategies that might be appropriate for life (and research) outside of a pandemic.

Social

For the social contexts of integration, we found strong attachments to the three neighbourhoods we surveyed: Hartcliffe, Easton, and Westbury-on-Trym. Residents recognised the importance of community organisations in cultivating these attachments. They described feeling part of tightknit communities where everyone knew and looked out for one another. This sense of community was built on the efforts of local residents.

The challenges faced by local residents differed by community. In Hartcliffe, the distance to the city centre (made greater by poor transport links) left many feeling isolated (yet still connected to Hartcliffe). Digital literacy was another issue for people in Hartcliffe. Many people didn't own laptops or tablets and had to rely on smartphones. This made it difficult to access the job market and online learning during the pandemic. Residents of Easton, in contrast, were concerned with what some perceived as the gentrification of their neighbourhood and how it divided the community.

“If you go right onto St Mark’s Road, then it’s just like... yeah, just all the hipsters. It’s just gentrified... It’s a totally different vibe. Things are so much more expensive on that side, and I won’t see anyone I know! And less friendly people, and you can tell they’re not local to the area. They really just stick out like a sore thumb, and I feel like I stick out when I’m there. But yeah, just go left onto Stapleton Road, it’s just a nicer vibe. It’s just... it’s hard to describe. It’s just a nicer vibe, a nicer feel. Even though everyone looks different, everyone’s a different complexion, everyone speaks a different language but there’s just a nicer feel. A nicer feel. Everything’s cheaper on that side as well, so like your vegetables.

Neighbourhood Interview, Easton

For those in Westbury-on-Trym there was a sense of a lack of connection across social divides.

Overall, these Bristolians felt connected to their neighbourhoods but less connected to the city as a whole.



This is St Werburghs Community Centre in Bristol. When I pass by this place it gives me feelings of comfort that you don't have to be stuck at home if you don't have anywhere or anyone to go to. We can go to community centre; they have nice cafés there and have different activities for all ages. I took my son to St Werburghs Community Centre just to look around, I feel very lucky that in Bristol we have places like that to turn to.

Day-in-my-Life Photos, Refugee Women of Bristol



This train station has become my point of going to work in the mornings, and also the point I land back in Easton after a long day's work. The feeling of returning home. It's the start of many journeys within Bristol and even beyond! It's that space between the beginning and the destination. It's also a great spot to look out across Easton when you climb the bridge.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Bristolians whose first language is not English



I hate this bus number 73. It gives awful service. This bus never arrives on time which causes us a lot of suffering

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Bristolians whose first language is not English

Economic

For our economic research, we focused on workers in care, hospitality, and the creative industries. All were struggling with barriers imposed by the precarious nature of their work. Frequent contract/job switching led to transient and unstable networks plus short-term working relationships, especially in the creative/cultural sector. Long and irregular hours made it challenging to form bonds outside of work, and shift work, particularly in the hospitality sector, meant missing out on community events.

On top of all of this, insecurities surrounding job tenure and pay made it difficult to plan for the longer term. For many, low pay, and the insecurity associated with it, made them feel their work wasn't valued.

“Sometimes you feel like you've really changed someone's life because they feel understood, and they haven't been understood in a long time. They're like, where have you been all this time.

Precarity Interview, Care Sector

The enablers of integration varied by sector, though some of these enablers were themselves responses to the barriers they experienced.

Those working in hospitality felt solidarity in the face of the extraordinary pressures they experienced and respondents from Black, Asian, and minoritised communities working in the creative/cultural sector experienced solidarity in opposition to their marginal position in relation to the city's white, middle-class power structures.



Patchway police station is a horrible place for me to visit. Whenever I have to go there. I can't sleep due to the uncertainty.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Refugee Women of Bristol



This was a beautiful spring sunset I encountered on one of my recent walks. It was taken at a near by playing fields.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, West of England Centre for Inclusive Living



“ That’s where I think that there needs to be a lot more diversity, because when you start looking at the boards, they’re all white and even if it’s working in Black areas or dominantly white areas, the board is always white, middle class, or if it’s females, university graduates doing PhDs, that sort of stuff.

Precarity Interview, Creative Industries

Moreover, the lack of diversity in public institutions resulted in low levels of trust and feelings of exclusion.

However, for others, there were positive examples of diversity where the lived experiences of different groups of people were seen as beneficial to building community, trust, and engagement.



Castle Park. This is some place where I did not have a good memory. So I do not feel comfortable going to. It is a very pretty park with great view, and I used to like going there for walk sometimes but not anymore. Once I was walking through the park at night to go home after a dinner with my husband, a small group of people started shouting and calling bad names to us which scared me as this was my first experience of such kind. After this incident I have always avoided going to this park especially after sunset because it reminds me of that incident.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Bristolians whose first language is not English

Civic

Our interest in civic integration in the context of Covid revealed the significance of the digital as both enabler of, and barrier to, integration. The rapid onset of digital life in some instances increased participation and engagement, such as some women’s groups organising around menopause or childcare.

“ Part of our role is to say, look, women living in different places and from different communities share the same issues, and it’s important for us to bring the city together because you know Bristol is so divided.

Civic Interview

But for others, this move to digital platforms created a barrier to engagement, especially for people with limited access to technology, such as those on low-incomes and older people.

“ It’s difficult up here because people think that there’s loads of technophobes up here. There’s not – it’s not technophobes, they just can’t afford it... If you’ve got a family, which do you want? – heating or internet?... So a lot of people up here aren’t digital... so it’s difficult up here to keep in touch with the majority of people up here.

Neighbourhood Interview, Hartcliffe

Other barriers to civic integration included divisive narratives, particularly around immigration, race, and Brexit, all which put strains on civic participation.

Our Partners engaged closely, carefully, and critically with these findings, pointing out what resonated with their experiences, what didn’t, and what was missing. From these three themes we turned to the things that were helping people integrate – **the enablers** – and the things that got in the way of integration – **the barriers**. Our broad concern with the social, economic, and civic contexts of integration was narrowed to a focus on three specific sets of enablers and barriers: Neighbourhoods, Precarity, and the Digital.



Neighbourhoods

Our Partners shared examples of how Bristol’s built environment, its transport infrastructure, and the government placement of people in certain communities form barriers to citywide integration.

“ I don’t live in the city. I live in Hartcliffe [laughter]. We’re an island over here.

Neighbourhood Interview, Hartcliffe



This picture is of Stapleton Road, it’s in central Bristol, I feel very much connected and safe as it’s a very multicultural place. It might look rough, but people are so friendly and safe to be around. There are lots of food shops from different backgrounds and the community is strong around there, you will not feel lonely. I made friends and was able to meet people from different countries. I feel so comfortable when I go to Stapleton Road and always bump into friendly faces.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Refugee Women of Bristol

Enablers of citywide integration include affordable transport and the decolonisation of the city’s cultural institutions. At the neighbourhood level, they talked about the importance of inclusionary community spaces and bottom-up ‘school-gate’ encounters as key enablers of integration.



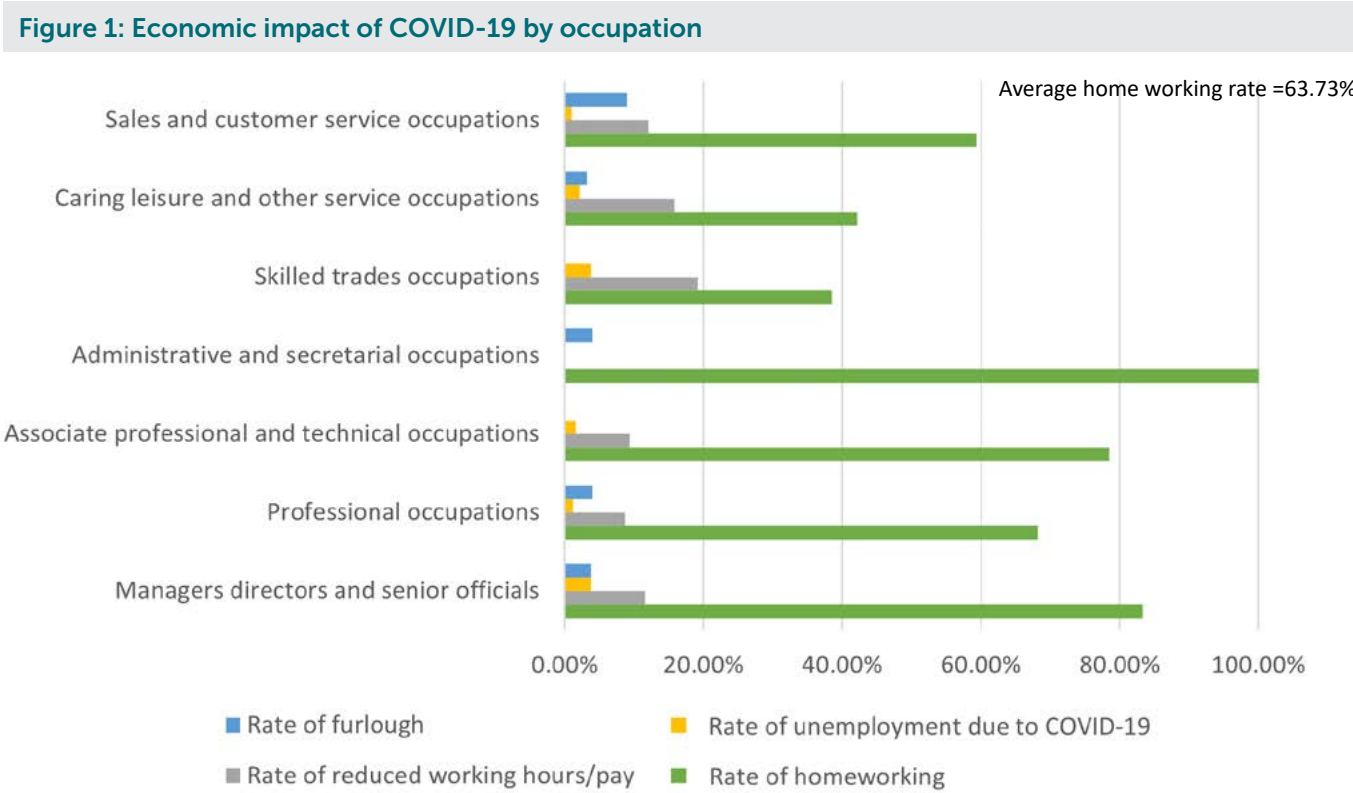
Stapleton Road. I don’t feel safe there, especially if it’s a bit late, although it has really good shops I prefer to walk through with a companion. I lived on Stapleton Road for a year, and I had many incidents where unfamiliar individuals approached me and threatened me. There were many rowdy men and I sometimes received unwanted attention. It felt like the street was male dominated which was intimidating and there was sometimes police officers present. Sometimes there was broken glass and discarded needles which made me concerned for my son’s safety outside, it wasn’t a good environment to bring up my child.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Refugee Women of Bristol

Precarity

The Partners emphasised that zero-hour contracts, the gig economy, and economic insecurity and precarity were all barriers to integration and they were all linked to crime and growing inequalities.

They singled out certain communities, like newcomers and more established racialised communities, as being particularly vulnerable to precarity. Enablers of integration included skills training and better employment contracts and wages.

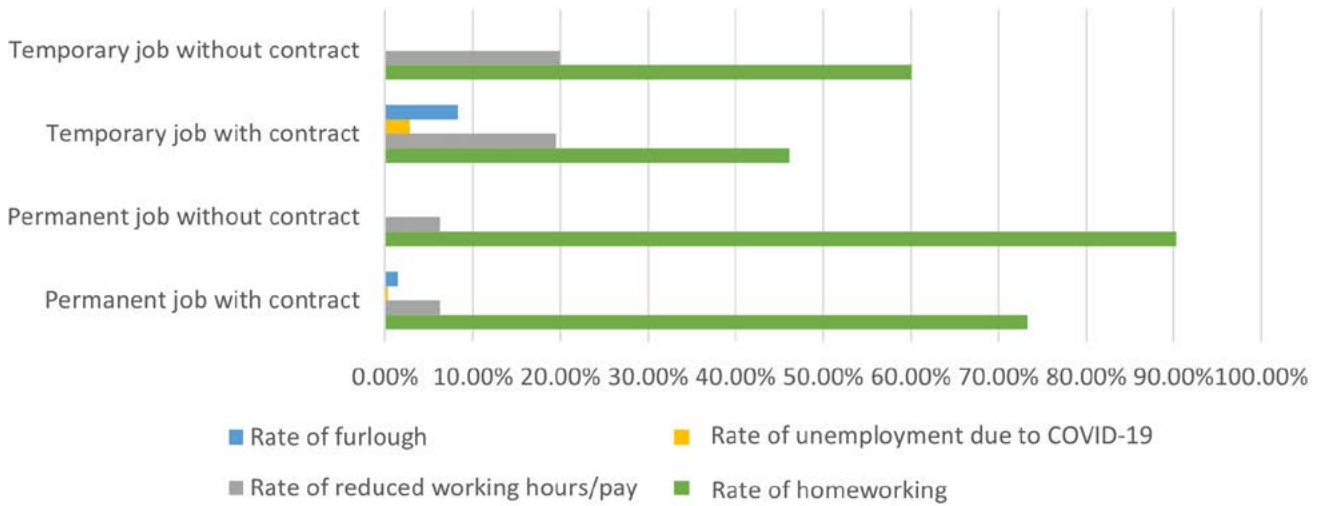


Notes: 1. Elementary occupations have been suppressed as the sample size is too small for a reliable estimate.

Figure 1 shows the economic impact of COVID-19 by occupation and Figure 2 by type of contract. Individuals with lower take-home pay, in part-time work, in sectors defined by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) as 'requiring lower qualifications and/or less experience' (eg, sales, caring or skilled trades occupations), and without permanent contracts all reported more negative influences. Low-income groups, 'low skilled' and temporary workers reported lower proportions of people who changed to work-from-home due to COVID-19.

Everyday integration during and beyond COVID-19: Findings from the Whose Bristol Survey

Figure 2: Economic impact of COVID-19 by type of contract



Bristol City College. I have been studying in Bristol City College for two years. I feel welcomed and safe as most of the staff are helpful and friendly. If I have any enquiries I can easily get in touch with the staff. It's the place that I study and made new friends. I'm happy with the services I got and the support on top of that. My spoken English has improved since I joined the college. I was worried before I started but now, I feel more confident.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Refugee Women of Bristol

Digital

Digital exclusion as a barrier to integration was highlighted by the Partners as a particular concern. They talked about different exclusion mechanisms, including lack of access to technology and low levels of English competence. Some of them said the media (online and offline) stoked fear and suspicion between groups. But for others online spaces during Covid enabled integration, and digital inclusion offered the promise of increased opportunities for integration.

Covid meant that things didn't go quite to plan but we still ended up with an incredibly rich database of how integration works in Bristol from the perspective of the people doing the work of integration. Our close collaboration with our Community Partners helped us see things we hadn't seen and sometimes unsee things we thought we had seen.

This was our starting point: an evidence base for integration in Bristol. We have to begin with what's happening on the ground in local communities and neighbourhoods before we can begin thinking about how to improve things.

Figure 3: Summary of answers to digital technology-related questions across sampled neighbourhoods

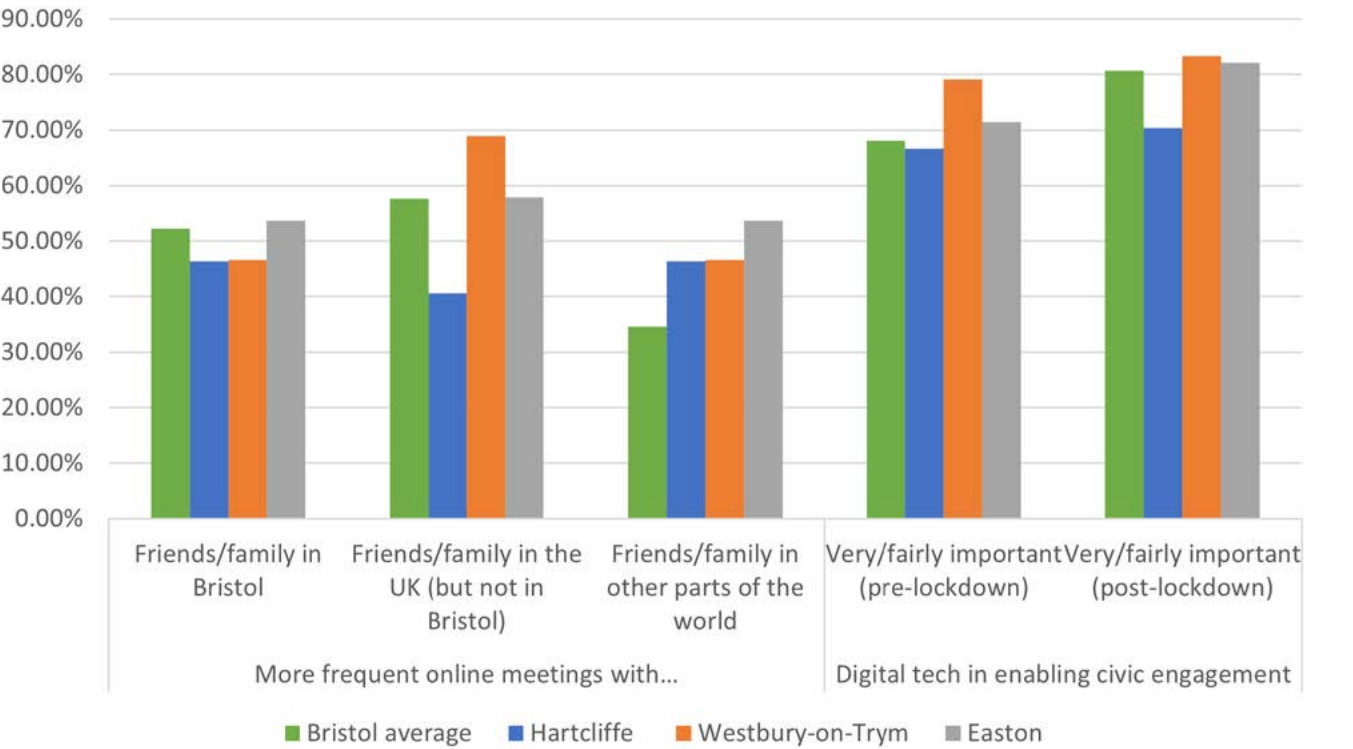


Figure 3 summarises responses to digital technology-related questions from Hartcliffe, Westbury-on-Trym, and Easton. The comparison points to Hartcliffe as a ‘cold spot’ in the digitalisation process during the pandemic. It also shows that Hartcliffe respondents reported the lowest rate of online social interaction and relied the least on digital technologies in civic and political activities.

Everyday integration during and beyond COVID-19: Findings from the Whose Bristol Survey

2. The institutional levers

The evidence base told us how integration was experienced in Bristol. It showed us the different things people are doing in their everyday lives that contribute to integration. But whilst the Everyday Integration approach recognises that Bristolians do the work of integration, it's often other things – economic precarity and insecurity; racism, prejudice, and fear; uneven access to resources and civic institutions; and spatial and physical barriers to mobility – that make that everyday work possible (or not). Our next step, then, was to think more carefully about the **Institutional Levers** – the enablers and the barriers – that shape the possibilities for integration. We wanted to come up with a way to explore the institutional enablers and barriers that shape the possibilities for everyday integration.

We organised our second Integration Framework Workshop: Mapping Integration to do this.

Here's the approach we developed:

1. We began by picking up the main **Integration Challenges** in neighbourhoods and related to precarity and digital access that we identified the first workshop. We call 'Integration Challenges' those issues on the ground impact individuals and communities in local contexts: sticking points, tensions, and complications, but also opportunities and best practices.

2. Next, we focused our attention on the Institutional Levers – the enablers and barriers – connected to these Integration Challenges to think about how they shape the possibilities for integration. Bristolians do the work of integration, but these institutional enablers and barriers shape the possibilities for integration. We considered the relative importance of various institutions for different communities and how diverse institutions were connected to the same Challenges.
3. Then we thought about where those institutions were: in neighbourhoods, the city, the region, or at the national level. We considered how their impact on integration differed according to their relative proximity to various Challenges.
4. Finally, we thought about how the impact of these institutions might be short, medium, or long-term – or all three. We wanted to appreciate how some institutional routines and practices have more lasting effects than others before thinking ahead to where adjustments might be most appropriate.

We devised an **Integration Worksheet** to organise our thinking around these questions of **how**, **where**, and **when** different Institutional Levers are connected to Integration Challenges:

This is where this exercise took us for Neighbourhoods, Precarity, and the Digital.

Table 1: Integration Worksheet Template

Integration Worksheet			
WHAT is the Integration Challenge?	WHO is involved and how?	WHERE can action be taken?	WHEN can action be taken?
	Responsible:	National:	Short term:
	Can contribute:	City:	Medium term:
	Benefits:	Neighbourhood:	Long term:

Neighbourhoods

We talked about two kinds of integration relevant for neighbourhoods: integration in neighbourhoods, and integration across neighbourhoods (or citywide integration). Our evidence showed how good neighbourly relations – sociality – contributed to integration. It also showed how spatial isolation in Hartcliffe and, in a different way, Westbury-on-Trym were barriers to citywide integration. Our Community Partners told us how ‘bumping spaces’ – inclusive places where people routinely come together, from playgrounds and green spaces to high streets and community organisations – were key to sociality. Bumping spaces are important because their neutrality of ownership means that everyone can use them. Our Partners identified the important role Bristol City Council plays in shaping the built environment and how local community organisations can act as custodians of bumping spaces. They also talked about other ideas for neighbourhoods, including how the Council, community organisations, and local residents

can organise street parties, play streets, food events, and other local events to encourage temporary bumping spaces. Some of these might become regular or annual events. Children are often key to the success of bumping spaces, not only in their use of them but also in bringing parents together in the same spaces. Table 2 shows how our Partners worked through our Integration Worksheet for the bumping spaces Challenge.

To address barriers to citywide integration, our Community Partners told us that transport companies should work with Bristol City Council to improve public transport and the walkability and rideability of the city. Others talked about the value of fostering exchange across different parts of the city. Larger festivals (like St Pauls Carnival) could be organised in different neighbourhoods with the support of local businesses, the Council, and local community organisations. Local schools could also support school exchanges.



Table 2: Integration Worksheet for Neighbourhoods (excerpt)

BUMPING SPACES			
WHAT is the Integration Challenge?	WHO is involved and how?	WHERE can action be taken?	WHEN can action be taken?
• Creating/protecting ‘bumping spaces’ where people can come together, eg, community centres, parks, and community events • Think about the importance of, and invest in, benches • Recognising the importance of existing bumping spaces • More emphasis on smaller, more neighbourhood-level spaces – green spaces, pocket parks etc	Responsible: • BCC Communities and Public Health can provide modest financial support and streamline procurement procedures	National: • National strategy for community and spatial equality • Collectives of like-minded national organisations	Short term: • Reduce bureaucracy
	Can contribute: • Community organisations can identify bumping spaces, galvanise local action, facilitate resident-led initiatives, and act as custodians of these spaces	City: • Recognising the work of the Voluntary, Community, and Social Enterprise sector (VCSE) and BCC Neighbourhood and Communities Service	Medium term: • Community being a priority for all departments • Investment in community organisations (Bristol Impact Fund 2, Community Resilience Fund) • Parks and Green Space Strategy
	Benefits: • Bumping spaces take spaces that are already used and make them more conducive to everyday exchanges	Neighbourhood: • Community anchor organisations with neighbourhood plans that are bottom-up and resident informed	Long term:

Precarity

Our discussions around precarity centred on work, housing, food security, and childcare. Our Partners told us how access to jobs and better opportunities for mobility require interventions from Bristol City Council, local businesses, trade unions, community organisations, and education and training sectors. They stressed the need for not only better information about employment opportunities but also in some cases legal access to those opportunities for some newcomers and asylum seekers. National government (the Department for Work and Pensions, the Home Office, etc) and big business also play a role in addressing precarious work. Central to all of this, and consistent with our bottom-up approach, was the role of precarious workers in organising themselves to share knowledge and strengthen networks within and across the various sectors of precarious work. Table 3 gives an idea of how our Partners worked through this Challenge of **self-organisation**.

Other questions of precarity that were explored included how runaway housing costs and insecure tenancies in Bristol meant that precarious work

led to precarious lives. Community-led housing initiatives were offered as one way to provide affordable housing, but these initiatives also require the coordination and support of Bristol City Council, local housing associations, and private landlords. Our Partners pointed to food insecurity as another factor having a negative impact on precarious working. Access to healthy diets at subsidised prices needs support from the Council and coordination efforts from local community organisations and foodbanks, where knowledge about the experiences, needs and capacities of different groups and communities that experience food insecurity can be shared. We also talked about how access to childcare was needed to give parents – especially women – opportunities for more stable and better paid work. This is something that local and national government need to work together on. Our Partners concluded that tailored support packages should be provided to local businesses and enterprises, and upskilling needs should be addressed by further education institutions to break this cycle of precarity and to ensure everyone is treated with respect and dignity.



Table 3: Integration Worksheet for Precarity (excerpt)

ORGANISING PRECARIOUS WORKERS			
WHAT is the Integration Challenge?	WHO is involved and how?	WHERE can action be taken?	WHEN can action be taken?
- It's difficult for workers in precarious jobs to organise themselves (mutual support) - Precarious workers in different sectors are unaware of shared experiences - Time constraints of some precarious work makes it difficult to join up varied initiatives	Responsible: - Precarious workers - Trades unions	National: - Large unions - Smaller unions, eg, Independent Workers' Union of Great Britain (IWGB)	Short term: - Map initiatives and support starting from the precarious worker to understand their relationships and opportunities to work together to address common challenges - Map available employment support for precarious workers across different organisations in Bristol
	Can contribute: - Traditional unions (Unite) and community unions (Acorn) - Others?	City: - Advice, information and connections to people and organisations that help individuals progress out of precarious work - BCC suggestion: citizen-led mapping with an app to help find support	Medium term: Events to share strategies and develop ideas and funding
	Benefits: Centring the individual to organise support, information, and advice (though this also shifts the burden of responsibility from institutions to individuals)	Neighbourhood: - In St Pauls, lots of advice and information is shared by word of mouth (mutual aid group model) - Can other neighbourhoods build on this example?	Long term: Build network of precarious workers in Bristol supported by but independent of unions and other organisations

Digital

We considered a range of factors affecting digital inclusion, including access to devices and platforms (and the right kinds of devices and platforms), appropriate forms of training and support, and access to the internet. The Worksheet excerpt we focus on in Table 4 pertains to the particular Challenge of **access to the right kinds of digital devices** for all Bristolians. Our Community Partners explained that more support is needed for people to access different kinds of devices and platforms, and this needs to be tailored to the specific requirements of individuals and communities across Bristol. They pointed to Bristol City Council as being best placed to support and coordinate the activities of local businesses (who should make digital access part of their social responsibility commitments) and community organisations (who can help recondition devices and provide digital lending libraries).

A separate but related issue focused on how training and support needs could be addressed to meet the specific and variable needs of different communities (including older people, non-English speakers, and people with disabilities). The knowledge and expertise of community organisations was seen as key to understanding these diverse needs and providing appropriate training.

Another question that was discussed was access to Wi-Fi, which sometimes masks other digital inequalities. Our Partners’ fix for this was free city-wide Wi-Fi (like in Leeds). Local businesses, educational institutions, and community organisations could all contribute to the development and expansion of Wi-Fi across the city. Finally, it was stressed that support to enable all of these interventions needed to be face-to-face/offline. Whilst digital opportunities may in some cases facilitate integration, digital-only services risked being exclusionary.



Photo credit: University of Bristol

Table 4: Integration Worksheet for Digital Access (excerpt)

ACCESS TO APPROPRIATE DIGITAL DEVICES			
WHAT is the Integration Challenge?	WHO is involved and how?	WHERE can action be taken?	WHEN can action be taken?
- Inadequate access to appropriate digital devices - Digital needs of many people in Bristol are not being met, with many lacking the right devices and others lacking devices altogether - This contributes to the digital exclusion of different Bristolians	Responsible: - Local businesses - BCC - VCSE - The West of England Combined Authority (WECA)/Growth Hub	National: - Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) commitment to widening digital access - Government funding - National digital inclusion strategy not driven by consumerism	Short term: - Conversations with stakeholders to better understand what is needed and where - Better access to libraries and schools - Funding for devices
	Can contribute: - Funders - Big business - Education - Community organisations - VCSE (eg, DigiLocal)	City: - CSR commitment from local businesses - VCSE coordinating community hubs - BCC can fund, coordinate, and incentivise different forms of digital inclusion	Medium term: - Advice, support, and training for community hubs - Mapping exercise of Bristol’s digital needs - Coordinated distribution of spare and refurbished devices
	Benefits: - Access to devices to meet Bristolians’ digital needs - Enhanced online exchange without requiring everyone to shift all their activities online - Sharing refurbished devices through local depositories is cost-effective - More connections between people in community spaces	Neighbourhood: - Community organisations - Local hubs where devices can be stored and collected	Long term: - Systematic distribution and refurbishment plan - Ensure policy and capital resource for community infrastructure so that hubs, libraries, and civic spaces can remain open and staffed - Digital access strategy to ensure ongoing digital developments avoid inbuilt exclusion of certain communities

These Integration Worksheets focused our attention on specific Integration Challenges and the Institutional Levers – the enablers and barriers – connected to those Challenges. We’ve provided three examples of Challenges that we worked through using our Worksheets. We’ve also mentioned a number of other Challenges discussed in the Workshops. The Challenges we focused on here aren’t the only ones or necessarily the most important ones. The Worksheet was designed to help us think creatively and constructively not only about these Challenges but also about the diversity of Institutional

Levers – both barriers and enablers operating at neighbourhood, local, regional, and national levels – that together contribute to the ground-level experiences of integration that we uncovered in our data. The three examples we’ve shared – bumping spaces, organising precarious workers, and access to appropriate digital devices – illustrate how we can tap into the knowledge we already have in our communities to think together about how, where, and when Institutional Levers might be used to enable integration and lessen its barriers. This is what we turn to next.

3. The next steps

What can we learn from the three examples we explored in our Integration Worksheets? What concrete steps can be taken to address the various barriers to integration we uncovered? How can we translate our Project findings and Workshop learning into concrete improvements for integration in Bristol?

Here we continue with our examples around bumping spaces, organising precarious workers, and improving access to appropriate digital devices. This demonstrates how we can take the ideas from the Workshops and contained in the Worksheets to come up with bespoke and evidence-based interventions to lessen the institutional barriers to integration and help institutions enable integration.

Our aim is not to elaborate a single, one-time Integration Policy for Bristol, but to illustrate how a flexible Integration Framework for Bristol can be used to continuously finetune the Institutional Levers of integration to address the Integration Challenges we face from the bottom-up.



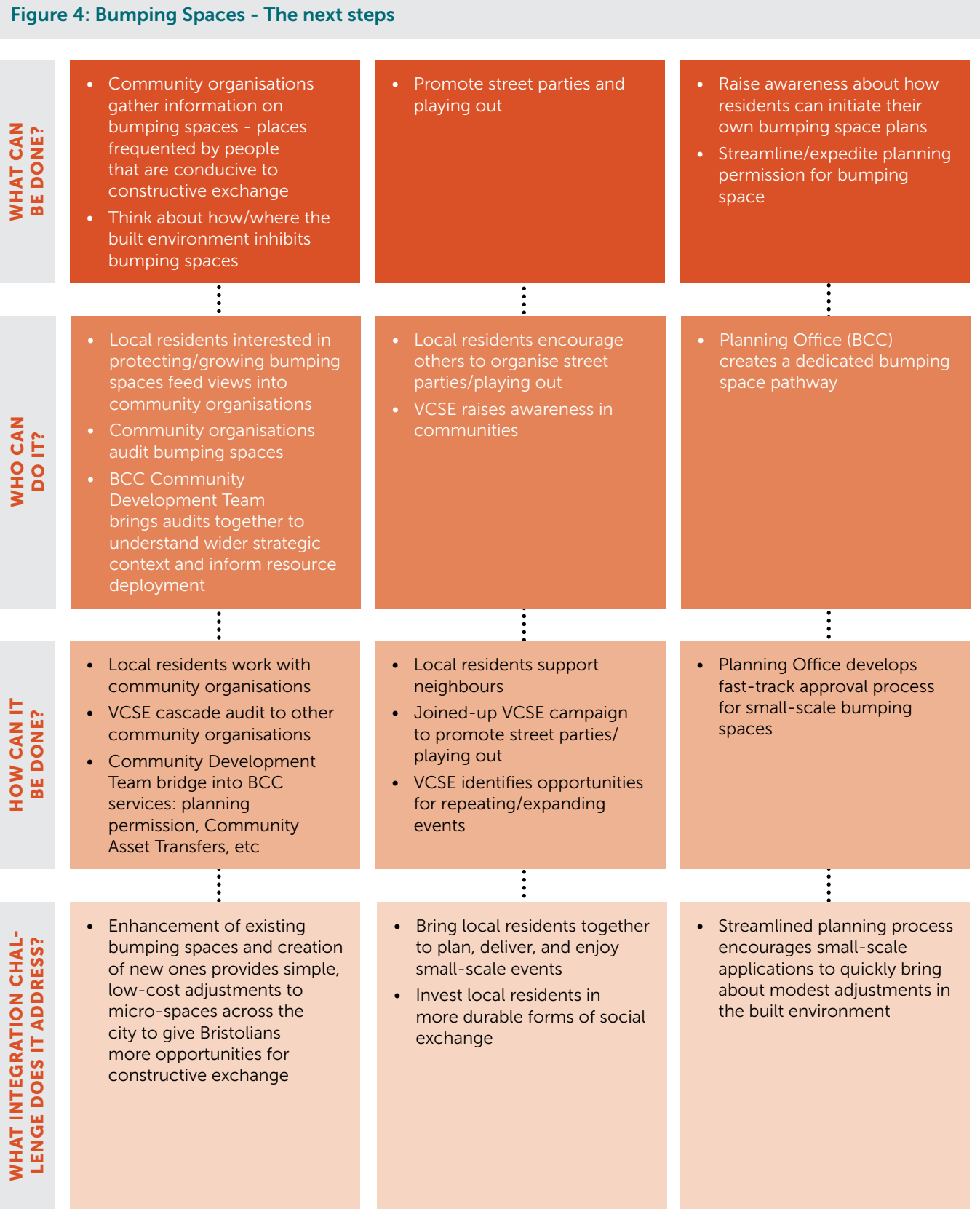
This is a place where I feel most connected to as this is very near to where I live... It is within a retail park where there are lots of other shops and we can do shopping... after enjoying coffee and croissants. When the weather is pleasant or I feel upset we always end up going to this costa coffee because I feel happy and content whenever I visit this place. We have also started to know baristas at this costa and they're always up for chat which feels quite nice.

Day-in-My-Life Photos, Bristolians whose first language is not English

Neighbourhoods

Bumping spaces turn places we already frequent into places where we might be more likely to share a word, exchange a greeting, or have a chat with a friend, acquaintance, or maybe even a stranger. They address Integration Challenges related to enhancing sociality in and across our Bristol's many communities.

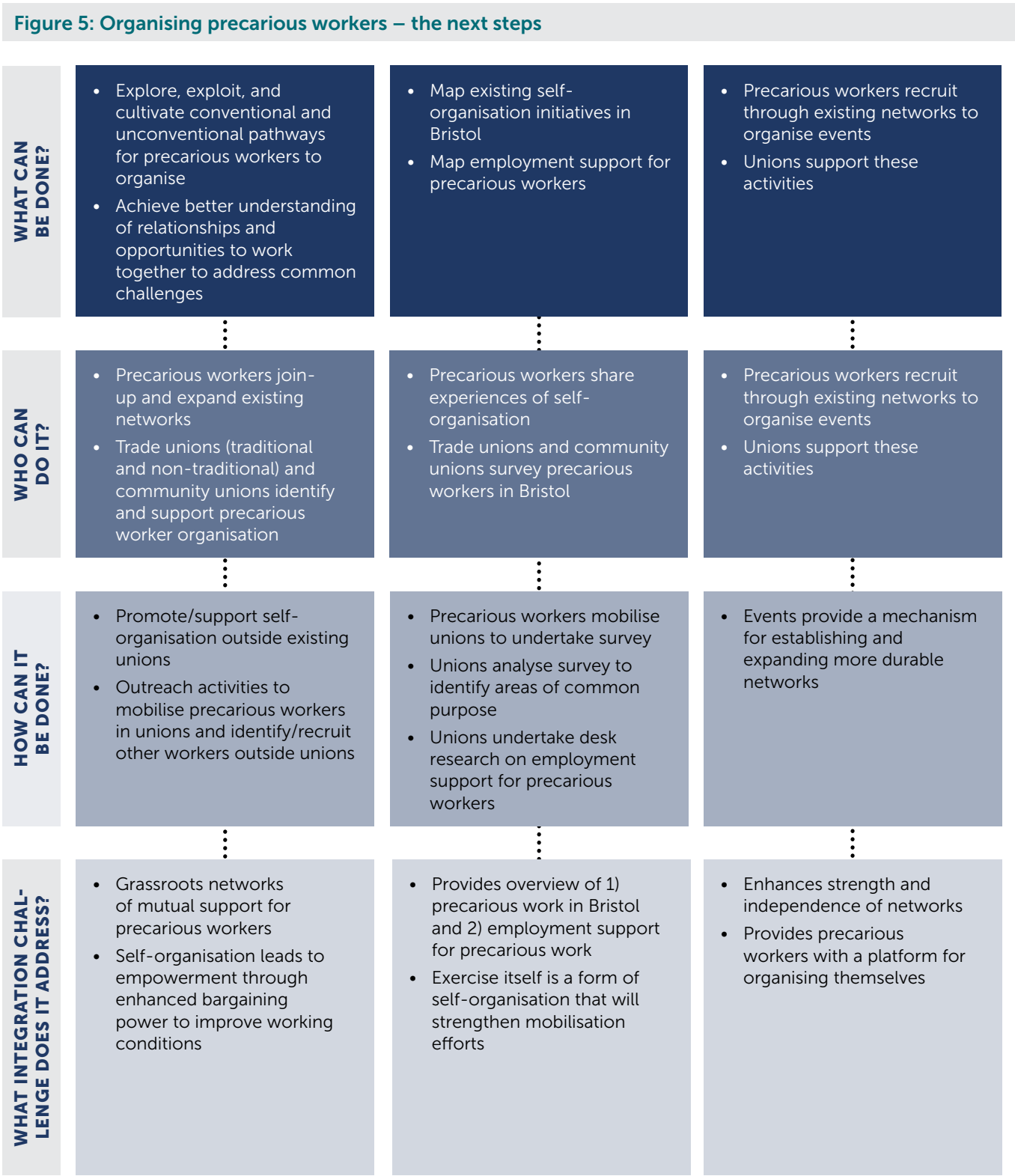
Figure 4 shows some of the concrete steps we came up with to turn Bristol spaces into Bumping Spaces.



Precarity

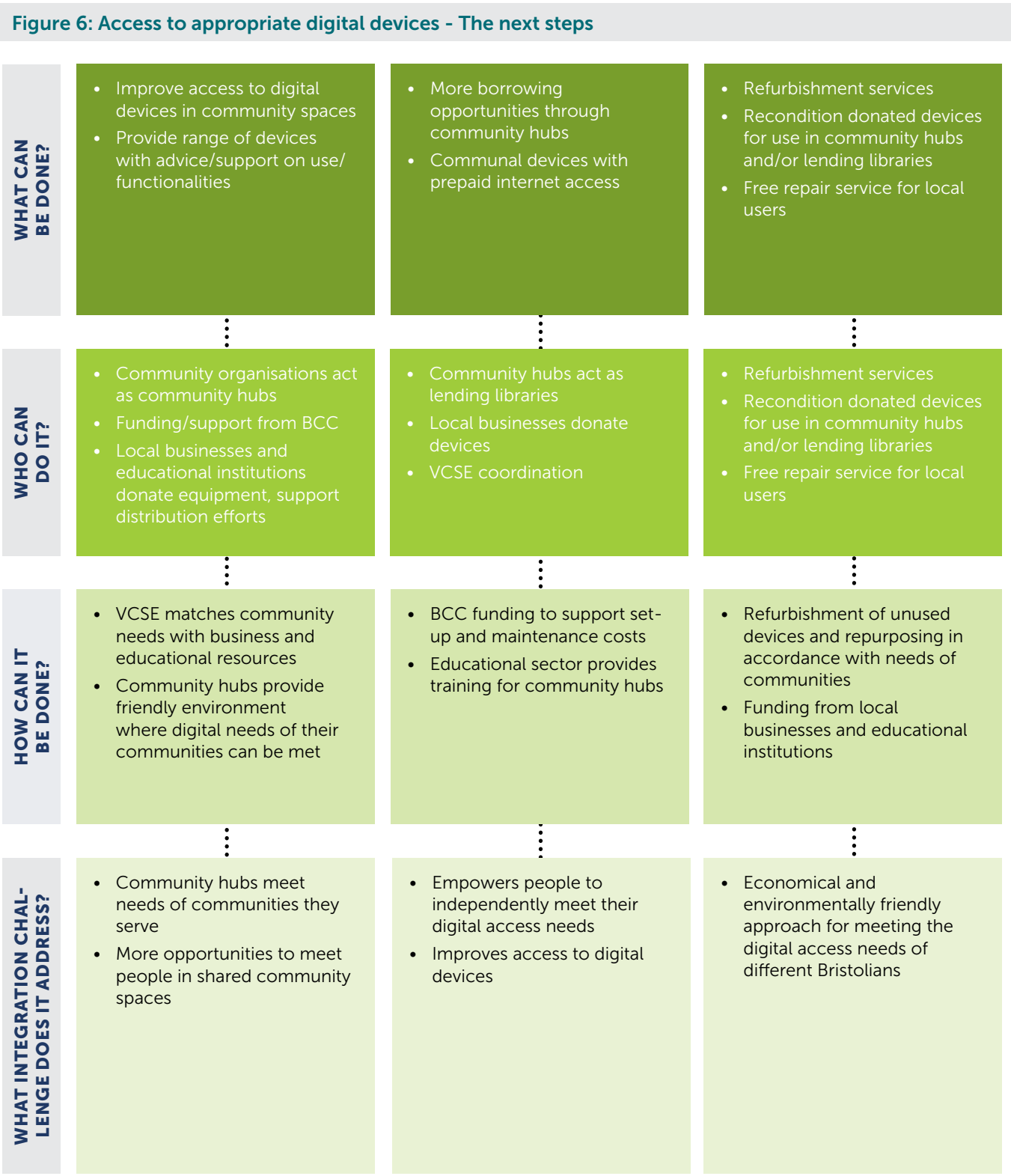
The Integration Challenge related to precarity that we focused on was workers organising themselves. Zero-hour contracts and unfavourable working conditions make it difficult to find common time to organise, and differences across sectors make it challenging to see common purpose for organisation. But organisation is a necessary precondition for addressing many of the challenges precarious workers face.

Figure 5 takes the learning from the Workshops and Worksheets to come up with some ideas to overcome these barriers to self-organisation.



Digital

The digital access Challenge we focused on in our Worksheet was ensuring Bristolians have access to the right digital devices. Not having access can disadvantage people in their work and study and also leave them socially isolated. Our aim here is not to suggest that more everyday activity should move online, but that people should have access to the right devices if and when they are online. Figure 6 gives us some ideas for how we can move on from the Worksheet to come up with specific interventions to address this Challenge.



These are only three of the many examples we discussed in the Workshops. There are many more Integration Challenges to be uncovered in our data, and even more Challenges waiting to be discovered in Bristol. Our aim here hasn't been to fix all these Challenges here and now but to develop the methodologies, processes, and pathways for fixing these and other challenges into the future.

This is what we present in Part II of our Framework.

Part II

Here we draw on our learning from the Everyday Integration methodologies we developed in the Workshops and translate them into a durable plan for citywide action for the future. The shifting and varied Challenges of integration can't be addressed by a single, grand integration policy, but require a bundle of ongoing interventions, fine-tunings, and adjustments to the specific requirements of local communities. The aim of our Integration Framework is not to design an integration policy but an integration process, a durable institutional framework to identify both the structural barriers to integration and its institutional enablers so that localised, bespoke interventions can be made to address diverse Challenges. We need to regularise, streamline, and institutionalise the flow of knowledge from our communities on the ground into local governance structures so that the right sorts of adjustments and interventions can be made as and when needed. We also need to do this in a way that recycles and repurposes existing institutional mechanisms and processes rather than inventing new ones.

Here's how we think we can do this.

1. The network

The **Integration Framework** begins with evidence of how integration works on the ground in Bristol. Whilst the Everyday Integration project won't be around forever to collect evidence, we have other important sources of knowledge and data that can help us refresh our integration evidence base every year.

- **Bristol Integration Network.** We start with the knowledge our Community Partners and many other community organisations already have. We need to continue to work with the organisations closest to Bristol's diverse communities to understand the Integration Challenges they face, to learn from the practices that work, and

to identify the Institutional Levers that impede integration. As a first step, we propose the establishment of a Bristol Integration Network of community organisations from across Bristol. An organisation like Voscur, which supports Bristol's VCSE sector, could be well-placed to act as a **Network Coordinator**. Bristol City Council's bi-monthly Community Exchange provides an existing forum for ideas about Integration Challenges to be shared amongst Network members. The Network Coordinator can use – and grow – the Network to make sure the right organisations with the right knowledge are at the table to tackle specific Integration Challenges.

- **Pop-Up Advocacy Groups.** Pop-Up Advocacy Groups can be formed through the Network to address specific Integration Challenges. The purpose of the Groups is to come together to work through Integration Challenges and identify the relevant Institutional Levers that shape the possibilities for integration. The Network Coordinator can help connect community organisations to relevant Integration Challenges.
- **The Bristol Quality of Life Survey.** The Bristol Quality of Life Survey is another valuable source of evidence that can be used to complement the knowledge we have from the Integration Network. The Survey asks Bristolians questions about their health, lifestyle, local services, neighbourhoods, and life in Bristol. And because it's done every year, we can see how these views change for different groups over time. It can tell us a lot about everyday integration in Bristol: how people are getting by economically; the quality of their connections with friends, neighbours, and colleagues; their involvement with things going on in their communities and the city more generally; how they get around the city; and how they respond to the increased use of technologies in their daily lives. It also tells us how these vary by age, ethnicity, gender, neighbourhood, socio-economic status, and so forth. Relevant results from the Quality of Life Survey can be cascaded through the Integration Network to local community organisations and used by Pop-Up Advocacy Groups to help them work through their Integration Challenges. The Advocacy Groups can also feed back to the Bristol Quality of Life Survey team the kinds of Challenges not captured by the Survey.

This complementary approach, combining the knowledge we have in the Integration Network with Quality of Life Survey findings can improve our understanding about different Integration Challenges and help us think critically about the Institutional Levers behind these Challenges.

2. The action plan

The next step is to identify the Institutional Levers behind these Integration Challenges. The Challenges of Integration are experienced by Bristolians on the ground, but it's the Institutions that shape the conditions for those Challenges, sometimes enabling integration, sometimes impeding it.

Identifying and then working with the relevant institutions connected to specific Integration Challenges is a three-step process.

- **Pop-Up Advocacy Groups.** First, Pop-Up Advocacy Groups use and adapt the Integration Worksheet to think through the Institutional Levers that contribute to the Integration Challenge they're working on. We encourage prioritising those Institutional Levers that originate in or are filtered through Bristol where the greatest impact can be achieved.
- **Integration Consultations.** The next step is to invite representatives from the Institutions identified in the Worksheet to discuss these Integration Challenges. Integration Consultations are mechanisms for bringing community organisations into constructive dialogue with the Institutions connected to the Integration Challenges. A forum like the One City Office might be useful in brokering these Consultations.
- **Integration Action Plans.** The aim of the Consultations is to formulate and co-produce Integration Action Plans to address the issues arising with the Challenges. The Action Plans should formulate Institutional interventions at the neighbourhood, local, regional, and/or national level and over the short, medium, and/or long term (as identified in the Integration Worksheet). The sorts of institutions making the adjustments can include local government, businesses, community organisations, educational Institutions, and national stakeholders as well.

3. The evaluation

The final step is to monitor the specific interventions made by institutions from the Integration Action Plans and evaluate the efficacy of them in the everyday lives of the people they're intended to reach. Are these interventions having their desired effect on the Integration Challenges? Do they make it easier for Bristolians to get on with the everyday work of integration?

Our task in this third step is to monitor these interventions so we can continue to finetune them and their impact on the experience and practice of integration on the ground.

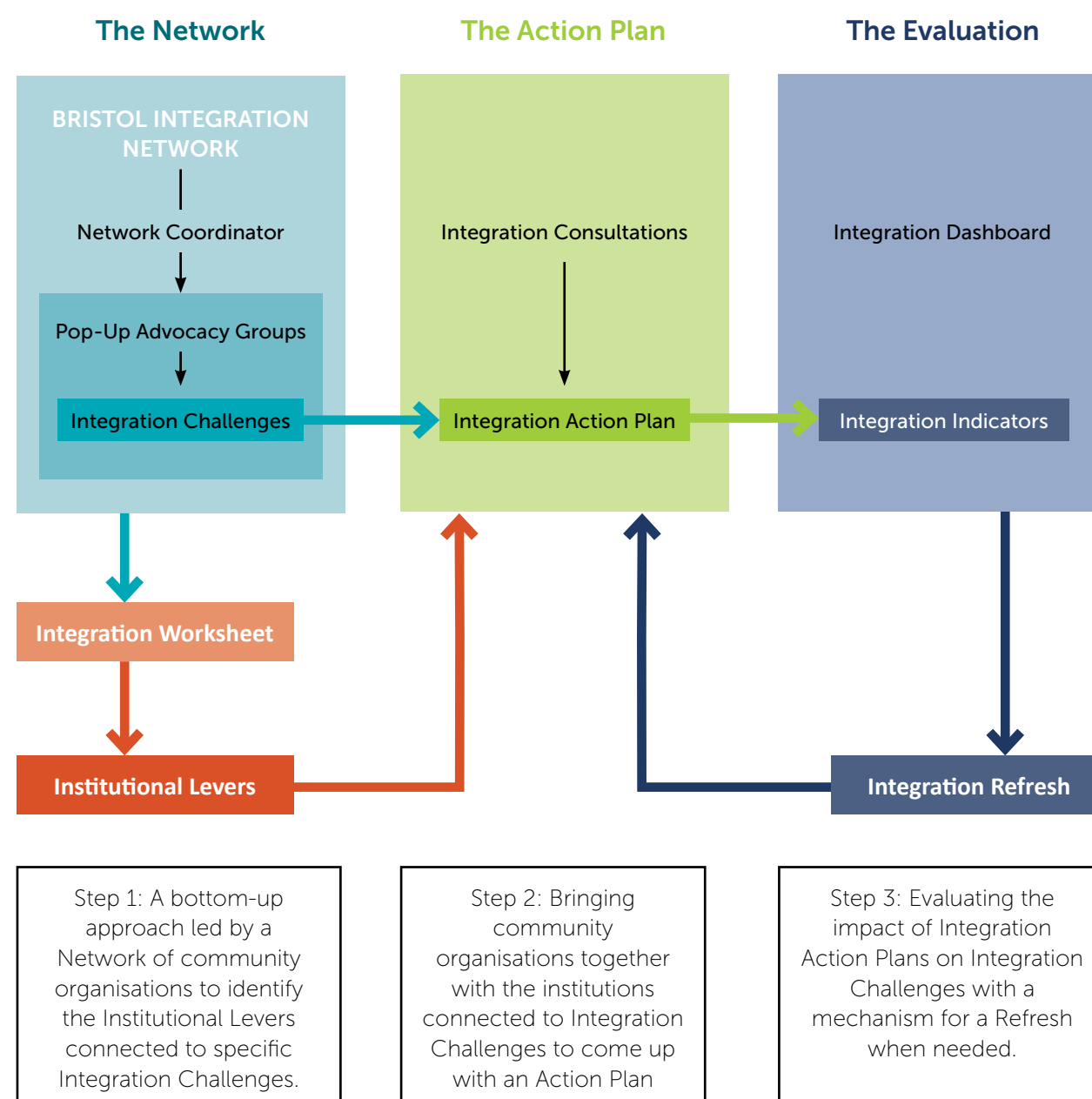
How can we do this?

- **Integration Indicators.** The Consultations should agree a set of Integration Indicators to evaluate the efficacy of the Integration Action Plan on the Integration Challenge they're focusing on. When appropriate, Consultation teams are encouraged to use and/or adapt existing Integration Indicators, such as those found in The Bristol Quality of Life Survey, The Home Office *Indicators of Integration Framework* (2019) or the Greater London Authority's *Social Integration Measurement Toolkit* (2021). Consultation Teams are also encouraged to develop their own Indicators when appropriate.
- **Pop-Up Advocacy Groups.** The role of the Pop-Up Advocacy Groups at this stage is to observe and assess the effects of the Integration Action Plans in the communities they work in. These insights should be gathered and shared at follow-up Integration Consultations agreed by its members.
- **Integration Dashboard.** We propose the creation of an Integration Dashboard to monitor these Integration Action Plans. This Dashboard could be hosted and curated by the One City Office. Dashboard entries will be created for each Integration Challenges with the following information:
 - **Pop-Up Advocacy Group** membership
 - **Institutional Levers** that have been identified
 - **Integration Consultation membership**
 - **Integration Action Plan**
 - **Integration Indicators**
 - **Integration Refresh:** a new Action Plan to tackle ongoing Integration Challenges

- **Integration Refresh.** The Integration Dashboard provides a quick-reference mechanism for revealing what institutional interventions are working well and where more adjustments are needed. Where more work is needed an Integration Refresh will be triggered: a new Action Plan to tackle unresolved and/or ongoing Integration Challenges. This may involve the reconstitution of the Pop-Up Advocacy Groups and/or the Integration Consultations.

These pathways to integration are sketched out schematically in Figure 7. The Integration Framework shows us how we can channel the knowledge we already have in our communities into structures of local governance so that bespoke interventions can be fed back to those communities where they're needed. The Framework utilises existing institutional pathways combined with some strategic but modest enhancements so that Bristol can come together to face the Integration Challenges of the future.

Figure 7: The Bristol Integration Framework



The Last Word

The Bristol Integration Framework gives us at least three advantages over existing national and local approaches to integration:

1. It gives us a way to capture the relevant knowledge we have of diverse Integration Challenges in our local communities so that it can regularly inform decision-making around questions of integration in Bristol.
2. It encourages us to see integration not as a single thing we can fix in one go, but as a dynamic set of connected, shifting, and local grounded practices, challenges, and opportunities that require our ongoing attention. Integration is a process, not an endgame.
3. It recognises that people contribute to integration in their everyday lives but makes institutions responsible for improving their everyday integration.

Taken together, the Bristol Integration Framework helps us understand the complex local challenges of integration so adjustments can be made – and monitored – to improve integration for everyone in Bristol. This is our Integration Framework: a bottom-up, inclusive, and local approach to integration for Bristol.





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Appendix 1: Everyday Integration Partners

We owe the Bristol Integration Framework to the work of our Community Partners and the knowledge, experience, enthusiasm, and commitment that they brought to the Project. Our Community Partners are what makes this a bottom-up approach to Integration. These Partners represented diverse communities of place and interest across Bristol. The image here is not all of us sat together in a room guiding the Project through its various phases in unison, but a shifting, evolving, moving picture of different Partners contributing in different ways at different times reflecting not only the specialist knowledge but their capacity as well. We have strived to include everyone who has contributed in some way to the Project over the past years. We thank each and every one of them for their support and contribution.

Age UK Bristol	Room 13 Hareclive, Hareclive
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Babbasa Youth Empowerment	Kelly Sheldrick
Ben Barker	St Werburghs City Farm
Ania Borowiec	Stepping Up
Bridges for Communities	Somali Resource Centre
Bristol Disability Equality Forum	Southmead Development Trust
Bristol Green Capital Partnership	The Big Issue Foundation
Bristol Old Vic	Morgan Tipping
Bristol Refugee Rights	Trinity Centre
Community CoLab	Wellspring Settlement
Creative Connex	West of England Centre for Inclusive Living
Design West	Ashley Community Housing
Vic Ecclestone	Black South West Network
Hartcliffe and Withywood Community Partnership	Eastside Community Trust
Knowle West Alliance	Voscur
Knowle West Media Centre	Bristol City Council
Kami Lamakan	The Mayor’s Office
Ed Palairt	Good Faith Partnership
Playing Out CIC	
Refugee Women of Bristol	University of Bristol

Appendix 2: Glossary

Bristol Integration Network	A flexible and expandable Network of Voluntary Sector Organisations available to contribute to Integration Challenges connected to the communities and interests they represent.
Bristol Integration Network Coordinator	A voluntary sector organisation in Bristol responsible for coordinating the activities of the Bristol Integration Network and kickstarting Pop-Up Advocacy Groups with Network members.
Bristol Quality of Life Survey	An annual survey administered by Bristol City Council that can be used as a data source by Pop-Up Advocacy Groups and Integration Consultations to understand Integration Challenges more fully.
Evidence Base	The evidence of how Integration works (and doesn’t work) on the ground that is needed to make informed interventions to improve Integration.
Institutional Interventions	The interventions and adjustments made by local institutions (local governance, business, the voluntary sector, and/or other institutional actors) recommended in Integration Action Plans and formulated by Integration Consultations.
Institutional Levers	The effects of institutions (local governance, business, the voluntary sector, and/or other institutional actors) on Integration Challenges. (Levers can be either Integration Barriers or Integration Enablers.)
Integration	Everyday practices and mobilities that contribute to constructive exchange (unimpeded by Integration Barriers).
Integration Action Plan	A Plan formulated in Integration Consultations for Institutional Interventions (local governance, business, the voluntary sector, and/or other institutional actors) to address Integration Challenges.
Integration Barriers	Institutional Levers (local governance, business, the voluntary sector, and/or other institutional actors) that negatively impact Integration Challenges.
Integration Challenges	Specific Integration issues affecting individuals and communities and identified by Pop-Up Advocacy Groups.
Integration Consultations	Meetings between Pop-Up Advocacy Groups and the Institutions identified in the Integration Workshop to co-produce an Integration Action Plan to address an Integration Challenge.

Integration Dashboard	An online platform to monitor progress on Integration Action Plans and to trigger and Integration Refresh when more work is needed.
Integration Enablers	Institutional Levers (local governance, business, the voluntary sector, and/or other institutional actors) that positively impact Integration Challenges.
Integration Framework	A durable yet flexible collection of methodologies, processes, and pathways to feed the knowledge we have in local communities about Integration Challenges into structures of local governance so that bespoke interventions can be made where they are needed.
Integration Indicators	Methodologies to measure the impact of Integration Action Plans on everyday integration related to specific Integration Challenges.
Integration Refresh	A new Integration Action Plan triggered by Integration Dashboard when more work is needed to address ongoing or unresolved Integration Challenges.
Integration Worksheet	A template used by Pop-Up Advocacy Groups to work through the different Institutional Levers connected to specific Integration Challenges.
Integration Workshops	A series of Workshops with Community Partners designed to co-produce the Bristol Integration Framework (Workshop 1: The Evidence Base; Workshop 2: Mapping Integration; Workshop 3: Measuring Integration).
Pop-Up Advocacy Groups	A subset of local voluntary sector organisations selected from the Bristol Integration Network to work on Integration Challenges.

