"'Cultivating integration'. Migrant practices of multidirectional space- making in Integration gardens"

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Abstract

Based on interviews and fieldwork, this article examines migrant practices of multidirectional space-making that emerge in Integration gardens, a gardening association in Copenhagen. The focus is on two interconnected, but distinct modes of space-making- the integration grid and space of gardening. The article aims to illuminate and discuss how these divergent and complementary spaces arise through, and afford ways of narration, action and relating; and how informants negotiate and navigate them. **The 'integration grid'** is characterized by control and mapping of space, 'proximity by design', simultaneous fragmentation and standardization, revealing the Integration gardens as a border zone. The grid juxtaposes excluding/homogenizing logics of the nation state and seemingly including/heterogenizing logics of Copenhagen as a multicultural city. Antithetically, rather than (being designed to take place) between people, the **space of gardening** evolves around plants, seeds and gardening practices. Plants emerge as witnesses of, symbols and vessels for migration (hi)stories. Through gardening, multiple human and non-human presences are evoked (material, dreamt, imagined, recalled), bringing together different spatiotemporalities and relations.

Key words: cultural encounters; space-making; migration; bordering; memory

Note for the panel: As I began working on this paper (which is a rewritten first draft for an article), it seemed that perhaps the notion of Integration grid could be related to the concept of social tectonics (Butler & Robson 2001) and the space of gardening to 'conviviality'. However, in the process, the space of gardening emerged as something quite different than an arena for 'mixing', 'zone of encounter', conviviality or the like- although, as discussed in the article, it can be seen as conducive to 'doing migration' and thus, migrant becoming.

Migrant space-making as a multidirectional practice

This paper discusses two modes of migrant space-making through examining various practices, relations, scripts, narratives, meanings and memories that unfold in Integration gardens, a gardening association in Copenhagen. The article is based on participant observations and interviews. Firstly, I examine how informants negotiate and navigate the space of the gardens that can be understood as an 'integration grid', a conceived, controlled, fragmented space (Lefebvre 1991) where mixing, proximity, cohesion and 'good diversity' are attempted scripted and engineered (Fortier 2010; Grünenberg & Freiesleben n.d.; Ahmed 2012). In this space, seemingly contradictory homogenizing logics of the nation state and somewhat heterogenizing logics of Copenhagen as a multicultural city (Löw 2008) combine and reinforce one another, constituting a bordering encounter (De Genova 2005; De Genova 2014) of kinds.

Secondly, I examine another mode of space-making that unfolds in the association- a space of gardening, populated and produced by juxtaposed presences, symbols, memories and dreams that elicit, summon and bring together various spatiotemporalities and relationships. It is in particular examined how in this space, plants become carriers and symbols of and companions in informants' migration histories. It is discussed how the space of gardening is somewhat reminiscent of conceptions of space of representations (Lefebvre 1991).

This article combines perspectives on (urban) space and space-making with critical perspectives on 'integration' and migration studies (De Genova 2014; De Genova 2005; Blokland 2013; Glick Schiller & Caglar 2011). It has been argued that while it is recognized that migrants become involved in production of distinct urban spaces, the question of (urban) space itself often remains under-theorized (De Genova 2014). This article attempts to bring dynamics pertaining to a specific, localized setting to the center by framing its central focus as practices of migrant space-making. Examining two very different types of social spaces (Lefebvre 1991; Hubbard 2009; Löw 2008; Millington 2011) (at the first glace, one might appear oppressive, the other full of agency, resistance and resilience) that emerge within the same physical setting can

also provide insights on the conditions that these particular migrant agencies are constrained, enabled and governed by.

While there has been an increasing focus on *place*-making in migration studies (Gielis 2009; Gill 2010; Trudeau 2006), space- making and a focus on spatiality are less explored (Amelina 2012; De Genova 2014). Informed by the long and influential discussion on distinctions between space and place in geography and anthropology (Cresswell 2004), I would claim that there is a significant difference. This paper visits concrete *places*- for example, 'Joe's ranch', Carlotte's garden or Li's experience of what I have termed the 'integration grid'. However, the primary interest is not on mapping and describing the specific places that arise, but the practices, negotiations and contestations that constitute modes of space-making.

The practices of space-making imply time-making (Löw 2008; Valverde 2015) and relation-making, related to the concept of multidirectionality (Rothberg 2009). Each mode of space-making involves and links various spatiotemporalities, human and non-human presences, in a pattern of togetherness (Massey 2005) or assemblage. For instance, *miķelīši*, flowers growing in Natalia's garden link not only back to Latvia, but her parents, their house and garden, and time spent there. However, due to space limitations, the dimension of time will not be discussed in detail in the article.

Prior to examining the spaces of Integration grid and gardening, I will explain the methodology of the study, as well as introduce the gardening association as a case in the next section.

Case and methodology

This article will represent a part of a research project that examines negotiations of social boundaries, inclusion/exclusion, heterogeneity and homogeneity in a Copenhagen district. The project was commenced in February 2014.

The paper explores migrant space- making practices as these unfold in Integration gardens, a gardening association that aims at combining organic urban gardening and integration. The association was founded in 2012 with help (access to soil and funding)

from local authorities and Copenhagen municipality. The gardens are leased from Copenhagen municipality for three years at a time. The annual cost of having a garden is 500 kr (around 70 euros) for each member, with additional 100 kr (13 euros) for being signed up on the waiting list. Each garden measures 12m2. According to municipality guidelines, construction of permanent structures (laying out tiles, constructing bigger individual greenhouses etc.) is not allowed - which means the gardens appear rather barren and overseeable, apart from the collective tool sheds, compost bunks and shelter (for an alienating cartography of the gardens as an Integration grid seen from above, see figure 1). Instead of fences, the boundaries of the gardens are marked by paths and lower plants or strings.

According to the statutes of the association, half of the approximately 150 garden plots are allocated to members born in Denmark, half to members born outside Denmark. However, this year, a significant number of the garden plots allocated to members 'born outside Denmark' that were vacant at the beginning of the gardening season in April, were rented out to the people on the longer 'born in Denmark' waiting list. As a result, the proportion of 'born in DK'/'born outside DK' has shifted from 50/50 to around 65/35, according to an estimate from the board; however, the extra members 'born in Denmark' will not be able to keep their gardens next season if there are members 'born outside Denmark' on the waiting list. 'Born in Denmark' members are assigned gardening lots with even numbers, and 'born outside Denmark'- uneven numbers. As a result, garden lots belonging to the two categories of members are placed side by side- in order to facilitate mixing and integration, one may presume.

In order to be signed up on the waiting list, one needs to have an address within a specified area that follows a perimeter around the location of the garden lots. This area is recognized as 'multicultural' by local authorities; there are social housing blocks and so-called disadvantaged housing areas, classified by the Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs. These highlighted and problematized (con-)fused architectural/material and human presences (Pred 2000; Wacquant 2008) are discursively mobilized when designing, placing and financing interventions that aim to

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facilitate mixing and cohesion (Jensen 2015; Grünenberg & Freiesleben n.d.), including 'integration' projects such as the gardens.

Apart from flat garden lots, the gardens consist of two tool sheds in containers, a greenhouse built of recycled materials and two composting stations, common boxes for planting and a couple of fruit trees. On one side of the elongated gardening space, there is a gravel road that is used by an occasional dog walker, jogger, or kids and youths roaming around; and train tracks beyond, around 30m from the gardens, with urban trains passing quite frequently during the day. On the other side, there is a fenced-in garden cooperative which has existed since the beginning of 20th century and includes houses with gardens, inhabitable all year, separated by green, thick, over two-meter high fences. As in many gardening cooperatives in and around Copenhagen, there is a long waiting list (around 160 people) for a possibility to buy a house here. These houses are not sold at market price, although they have become relatively expensive over the past couple of decades, as part of a boom in realty prices in Copenhagen in general. The close proximity of Integration gardens and the established gardening cooperative is evoked in multiple ways. Some informants say they feel lucky to have a garden lot considering the long waiting times and high prices elsewhere that make urban gardens inaccessible for them. Others highlight animosity from the 'nationalistic' owners in the gardening cooperative who allegedly want nothing to do with the Integration gardens and blame the association for (an increase in) burglaries.

Communication in the Integration gardens takes place primarily through a Facebook group (almost exclusively in Danish) and a newsletter (since spring 2014, one newsletter has been in Danish and English; the rest have been in Danish). The central decisions are taken at an annual assembly (which was held 90% in Danish in 2015-English was spoken mostly when 'not born in Denmark' members had to be elected for the board). The daily administration of the association is undertaken by the board that consists of 5 people, whereof at least two have to be 'born outside Denmark', according to statutes.

The **empirical material** for this article is based on participant observations and interviews conducted in Integration gardens, as well as the statutes and vision paper of the association and an interview with the previous chairperson. I have also been following the newsletters and communication on Facebook, although these sources are not directly quoted in the article.

In summer of 2014, I conducted three semi-structured interviews side by side with participant observations. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and are the sources of the direct quotes in the article. However, I noticed that the interviews (with a recorder between me and each informant, us sitting down and talking) felt formal and finalized- meaning that when each interview was concluded and I thanked the informant, it seemed to signal the end of our relation. They had answered my questions to the best of their ability, and I had extracted the information I needed. It felt as though a frame was set up where further contact from my side (if any) would be to follow up with a question I had forgotten to ask, but not really small- talk in the gardens. In addition, I was beginning to feel as though conducting interviews in the gardens was complying to a research design of 'extracting data' (like natural resources from a piece of land) and leaving to 'process' them elsewhere. The same metaphor can be used about participant observations, but they seem to afford a more lasting engagement with the field and informants.

Consequently, I stopped conducting (and recording) formalized interviews this year. Transitioning from using interview transcripts to relying on 'my own' field notes has raised uncertainties about issues of representation and interpretation (Ellis 2004; Ellis & Bochner 1996). However, also interview material is co-constructed by and filtered through the embodied experiences, pre-understandings and interests of the researcher, subject to her interpretation (Alvesson 2011; Alvesson & Sandberg 2013). In addition, rather than thinking about researcher subjectivity as disturbance or 'noise in the data', I aim to acknowledge and explicitate the moments of interpretation, the analytical choices made and the specific and limited frameworks of (situated) knowledge pursued (Haraway 1988). This represents a switch to non-representational

theory, understanding the research endeavor as (co-)producing performative and embodied knowledges (Thrift 1996).

For the time being, the three recorded and transcribed interviews are supplemented by around 80 hours of field observations over summer of 2014 and April-June in 2015, involving longer and sometimes recurring conversations with around 15-20 people. While I also have spoken to members 'born in Denmark', these accounts are not directly included in the article.

Most of the 'born outside Denmark' informants that I have talked to hold EU citizenship and are legally employed; theirs are not voices of migrants subjected to illegalization, or 'deportable non-citizens' (De Genova 2013). However, their experiences of migration imply degrees of relative precariousness, strangeness and distance that need to be negotiated and navigated. There are issues of language, knowing how things work, social networks and resources in access to work and housing. Also these 'privileged' migrants have to maneuver the categories of 'foreignness', 'Danishness', and hierarchies 'within' whiteness (Dzenovska 2013), such as when a person with Polish citizenship is asked "where are you from?", answers "Europe" and is not let free by their Danish counterpart.

When I started fieldwork in Integration gardens in the spring of 2014, my focus was on the 'integration' part. It seemed likely that the 'proximity by design' (Fortier 2010) sought implemented in the gardens would re-produce the same social and cultural boundaries that the association wishes to 'dismantle', according to their statutes. I was also wondering about possible clashes between a 'script', or the prescribed ways of socializing and using the gardens (containing elements like integration, proximity, cohesion, mixing), and the 'everyday life' that I would come to observe unfolding there- all the things people in fact did. However, my focus was still primarily directed, and constrained, by an 'integration gaze'- for instance, how (if) and when would people interact; how would they refer to one another; how would the gardens be negotiated as a racialized, classed, gendered etc space. Perhaps this initial core interest could be formulated as: "How do people relate to one another; who mixes

with whom, (re-)producing which social categories, under which circumstances, and why might this be?" This kind of researcher gaze, swaying between poles of mixing/conviviality vs segregation/'tectonic plates' (Robson & Butler 2001, p.78) is very common in, and perhaps defining for, studies on 'diversity' (see, for example, Jensen 2015; Wise et al. 2013; Wessendorf 2014; Wessendorf 2013; Gidley 2013; Neal & Vincent 2013; Blokland & van Eijk 2010; Blokland 2003; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014). This gaze (which could be criticized for its management or governance of 'diversity' focus) remains present and constraining in this paper, as will be appear in the analysis section on space-making around the 'Integration grid'.

However, this spring and summer (2015), I started talking (and hearing) more about gardening from my informants. Narratives seemed to emerge about gardening practices, and in particular, (choice of) plants that would inhabit the informants' gardens. It seems that in these narratives, plants carry and evoke various meanings and functions- they could be figures that illuminate histories of mobility, (im)permanence and (not) settling down. Plants could help assemble and weave multiple spatiotemporalities and relations together- evoking family presences, pasts, presents and futures, and different places, for instance. They could reflect one's personality or dreams of becoming a different person. 'Local' plants could embody a Danishness or Nordicness that one could be striving to approximate, appropriate, subjugate or cultivate. In one way, my focus shifted from social structures unfolding and manifesting themselves primarily between people (members of the gardening association) to a focus on in-between people and plants, also involving (evoked or assembled) memories or presences of people, plants and gardening practices from "elsewhere". Perhaps yet more importantly, the focus also shifted from encounters and relations to 'Integration grid' and space of gardening as practices of space-making, allowing an analysis of how both are instances of negotiation, evoking different spatiotemporalities, relations, practices and narratives.

Conceiving multidirectional space-making

This article builds on a tradition that conceptualizes space as on one side, socially produced, and simultaneously constraining social relations (Lefebvre 1991; Löw 2008;

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Soja 1989; Cresswell 1996; Harvey 1989; Schatzki 2002), where one conceives 'spatiality as simultaneously a social product (or outcome) and a shaping force (or medium) in social life' (Soja 1989, p.7). Consequently, examining various (contradictory? complementary? competing?) spatiotemporalities of the gardens will also comprise an analysis of social practices and their spatiotemporal order(-ing)s. This constrained and constraining, space also has been conceptualized as 'trowntogetherness' (Massey 2005) or a mesh of practices and orders (Schatzki, 2002). This thinking informs the notion of multidirectional space-making, arising as an assemblage of different presences and spatiotemporalities.

It has been argued that the notion of 'space' captures juxtaposition and coexistence (Massey 2005). On the other hand, the potential of space can also be thought of as an ordering pattern for producing categories of difference and plurality, constituted through acts as the outcome and synthesis of positioning practices (Löw 2008). These perspectives lend an attention on space-making as a process of bringing together (or in fact, 'integrating') and differentiating/setting apart.

The analysis in the two following sections will in part be inspired by Lefebvre's (1991, p.38) conceptual triad on space. This model theorizes space as

1) *Spatial practice or perceived space*, which represents governed, repetitive everyday life, pervaded and prestructured by conceived space (see below).

2) *Representations of space or conceived space*. This is space as seen and created by governing practices of, for example, urban planners, architects, cartographers, administrators and other professionals. Conceived space creates fragmentation in order to control it (Lefebvre 1991, p.320). State is seen as the agent that produces space and its citizens as reproductive forces (Lefebvre 1991, p.85). In this paper, Integration grid can to some extent seen as a conceived space that structures the members' spatial practices.

3) While (1) and (2) are interlinked concrete spaces that are produced socially and generate societal conditions, Lefebvre's (1991) third category is *spaces of representation or lived spaces*. These are spaces of expression, conveyed by images

and symbols. Spaces of representation can provide the possibility to undermine prevailing spatiotemporal logics (Valverde 2015) and envision other spaces. With regard to this paper, the space of gardening has characteristics of a space of representation, constituted by material objects as well as imagination and recall. It allows the bringing together of spatiotemporalities and presences that are mutually exclusive, impossible or simply irrelevant according to the logic of Integration grid.

However, it should be highlighted that while I am inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) typology of spaces, I do not want to wholly reproduce the normative and ideological order that seems to be implicit in his differentiating between conceived (fragmented, alienating, oppressive) space (pertaining to the Integration grid) and (oppositional) space of representation (pertaining to multidirectional becoming). In other words, I would like to try to avoid romanticizing the processes that unfold in the space of gardening, or (re)enforcing an agency- structure dichotomy where integration grid is conceptualized as a domain of opression and space of gardening is understood a liberating space.

Multidirectionality characterizes all spaces and modes of space-making. The choice of this term is inspired by Rothberg's (2009) concept of multidirectional memory. The notion has been developed to explore how contested and divergent memories and narratives of violent past events, such as occupations, genocides, and colonialisms are interlinked and constrain and enable one another. Rothberg (2009) aims to combat 'zero-sum memory' which posits that memories of various atrocities compete with one another for limited terrain. Instead, he argues that memory works productively and interconnectedly- remembering of one event might facilitate emergence of memories of other, even distantly linked events.

Multidirectionality has relevance for processes of space-making in the gardens, as it emphasizes the relationship of coexistence and mutual reinforcement and interplay between different narratives, spaces, times, emotions, people etc., and the various ways these presences can be evoked. I also use multidirectionality to imply that various materialities and non-human presences (plants or delineation of garden plots,
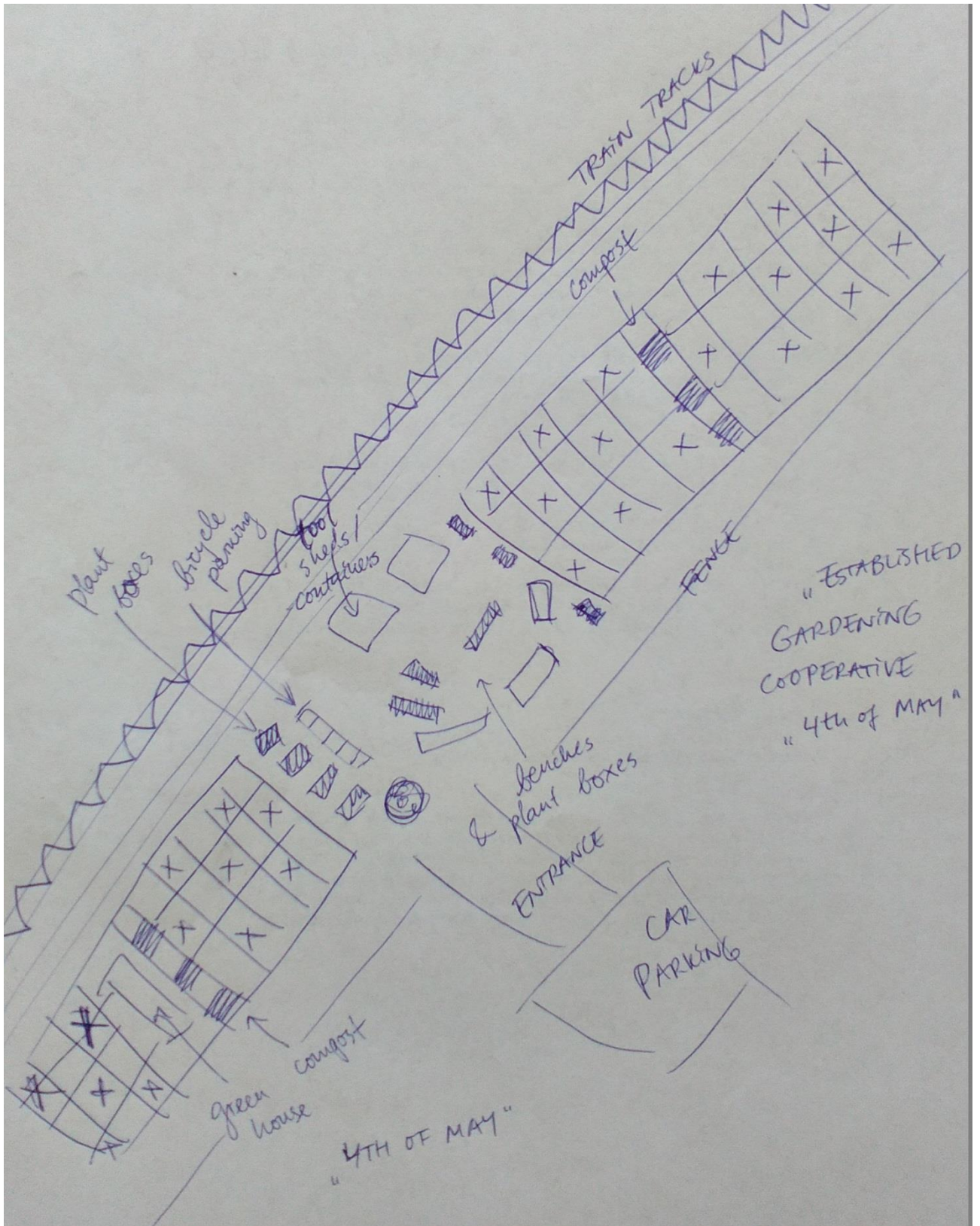
for example) can emerge as symbols, witnesses or assembly points for migration histories, societal discourses, relationships and desired futures. In this way, both the Integration grid and the space of gardening can be thought of as real-and-imagined spaces (Soja 1989).

In the following sections, I will explore the two modes of migrant space-making that emerged in the Integration gardens. First, I will examine the Integration grid, characterized by exploitation, fragmentation, governance, script, and proximity by design; as well as gardens as a space for social production (integration) and physical production (gardening). Secondly, I will focus on the space of gardening and the assemblages and throwntogetherness it allows and entices.

The integration grid

The metaphor of "integration grid" applies to the sorting logics of plot assignment in the gardening association- the segregated waiting lists, board elections and assignment of plots where even numbered gardens are assigned to members born in Denmark and uneven numbered plots are assigned to members born outside Denmark. In this section, it will be discussed how this metaphor encompasses control, management, fragmentation, sorting and bordering practices that the gardens lend space for (Lefebvre 1991; De Genova 2014; De Genova 2013; Löw 2008; Cresswell 1996). As will be elaborated, this figure can also be used to examine how urban including/heterogenizing and nation-state excluding/homogenizing (Held, 2005, in Low, 2008) spatial logics fuse and mutually enable one another (De Genova 2013).

In the following paragraphs, I will aim to provide an overview of how the space of 'Integration grid' is produced by the gardening association, echoing discourses on 'integration', 'cohesion', diversity and the like. However, the main empirical focus is on how this space and its logics are negotiated, (re)made and navigated by informants.

TRAIN TRACKS

compost

"ESTABLISHED
GARDENING
COOPERATIVE
"4th of MAY"

FENCE

Plant boxes

Bicycle parking

tool sheds/
countries

benches
& plant boxes

ENTRANCE

CAR
PARKING

green house

compost

"4TH OF MAY"

1. The gardens as an Integration grid- and alienating cartography from above

The vision paper for the gardens states two primary goals for the association: organic, environmentally friendly gardening and community building and social cohesion:

 '*The association aims to dismantle social and cultural boundaries in order to create cohesion in an urban area with a lot of diversity. It is our experience that garden work and common projects make natural integration grow and give possibilities for new friendships.*' (HF Lersøgrøften 2013, p.3).

In the vision paper of the gardening association, cohesion seems to be positioned in contrast to diversity. Social and cultural boundaries should be undermined (literally translated from the Danish "nedbryde"- break down or destroy) in order to achieve cohesion. However, at the same time, 'diversity' has a value to the association- it is stated as a criteria for success that the gardens are cultivated by members of 20 different nationalities. While 'social and cultural boundaries' are seen as inherently negative, they are also a part of the gardening project's *raison d'être.* In addition, the process of gardening lends metaphors to a 'natural integration' that can 'grow', evoking a contrast to artificially constructed integration in other integration projects.

When looking at how the frame 'integration' is negotiated by the informants, it is striking how pragmatic the informants seem to be. Most of them do not reminiscence on the integration aspect of the gardens without being explicitly asked about it; when I ask they might have some critical comments that they seem to generally keep to themselves (for instance, about how the 'unoccupied' 'born outside Denmark' lots were assigned to people on the 'born in Denmark' waiting list in April). Many informants emphasize how grateful they are for the opportunity to grow vegetables in the city- which is clearly what their involvement in the gardens is about, rather than 'integration'. However, they do negotiate and navigate the 'integration grid' – most notably, when narrating 'Danes' and 'foreigners'.

Polarization of Danes and foreigners is very salient in informants' narratives and practices. Natalie speaks of her 'Danish neighbor' even though she knows his name (he has written e-mails to her when he thought it was time to harvest the vegetables in her garden). When Anna's garden neighbor had tramped on her beetroot bed, she

remarked to me jokingly- yes, if they come today, you'll see a conflict between foreigners and Danes. Among the 'born outside Denmark', stories circulate of how Danes do gardening, and how foreigners do gardening, with Danes being allegedly more structured, law-abiding, doing everything by the book, and foreigners being more experimental, courageous, and open-minded.

The category of 'born in Denmark' is in practice referred to as being Danish or Dane and remains largely undifferentiated (an exception is when adjectives like "ethnic" or "regular Danes" (almindelige danskere) are used; classed, gendered, geographical or other differences within Danishness do not seem to be evoked, apart from one informant, Li, who indignantly calls the 'born in Denmark' members smart hipsters and middle class). However, when 'born in Denmark' combines with signs on the body that are mobilized to support racializing logics, someone born in Denmark can be pulled out of Danishness. For example, Robert from England tells me about a 'Pakistani man' in the gardening association and then specifies- 'born in Denmark, but Pakistani'.

In contrast, there seems to be more stratification of the category 'born outside Denmark' among informants. Informants usually refer to 'foreigners', sometimes 'aliens/strangers' ('fremmede'). This group seems to be further divided with regards to who is 'expat' and who is, as Li puts it, 'object for integration'.

"(...) *yes, us aliens, what kind of people we are. How many people are there here, who according to the municipality would be actual objects for integration? Not so many. It's more expats, people who already... yes, are integrated according to Danish understanding, politicians' understanding. People who have resources. People who come from countries that are not looked down upon, people who have a religion that is not looked down upon, people who prefer to dress like one does in Denmark (…)*".

(Li, queer informant of color)

My observations in the gardens seem to confirm that relatively few of the 'born outside Denmark' members would be subject to racializing logics or municipal gaze of integration, being positioned as non-Western (which is a statistical category for immigrant classification and governance in Denmark). And yet, 'expat' can be seen as a

contested category. Many of the informants I have talked to are well educated and/or affiliated with universities and in well-paid jobs; they dress 'Danish' and do not display religious beliefs that might be scorned upon (apart from the extent to which skin color can be read as a marker for (alien) religious beliefs). But there are many countries that are looked down upon to a various extent. Lila from Poland who works for the UN tells me about how she recently spoke to a Russian colleague about who qualified as an 'expat'. Their agreement was that 'expats' could only be from Anglo-Saxon countries.

It can be briefly concluded that with regards to the social categories used in the gardens, 'Danes' and 'foreigners' constitute a powerful binary, while the category of 'foreigner' is subject to some differentiation/stratification. This would not be remarkable in itself, but it seems interesting with regard to the goal of integration to 'dismantle social and cultural differences'. One might argue that the spatial practice (grid) of plot assignment and other structural arrangements that further separate 'born in Denmark' and 'born outside Denmark' further reinforce this binary. A spatiotemporal logic emerges where the precondition of integration is segregation-one has to markedly divide to (know who has to) integrate (with whom). Reflecting societal discourses on 'integration', mixing and the like, the gardens have been divided into plots for members 'born in Denmark' and 'born outside Denmark' that are placed side by side and reflected in the binary of social relations between 'Danes' and 'foreigners'. In this respect, the Integration grid reminds of the interconnected duality of perceived and conceived space from Lefebvre's (1991) triad. The grid is a homogenized and homogenizing space, representing fragmentation, categorization and standardization at the same time. All gardens are the same size, but their alignment re-enacts the central binary that depends on members' place of birth.

However, it should be mentioned that apart from re-production of categories of the integration grid (and society at large), the Dane-foreigner binary can be and is mobilized to other ends by the informants. For example, it provides a possibility to complain about 'Danes'; recognition of inequalities in the way the garden plots are distributed and organized; claim to distinctiveness (e.g. as generally less uptight people and more 'creative' gardeners than 'Danes').

In order to further explore how narratives, imaginaries and relations around 'integration' are anchored, structure and are structured by the spatiotemporal organization of the gardens, it is relevant to look at how informants frame and engage 'integration'- to the extent that they are willing to talk about it. This is a central question, as it also includes notions of who should be present (integrated; deserving vs undeserving subjects) and on which/whose terms.

Tracing 'integration'

Informants explain they have joined the association to grow vegetables in the city, rather than take part, or be subject to, integration. When I ask about integration, Jean (then-member of the board, postdoc at a Danish university, born in Mali) refers to the structure of segregated waiting lists as

"(…) *providing possibilities or a platform for both parts to meet each other and have fun together. (…) in this way, integration means that people get to know each other and have the possibility to talk together and get close to each other without being afraid*".

Jean also recognizes that the 'integration' word makes it easier to get support from authorities, but he does not problematize it- in fact, most informants don't. In 2014, my general impression is that people generally do not care much about 'integration' as long as they can grow vegetables, unless they feel that there are structural problems- like Li does. Li is inflamed about how "integration is a smart word to get money from the municipality" and refers to it as tokenism, where non-Danes are exploited for access to soil and money from the municipality and other sponsors.

Li's account of 'integration' highlights an interesting duality. On one side, Li does not like the 'integration word'- on the other side, the word prompts expectations of inclusion that it[1] says one should emphasize in an integration project. For Li, the result is 'disappointing'- it seems to be presence of oppression of 'integration' without living up to any obligations.

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[1] Li uses a third person singular pronoun about itself.

On one hand, Li seems to be critical of the division of people into objects for integration on one side, and resourceful, already integrated expats on the other side. On the other hand, it evokes an economy where deserving people who really need such a project (poor migrants) are contrasted to smart hipster-Danes. This seems reminiscent of foreigner-Dane binary, but is (more) about class. For Li, the social dynamic in the gardens (or most places in Copenhagen) seems to be about passing as a majority person, vs a minoritized person- which it relates as contextually bound and intersectional- related to class, Danishness/Westerness, racialization, age, able-bodiedness, perceived gender and sexuality etc. The boundaries between deserving and undeserving are in this case rooted in a sense of (in)justice and perceived hegemonic order of privileged "smart hipster Danes" (fusing of class and Danishness).

Homogenization, heterogenization and bordering

The Integration grid, the managed and mapped space of the gardens encompasses the duality of perceived and conceived space, according to Lefebvre's triad explained above- the 'plan' or script and the everyday life that is constrained by its lines. It has become commonplace to theorize space as a social product (Löw 2008; Cresswell 2004)- which implies that examining how certain spaces are sought produced, managed and ordered, might provide a vantage point to mapping societal dynamics that also find their expression in other arenas. This highlights the multidirectionality of space- making- as has been demonstrated, in navigating and negotiating the integration grid, informants draw on societal discourses on 'foreigners', 'Danes', expats vs 'subjects for integration', good mixing, (un)deservingness, and the like.

Another node of embeddedness in societal structures is the way the grid can be related to the order of capitalism. Lefebvre (1991) conceptualizes measurement and control of space as a specific expression of the capitalist mode of production. The capitalist colonization of space and time is seen as implying and leading to simultaneous and mutually reinforcing exploitation and passivity (Harvey 1996). Lefebvre sees this production and control of space as capitalist means of appropriation, leading to simultaneous fragmentation and homogenization (Löw 2008,

p.27; Lefebvre 1991). In the case of the integration gardens, space is not made up of 'boxes for living in' (Lefebvre 1991, p.384) but 'squares for cultivation'.

Moreover, the Integration grid encompasses inclusion/heterogeneity and exclusion/homogeneity as two complementary and competing space logics. Held (2005, reviewed in Löw, 2008) contrasts the competing spatiotemporal logics of the multicultural city (heterogeneity and inclusion) to the spatiotemporal logics of the nation state (homogeneity and exclusion). It can be argued that the Integration grid shows how these logics can combine and complement each other. While the gardening association celebrates the diversity of its members as a success, it also declares the eradication of social and cultural differences as its goal. While everyone is sought treated equally (the plots are the same; the aimed-for division between 'born in Denmark' and 'born outside Denmark' is 50:50), there is a constant reinforcing of a binary of difference, occasionally with stratifications that echo other contexts and discourses.

The (re-)production of this binary also makes the Integration grid a bordering encounter (De Genova 2013; De Genova 2005; Dzenovska 2014). Writing about Mexican Chicago, De Genova (2014, p.6) found the border 'folded in upon itself, compressed, perforated and tangled, ruptured and scattered. (…) When the border materialised in this space, it tended to be localised on migrants' bodies'. This also happens in the Integration gardens, when a brown body is described as 'born in Denmark but Pakistani'. Moreover, the spatial ordering of the Integration grid also ejects white, 'Western' bodies from Danishness, making their being 'born outside Denmark' visible to anyone who is familiar with the logic of the grid. As soon the members' bodies are attached to their plot, their presence of lack of Danishness is established- with the exception of non-white Danish bodies. This highlights the racializing and ethnicizing logic of the grid.

Space of gardening

In the previous section, I described the spatiotemporal logics of the Integration grid and some of the informants' attempts of negotiating this space. In this section, the

focus will be on space of gardening- a mode of space-making that could perhaps be compared to Lefebvre's (1991) third mode of space-making.

I would like to start this section with three short vignettes about gardens I have seen and people I have met in the Integration gardens. While the stories are different, they all hint at symbolism and meanings that can be attached to, or grow on, plants.

Many of the plants in Charlotte's garden come from various dumpsters; others she has grown from seed. The rhubarb, strawberries, blueberries, raspberry, asparagus and some of the other flowers have moved with Charlotte from a squat's garden to another squat's garden to rooms in various addresses in Copenhagen. One of them is a pink lily. When Charlotte joined the gardens last year, she planted it there. It grew to be a huge bush, taller than a person, with over twenty flowers and enormous, shiny pink petals that Charlotte describes as almost violent, sexual and artificial. Charlotte also has two plants from her father's family in France- an herb and a strawberry. For her, gardening started as something that was 'not supposed to make sense' (be durable), so she smiles when she tells about the attachment she feels to the plants that have moved on with her. In Charlotte's garden, there is also some grass, so she can sit down and relax and talk to her plants, she says.

Showing me her garden, Natalie proposes that gardens reflect people's personalities, and that from seeing hers, one can see she's an engineer. Natalie's garden is arranged in rows- radish, spinach, potatoes, salad, beans, except from some flowers and a big bush of sage at the edge and in the corners. She offers me some sage- it's been salvaged from the compost pile where plants are sometimes thrown out. Later on, we hypothesize it's because people are clearing their garden out after the previous season when the plot belonged to someone else. Natalie says she understands people want to make their gardens their own. She tells me other people have planted strawberries and rhubarb, but 12m^2 is too little space for those in her opinion. Natalie wants to use space in the best possible way; she says that the beans are the best because they grow upwards and take least space.

Later on, as we are having some tea, Natalie tells me about her parents who have a hectare of land in Latvia. They mostly grow flowers and strawberries. The conversation turns to peonies which we both love. Natalie says she especially loves the white ones, and the way they smell. Her mother has four large bushes. But to cultivate them, Natalie explains, they need to be seedlings for two years, and then sit in the same place for twenty years, and one bush takes up so much space (she gestures with her hands). A bit later on, Natalie declares she would love her garden to be wild strawberries, all of it. But then she would be afraid that someone would pick them, as she has experienced plants disappearing from her garden.

Joe comes to the tool shed while Natalie and I are having tea. Joe claims that foreigners are more ambitious about their gardens while Danes follow the rules. He tells about an Iraqi man who had built a greenhouse, grill, and laid out a patio, all in the 12 m² of his garden. All of it had to be taken down following a municipality inspection, since the gardens are not supposed to contain permanent structures.

Joe takes us to show is garden. He is building wooden structures for plants (beans, squash and hokkaido) to crawl on and jokes about finding animal skulls to be attached to the wooden planks. He is also growing corn, blueberries, and squash. Joe also has some rhubarb that he got from his garden neighbor, growing together with strawberries. He has no previous gardening experience but his parents had a farm. Several times Joe mentions that it would be nice if everyone was flying a flag in their garden, but says it perhaps would be "too much". He refers to the erected structures and corn as 'American stuff'. Playfully, he comes to call the garden "Joe's ranch" during our conversation.

2. 'Joe's ranch', May 2015. The erected structures are quite extraordinary compared to other gardens.

As seen in these vigniettes, informants evoke (memories, dreams and images of) plants, places, times and people that become literally or imaginatively present in their gardens. For example, most of the plants in Charlotte's garden can be seen as representing different periods from her past paths in Copenhagen. Rescued from dumpsters and taken on a journey across a part of Copenhagen, they have moved and traveled with her across different temporary locations to find their present home in the gardens. In addition, Charlotte has plants from her father's family in France. Natalie is growing *miķelīši*, an autumn flower that she got the seeds for from her mother; „Italians" are cultivating tomatoes and basil, Ali is growing cress from Syria and Joe is tending corn that evokes memories of his childhood in the US. These plants can be seen as presences from the past, present and future 'elsewheres' that are brought, or summoned (Taussig 2011), into the space of the gardens.

On the other hand, there are also 'local' Danish or Nordic presences evoked through plants. Some informants ('born outside Denmark') proudly present and tell about a rhubarb plant, a flower, herb or a species of potato in their gardens that are said to be

local to/originating in Denmark. Jeremy who works as a cook in a restaurant awarded two Michelin stars, offers me various herbs that come from an organic Danish farm; although we speak English together, he names most of the herbs in Danish. He also highlights the wine rubarb bush in his garden, 'an old Danish kind'. These plants can be perceived as specimens of some kind of 'Danishness', anchoring the gardens and gardening practices in an imagined 'local' landscape of meanings. With regard to racialization (and class) inherent in ideas about 'New Nordic' food (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen 2013), cultivation of these plants can be interpreted as desire for (proximity to) (white) 'Danishness' that 'New Nordic' food movement can symbolize- and perhaps also revealing class aspirations. However, choosing to grow these plants and positioning them as specifically 'Danish' might also be interpreted as striving for 'localness' (and perhaps belonging?); as an attempt at domesticating/subjugating Danishness, or colonizing Danish soil, as perhaps best exemplified by Joe's ranch with its erected structures, desired American flag and animal sculls.

In addition, there are the imagined, longed for, or dreamt presences, such as Natalie's peonia bush and wild strawberries; or other informants' longing for trees and bushes that are deemed 'too big' for the gardens. Similarly, family members and friends from 'elsewhere' are brought into the space of the gardens (and the space is brought to them) through visits, phone/skype conversations and photos exchanged.

These imagined and/or material plant and human presences can help envisage how pasts, presents and futures meet in the gardens. They also show how informants' gardening practices and imageries preserve and/or construct connections and links across different spatiotemporalities- how plants, spatiotemporalities and people '(…) are connected to form spaces through processes of perception, ideation, or recall' (Löw 2008, p.35). Consequently, one might say that Natalie cultivates (a particular time in) Latvia in her garden, while Charlotte tends to the demolished squat (and also the event of the plants' resurrection from dumpsters) in her garden. These acts of gardening can also be interpreted as claims to space (De Genova 2014)- as willing attempts to bring other spatiotemporalities into the $12m^2$ provided by the Integration grid. Informants' claims towards distinctiveness can be contrasted to the

homogenization enforced by the the grid- for example, Charlotte tells me proudly that she can recognize her garden when passing by on the train; other gardens, for instance, Ali's and Joe's, stand out at the first glance.

In understanding the space of gardening I draw on Lefebvre's notion of spaces of representation referred to above. Spaces of representation are lived, experienced and recoded through the actions of those that occupy and use them (Lefebvre 1991). This kind of space takes place not only in perception, but, crucially, also in imagination, memory and yearning (dreamt spaces like 'Joe's ranch' or Natalie's wild strawberry field). Moreover, the multidirectionality involved in the making of the space is evoked in a way that counters (or often simply escapes the logics of) the dominant grid and its stratified binary.

However, in contrast to spaces of representation as conceptualized by Lefebvre (1991), the space of gardening should not be thought of as pre-capitalist, non-homogenized, or non-fragmented. It is a negotiation of space, or a mode of space-making, which, unlike the Integration grid, does not evolve around the foreigner-Dane binary; but it is constrained (not determined) by the same logics of capitalism, fragmentation and homogenization. In other words, the space of gardening is not a utopian or sheltered space, as this form of space-making directly addresses both the constraints of the Integration grid and the constraints resulting from capitalism, immigration policies and migration. There is not enough space and time for growing peonies in Natalie's garden, but they exist as a dreamt presence, linking various spatiotemporalities.

Preliminary conclusion

This article has discussed how two divergent, but interlinked modes of space-making unfold on the gardening association. On one hand, there is the integration grid, a space that simultaneously seeks to homogenize, fragment and sort/categorize, functioning as a border zone where essentialized notions of difference are (re-)produced. It might be said that the Integration grid operates in a way that somewhat resembles the notion of tectonic plates (Butler & Robson 2001), not primarily with the implication that people slide past each other according to racialized, ethnicized categories (although lack of

contact 'across' Danes and foreigners is expressed and observed in the association), but rather with the notion that lines between the plates follow these categories. This mode of space-making is overtaken and negotiated by informants- for example, they tend to use the categories 'Dane'/Danish neighbor and 'foreigner' in relation to the garden plots (rather than people's names). At the same time, as Li's statements illustrate, these binary categories and ways they are deployed can also cause frustration and sense of injustice that responds to their deployment and salience far beyond the gardening association, in society at large.

On the other hand, there is a space of gardening being made in the Integration gardens, inhabited by plants, gardening practices and traditions, and memories, spatiotemporalities and relationships that these symbolize, trigger or carry. The space of gardening becomes an assemblage and throwntogetherness (Massey 2005) of these various presences that are brought together across space, time and distance. 'Integration'-relevant categories or themes that could be related to mixing, social cohesion, conviviality etc do appear in this space (for example, when informants proudly speak of 'local Danish' plants that they have acquired, sometimes from their 'Danish gardening neighbor'). Nonetheless, they are not constitutive to it, as the interactions that comprise this space evolve primarily not between (categories of) people but between people and plants, dreamt and imagined garden spaces, migration (hi)stories, gardening practices and memories. Consequently, I would argue that it would be reductive to perceive the space of gardening as a space for 'conviviality', as the essence of this mode of space making seems to be beyond the interventionist (and researcher) gaze of diversity management- although the effects related to the integration grid also echo in this space. And perhaps the space of gardening can be thought as a space for migrant becoming and doing migration?

Short bio

Linda Lapina is a PhD Fellow at Roskilde University, Dept. of Culture and Identity. Her project is an ethnographic study of social relations in a Copenhagen district. The project examines

negotiations of heterogeneity/homogeneity, inclusion/exclusion, belonging and participation in contested urban spaces. In addition, it is explored how discourses on Danishness, racialization, and integration/inclusion are (re)produced and challenged in everyday life. Recently, she has been working on the concept of "diversity tourism": a stance of white middle class majority Danish residents that celebrate 'diversity' as a stimulating property of racialized and subaltern others, framing it representing a particular (hyper)reality and a 'break from Copenhagen'.

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