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CONSUMPTION RESEARCH NORWAY (SIFO)

FOOD2GATHER

What is migrants' food all about in Europe? A media discourse analysis through the lens of controversies

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Title	Pages	Date
What is migrants' food all about in Europe? A media discourses analysis through the lens of controversies	30	31.8.2021

Author	Project number	Signature
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Financed by

Summary

This report is part of the HERANET funded project FOOD2GATHER. The project aims at understanding the question of integration/exclusion of migrants through foodscapes. An important step in this direction is to analyse the contextual framework within which food-related practices, norms and values are embedded in European societies. Food controversies that have raised and have been reported in the media since the "2015 migrants' crisis" across Europe can reveal important aspects related to such norms and values and indicate possible tensions and compromises. This report presents and discusses relevant food controversies that occurred in the six countries participating in the study (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, and the Netherlands). This will generate a contextual overview of the integration/exclusion of migrants through foodscapes. Controversy has been used as a tool and a scanner. Each of the six FOOD2GATHER teams provided two relevant controversies that have reached media attention in the last ten years. One of the two had to be related to *halal* food. The analysis of the controversies has been conducted by identifying issues they tackled, agents they involved, (public) spaces and situations in which controversies took place and what they produced. A comparative analysis of relevant variables related to migrations, such as the geopolitical position of the countries, organization of reception and food provision, has been conducted as well. The six countries included in the study have different traditions related to migration and have been exposed to the "migrants' crisis" in different ways. These differences are reflected in the proposed controversies. However, some common traits tend to emerge and reveal power relationships within societies that are different or shared by the countries involved in the project. We show that these power relationships particularly deal with the right to food, citizens' commitment, identity, the place of religion, animal welfare and political issues. Our study indicates that analysing controversies adds an important dimension to the study of foodscapes. Food controversies that reach the media attention are seldom something migrants have brought up themselves. The migrants' representation in the media based on food controversies indicated that migrants are given little opportunity to negotiating values and practices, as norms about "the right" quantity and quality of food tend to reproduce the food model of the country they migrate to, also when there is a "positive" focus on ethnic business. To better understand these dynamics, we propose the concept of "food encounters" and illustrate how the type of food encounters can play a role in how foodscapes could evolve or even emerge.

Keywords Controversies; Food Encounters; Foodscapes; Integration; Media Discourse Analysis; Migrants

A project supported by HERA JRP

Public Spaces: Culture and Integration in Europe

FOOD2GATHER

Exploring foodscapes as public spaces for integration

Deliverable 2.2:

What is migrants' food all about in Europe?

A media discourses analysis through the

lens of controversies
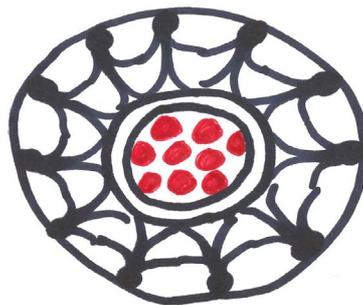
Preface

This report is a deliverable (D2) of Work Package 2 "Macro level approach" in the FOOD2GATHER project. The D2 report aims at providing a contextual overview of the integration of migrants through foodscapes.

The FOOD2GATHER project explores the relations between food and public spaces in the context of migration and aims to problematize food as a potential driver of opportunities for intercultural communication and interaction in European societies. The project builds on and adapts the concept of 'foodscapes'. Foodscapes is understood as public spaces knitted together through food related practices, including the physical, social, and institutional landscapes of foods and their modes of valuation. Foodscapes are seen as crucial agents in the construction of dynamic and reciprocal relationships among all of the communities that find themselves in Europe today. Through case studies of public spaces in six European countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway), the project addresses the potentialities of foodscapes for creating (or not) new conditions for living together.

Oslo, August 2021

Consumption Research Norway (SIFO)

OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University

Content

1. Introduction Foodscapes and food controversies

Food is central in social and cultural life, both in the private and public spheres. Practices related to food and feeding are influenced by cultural norms and values that may diverge with respect to social groups and environments (Douglas 1979, Certeau *et. al.* 1994, Razy 2007, Suremain & Razy 2011, Mescoli 2015).

Meals and eating practices appear as the result of negotiation of roles, status, duties, tastes and routines and can be understood within the framework of "food models", defined as: "[...] the reference models presented in the discourses and which refer to ideal modes of food preparation, consumption, conviviality, solidarity or redistribution[1]" (Suremain & Katz 2008),

Food models are highly variable and can influence the "food encounters". The food encounter is a working concept that refers to "any bringing together of individuals, groups through food and feeding". These food encounters can be experienced, desired or claimed, positively or negatively by the actors involved; they can occur at various levels and concern food models as well as events, situations as the purchase or consumption of an "exotic" product, an emotion or being exposed to specific food or kitchen smells (Mariani 2015, Hassoun & Raulin 1995, Regnier 2004, Ray 2004, 2014, Mescoli 2015).

Foodscapes represent a relevant arena for studying and understanding food encounters.

Foodscapes are the public spaces in which food encounters take place. They are the place where values, meanings and representation intersect with the material and environmental realities that sustain the availability of food (Dolphijn 2004). Public spaces appear as meeting spaces, where alliances are formed, also transnational and transindividual, but also where different opinions, ways of thinking and "ways of living" can clash. Foodscapes are "socially constructed spaces where 'ideas of food' appear as they situate the lives of individuals, social groups and cultures" (Dolphijn 2004).

In the approach of this report, public foodscapes are thought of as the material and immaterial scene for "food encounters" where social and cultural references are expressed more or less in relation to the food models of individuals and groups, in their daily interactions. Food spaces are dynamic: they not only shape food encounters but are as well shaped by them. As this report will show, food encounters can lead to some discrepancies and misunderstandings. These discrepancies contribute to the creation of controversies (Lemieux 2007).

The study of food related controversies can be of particular relevance for understand the encounter of potential different food models.

Since the Greek philosophers, the recognition of the centrality of controversy have been the subject of great interest.

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[1] Our translation.

Etymologically, Rey (2000) explains that controversy is borrowed from the Latin *controversia* 'discussion, debate' and, in a legal discussion, "litigation". A controversy is always contextual, embedded in a language, at a given moment in the history of thinking and in the cultural and social history of societies. According to Amilien et al. (2019: 2) "controversies are emerging when scientific uncertainties meet social practices (such as everyday life, the food market or a new technological device), and can be defined as a process, or the process through which (scientific) knowledge is created".

2. Objectives and questions

The aim of the report is to present food related controversies emerged in the countries participating in the FOOD2GATHER project. This report is a deliverable of Work Package 2 entitled "Macro level approach". The resulting partial mapping of controversies (Latour 2001) and the analysis of their potential or effective institutionalizing character (Lemieux 2007) provide a comparative overview of political, social and institutional norms and arrangements that supports the experience of food in the context of migration in different European societies. Indeed, we consider controversies here as revealing the power relations and social positions of the actors involved (Lemieux 2007) in foodscapes. Although we generally speak of controversies in the singular, we are most often dealing with embedded controversies (main controversies and explicit or implicit "sub-controversies"), which we will try to unravel or, at the very least, to identify. Finally, as these controversies occur in the legal, administrative, political, historical, cultural and social contexts that shape them and which they themselves also shape, their analysis is complex and the report does not claim to provide an exhaustive analysis.

Through the comparative analysis of the controversies, we aim at answering the following general question: ***what do food controversies reveal about migrants' place in the European public space?*** To what extent do media discourses reveal food as a medium for integration or, on the contrary, marginalisation of migrants? How do the controversies reveal different conceptions of migration, food and public spaces in European societies? As far as possible, the media discourse analysis will provide comparative answers by: (i) identifying similarities, differences and tensions between the various countries involved; (ii) considering the way migrants are seen: from passive and vulnerable to recognised actors; from voiceless to absent, etc.

2.1 Structure of the report

The report presents a general methodology, followed by a section presenting contextual elements related to migration in each of the countries participating in the study. The controversies will be discussed in a section consisting of two sub-sections. The *first subsection* tackles the specific case of *halal* in the media, a symbol used to promote a variety of political interests, revolving around controversies over ritual slaughter or, more broadly, *halal* food consumption. The *second subsection* addresses the contradictions between the points of view, positions, and actions of the different actors in the field of migrants' food reported in the media discourses. The media controversy is mainly situated in between food security as a right, the so called right to food, a very theoretical legal standard represented by the institutional food model and of which political leaders are the representatives or detractors, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the evidence of migrants' food insecurity which leads civil society to implement the concrete realization of the right to food. At the end, some final considerations will be presented.

3.   Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study consisted in collecting different controversies, coming from various communication channels, in each partner country of the project (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, the Netherlands). The analysis and interpretation of the controversies has been conducted through an iterative process of documentation and reflection of the data produced within the framework of a general template of Work Package 2 (See ***Annex 1***). This template dealt with the legislative frameworks and institutional procedures related to the reception and integration of migrants within European countries.

Each country team provided two examples of controversies. Following a common discussion we decided to include a topic that was controversial in all countries participating in the study and one chosen issue according to the national context that addressed food and/or migration. *Halal* food was chosen as the common issue as debate around this topic is particularly relevant in European societies nowadays. The country chosen controversies enabled to highlight the importance, the existence, or on the contrary, the absence of media debate on the chosen topics, namely food and/or migration, according to the local contexts and current events. The analysis of the controversies has shed light on different issues and brought to light various questions that will be developed in this report.

When collecting controversies, we have deliberately not imposed limits on the researchers as to the type of media used, but rather encouraged diversity. Thus, the emphasis here is rather on the discourses around food in the media as a resource for the expression of identity, political and social claims (Bonhomme,2021[2], Bernal 2014). The controversies addressed in the report are expressed through different media channels, thereby demonstrating the multiplicity of spaces forming the public space of food and migration controversies being discussed here.

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[2] Julien Bonhomme, « MÉDIAS (anthropologie) », Encyclopædia Universalis [en ligne], consulté le 21 février 2021. URL: https://www.universalis.fr/encyclopedie/medias/

4. Migration through Europe and the reception of migrants

Before entering in the core of our analysis of the controversies, it is important to provide some contextual aspects related to the migrant's situation in the countries included in the study.

As contextual aspects we have taken into consideration the exposure to the migration flow, the migration tradition of the countries and the organization of the asylum system. Attention has also been given to aspects related to food provision and regulation of food relevant for cultural and religious reasons (such for instance *Halal* food)

Each partner has been provided with a template to facilitate retrieval of relevant information. The template was discussed with partners and revised before the data collection started.

Data has been collected in each country mainly from national and EU reports and previous research projects conducted by partners. The analysis of the templates, supplied by further investigation conducted by the principal investigators of this work package, has been inspired by the qualitative comparative method (QCA) introduced by Ragin (2014). QCA is a methodology that enables the analysis of multiple cases in complex situations. In QCA variables or set of variables are simplified based on binary scores (1-0, where one indicates the presence and = the absence of a phenomenon). It is however important to point out that attribution of scores is far from being a mechanical exercise, but has instead to be regarded as a tool that can help social scientists conceptualize social and political phenomena as sets with imprecise boundaries between membership and non-membership (Ragin 2014).

For instance, in relation to "controlling the flow of arrivals", we may classify Italy as "1" as it is the country in our study that has the highest arrival of "non controlled" migrants, while we may classify Norway as "0", as the arrival of non-controlled immigrants is very low. Other countries in the study may be classified "in between". Regarding the organization of the reception system, we have considered if countries provide asylum seekers with a shelter from the very moment, they ask for asylum or if there are sensible gaps that may leave asylum seekers "on their own".

Together, the consideration of these aspects can offer a platform that can promote a better understanding of the controversies included in the further parts of the report.

4.1 Migration routes to Europe

In the last ten years Europe has faced an increasing number of asylum seekers. Between 2008 and 2012 there was a gradual increase in the number of asylum applications within the EU-27, after which the number of asylum seekers rose at a more rapid pace, with 400,500 applications in 2013, 594,200 in 2014 and around 1.3 million in 2015. In 2016 the number levelled off at around 1.2 million. In 2017, the number of asylum applications marked a significant decrease of 44.5 % in comparison with 2016, and continued a downward path also in 2018. In 2019, 676,300 asylum seekers applied for international protection in the 27 current Member States of the European Union (EU-27), up by 11.2 % compared with 2018.

While the flow of migrants has touched all the countries included in the study, wide geopolitical variations, past history of migration and current governance of migration provides different context surrounding the debate about migration, as will be exemplified in the presentation and analysis of the controversies.

Geographically, the countries included in the study span from the Italian peninsula, stretching across the Mediterranean, to Norway, far away from the traditional migration routes. The geographical position, how reachable they can be, has an impact on the number of migrants heading to these countries.[3]

Not surprising then, Italy has played a relevant role in the European migration crisis, receiving more than 335,000 irregular maritime arrivals via the Mediterranean during 2015-16. Importantly, however, Italy is hardly only a country of arrival, but also a country of transit. After reaching the Italian shores, many migrants aim to move onward to reunite with relatives or find work in other European countries, particularly Germany or the Northern European countries. Attempts to cross borders and move further are common. Refugees grouping as the one at the Italian border of Ventimiglia with France and the one in Calais, France to cross over to the UK being the most known examples.

Changes in the migration routes may also affect the countries that are most exposed to receive the first wave of emergency. This was particularly visible in the case of the Balkan route during the Syrian war and the long journey to reach the German borders. In 2015 Germany alone reached the considerable number of 890,000 asylum requests. At the peak of the refugee crisis also a "northern route" appeared, between the Russian border and Norway: nearly 5,500 asylum-seekers crossed the border at Storskog in 2015, often by bike as crossing the border on foot was not allowed.

Importantly, migration routes are highly influenced by political agreements. For instance, since 2016 the European Union has signed an agreement with Turkey aimed at stopping the flow of migrants through Europe.[4] The agreement lessened the pressure towards Balkans and Greece, but still left some openings, exemplified by the Moira camp in Lesbos. An agreement similar to the one with Turkey has been signed with the civil war shattered Libya. This agreement only partially reduced the departure of precarious vessels towards Italy, with the resulting high rate of deaths, and left what has been estimated around 600,000 migrants kept in the "Libyan Hell" victim of abuse human-rights violations, sexual violence and starvation.[5]

Beside their different geographical position, the countries included in the study have also different **migration traditions**. Italy and Norway, for instance, have a history of "emigration" and only more recently, if compared with other countries in the study, they have been confronted with the pressure of immigration. Significant immigration to Italy started during the 1980s, consisting at the beginning mainly of manual workers from the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, followed by immigrants from Eastern Europe. Refugees were a negligible component up until the end of 2000. Norway, as well, is known for a conspicuous overseas

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[3] https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/15005/changing-journeys-migrant-routes-to-europe
[4] https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_20_2487
[5]https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/once-destination-migrants-post-gaddafi-libya-has-gone-transit-route-containment

migration, between 1830 and 1910. The economic growth of the 1970s led to search of labour and Pakistani and Turkish male migrants were actively recruited to Norway[6]. However, already towards the end of the same decade, Norway imposed stricter rules for foreign migration paving the way for the construction of the migration legislation and refugees' system as we know it today. Small in size, **Belgium** is often overlooked as a country of immigration, however, in the last three decades, Belgium has become a permanent country of settlement for many different types of migrants, including a large number of asylum seekers and refugees, not to mention the previous migrants flows from the former colony, DRC, and Italian workers before and after World War II (Rea & al. 2012). **France** is among the countries with the longest tradition of immigration[7] from outside Europe due to the wars of liberation and decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s. Citizens from North Africa, and particularly Algeria, and the former protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia. Peoples from French or former French territories in Central Africa, Asia, and the Americas provided an additional source of immigrants.[8] Similarly, to Belgium and France**, the Netherlands** share a history of colonization that has had an impact on the first was of migration, represented from citizens from previous colonies, together with other European immigrants.[9] Post-war **Germany** has as well a strong history of immigration, becoming one of the most important destination countries for immigrants from southern Europe (like Italy) or Turkey.

This previous history of migration may – although only in part – help to understand migrants' destination preferences: historical relationships, knowledge of the language and existing of a social network may in fact play an important role in the ideal choice of the country of resettlement. In addition to these factors, how migrants are met in the new country has as well a great relevance. As indicated in previous studies, migrants may try to head to the countries where opportunities to get their asylum request accepted can be higher, job opportunities more promising, and welfare systems more generous towards migrants (Brekke & Aarset 2009)

It must however be kept in mind that due to the Dublin regulation (enforced in 2013); asylum seekers face considerable restrictions to their movement across Europe and to their choice of the country where to apply for asylum.[10] The Dublin Regulation determines in fact which country is responsible for considering an application for protection. The main rule is that an application will be processed by the first country part of the Dublin agreement the asylum seeker comes to. If the asylum seeker applies for protection in another "Dublin" country, he or she will be sent back to the country responsible for considering the application. This rule, in addition to being considered unfair by refugees' organizations, raises recurrent conflict among States participating in the Dublin convention. Countries of arrival as Italy (and Greece) claim that the burden of distribution of asylum request needs to be distributed more

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[6] https://snl.no/Norsk_innvandringshistorie

[7] https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/challenge-french-diversity

[8] https://www.britannica.com/place/France/Immigration

[9] https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migration-netherlands-rhetoric-and-perceived-reality-challenge-dutch-tolerance

[10] file:///C:/Users/lterragn/Downloads/TheDublinRegulationNOVA-R12-15-Universell.pdf

fairly.[11] As shown in the ECRES's report[12] the Dublin convention has been used more actively by countries like France, Germany and Norway in 2019.[13]

For the purpose of our study, the Dublin regulation and how it is applied by each country, can be interpreted as part of the shifting political context surrounding the governance of the migration flow and signalized forms of vulnerability, as "protection" - in terms of shelter, for instance - may end once the asylum application is not accepted and the refugee is condemned to be expelled. This may lead to an increasing number of unprotected irregular immigrants living at the border of society.

4.2   Shift in policies as an aftermath of the 2015 "refugee crisis"

There is little doubt that the "refugee crisis" of 2015 was experienced as a dramatic event across all the countries included in the study. One of the main consequences has been the enforcement of more restrictive policies regarding asylum seekers and migrants. It is however difficult to recognize uniformity in policies dealing with this crisis, as main variations at country level emerged.

Some of the examples from our study indicate that restrictions have been made by making family reunion more difficult or by harshening the living conditions in the reception centres.

Germany[14], for instance, after the open arm policies promoted by Angela Merkel in 2015/2016, has introduced little-noticed but very important policy shifts: from offering full and categorical refugee statuses based on nationality to case-by-case determinations and temporary protection statuses (that also limit family reunification); in addition, limitation of the benefits for those awaiting status determinations have been introduced, greater efforts to encourage return have also been made, including use of accelerated procedures and in some cases detention. Moreover, public opinion has begun to turn from the remarkably positive attitude shared in 2015-2016 to greater scepticism and concern, resulting in the growing power of the political right. The resettlement of refugees has then been met with xenophobic protest and violence in many German localities "[…]it is not only the mass arrival of asylum-seekers in Germany that has triggered these reactions, but also the way in which this has been framed by state actors as a crisis" (Hinger 2016). Moreover, from 2019, the "Orderly Return Law" ("Geordnete-Rückkehr-Gesetz") makes it harder for rejected asylum seekers to avoid deportation by reducing the barriers to imposing detention for deportees. The measures to lower the threshold for deportation include lowering hurdles for departure custody ("Ausreisegewahrsam"), locking up rejected asylum seekers facing deportation in regular prisons with people convicted of legal offenses (though they would be in separate sections), and detention of rejected asylum seekers who "disguise" their identities ("Identitätsfälscher").

The Dutch authorities, since 2016, have as well started to apply very strictly evidentiary rules

regarding family relationships. This has posed challenges for asylum seekers, particularly Eritreans, for whom access to documents can be very difficult.

In France, there has been a widening of categories of asylum seekers who cannot legally remain on the French territory once the (negative) decision has been enforced. Moreover, asylum seekers have seen their opportunity to choose the facility or the region to stay while waiting for their procedure to be processed and are instead obliged to accept the accommodation and region assignment. Otherwise, the reception material aids are withdrawn (earlier, it was only suspended). Migration policies in the area of family reunification are becoming more restrictive, which has a direct impact on the migratory flows (Myria 2018).

In Italy, a main change occurred as a right-wing government came to place in 2018. The 2018 reform (Decree Law 113/2018, implemented by L 132/2018) made a clear shift form a policy of integration to one of "containment and rejection". This was exemplified for instance by a sharper division between the reception system for asylum seekers and the one for beneficiaries of international protection. Moreover, the daily amount per person allocated to managing bodies was reduced, de facto forcing contractors to opt for large centres, reducing the number of operators and the activities offered in the centres and longer covered integration services. The new schemes also omit psychological support (which is maintained only in CPR and hotspots), replace legal support with a "legal information service", and significantly reduce cultural mediation. No services for vulnerable people are provided, thus leaving the protection of these persons to voluntary contributions.

In Norway as well, the "refugee crisis" fuelled the political debate in a government where the right-wing political party ("The Progress Party") participated. Several stricter measures were proposed, but fewer reached the approval of the Parliament (Hagelund 2020). This included stricter integration requirements for permanent residency (self-sufficiency and passed tests in Norwegian language etc.) and stricter requirements on age and belonging to Norway for family reunification (Hagelund 2020, Brekke, Birkvad & Erdal, 2020). In Norway, the most remarkable change has been the drastic reduction of arrival of asylum seekers from approximately 12,000 in 2015 to about 2,000 in 2019. This is mainly due to stronger border control on the inner Schengen borders, the mentioned agreement for third countries such as Turkey, and to the decision of not increasing the number of UN refugees that each year the government decides to admit in the country (approximately 2,000-3,000). The campaign promoted by the government to "scare" refugees to come to Norway may also have had an effect. The reduction in the number of asylum seekers has caused a rapid drop in the number of asylum reception centres. Many centres have closed down, causing replacement of asylum seekers in different parts of the country. Despite the reduction of asylum seekers, the Arrival Centre that was opened in warehouse in disuse as a temporary measure in 2015, has now become a permanent solution.

In all the countries considered, restriction in policies and awakening of waves of nationalistic and racist outbreaks, may however represents only one side of the coin as grassroots movements (such as Refugees welcome) and other NGOs have been active in developing solidarity networks and providing support to refugees in reception centres and among non-registered migrants, as will be better illustrated in the section related to the controversies.

4.3   Vulnerabilities emerging in the analysis of organization of the reception facilities

Reception facilities represent a main pillar of the governance of the refugees' flow and the European commission had developed common guidelines regarding the organization of reception centres.

The provision of dignified standards of living for applicants for international protection constitutes a core pillar in the Common European Asylum System (CEAS). Under the CEAS, individuals, regardless of the Member State in which their application for international protection is made, should be offered an equivalent level of treatment as regards reception conditions. For this purpose, the Reception Conditions Directive has specified minimum standards for the reception of applicants and the Recast Reception Conditions Directive (hereafter "the Recast") now further aims to ensure "adequate and comparable reception conditions throughout the EU". However, Member States report difficulties to ensure this in practice, with unequal treatment between and within Member States and, sometimes, sub-standard in existing reception centres.

The main organization of reception centres in the countries considered in the study tends to distinguish along three different phases. The phase of arrival, where migrants and asylum seekers apply for protection, the awaiting phase, in which decisions related to application are made, and the resettlement phase, concerning what happens after the application is granted. In addition to these three phases, a fourth one concerns the not unlikely outcome that the request of asylum is refused, and the asylum seeker is requested to leave the country.

Despite common features, the analysis of the organization of the reception centres in the countries of our study reveals differences both in the relation to the continuity of the policies and to the degree of vulnerability (lack of shelter and protection) that asylum seekers and migrant face when entering the country of arrival and while waiting for their request to be proceeded. Italy and the Netherlands appear, at this regard, two contrasting examples. Italy can be regarded as a case illustrating a particularly precarious situation. In Italy, a main country of arrival, the reception system usually starts at the HOT SPOTS ("operational solutions for emergency situations"), and four are currently operating in Southern Italy.[15] In the hot spots a selection is made among "asylum seekers" and "economic migrants": while the first can proceed into the reception system, the second are instead transferred in "expulsion centres".

According to the practices recorded in 2016, 2017 and 2018, even though by law asylum seekers are entitled to material reception conditions immediately after claiming asylum and undergoing initial registration, they may access accommodation centres only after their claim has been registered. This implies that, since the registration can take place even months after the presentation of the asylum application, asylum seekers can face obstacles in finding alternative temporary accommodation. Consequently, asylum seekers, lacking economic resources, are obliged to either resort to friends, to emergency facilities or just sleeping in the streets. For instance, in Tor Cervara (Italy), near the Tiburtina station, hundreds of migrants

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[15] https://asylumineurope.org/reports/country/italy/asylum-procedure/access-procedure-and-registration/hotspots/

and refugees live without water, electricity and gas, sometimes surrounded by areas of illegal dumping infested with rats.

Frequent shifts in governments and government's orientation have led to many changes in the governance of migrants and asylum seekers in Italy. The Decree of 10 August 2016, promoted by a centrum-left government, states the right for asylum seekers to benefit of an a integrated reception, which includes not only basic services (accommodation, supply of food vouchers for board, assistance in procedures to access social, health and educational) but also personal assistance, guidance and steps towards socio-economic integration (orientation in relation to employment; enrolment in training courses; professional re-training; support in looking for a job and a home).[16] This Decree was instead radically changed in 2018 as described in the previous section related to "political shift". One of the main consequences has been the dismantling of local networks and already started paths of integration. Shortage in State run reception centres generated search of accommodation in private accommodation facilities that are not part of the national reception system. These are provided for example by Catholic or voluntary associations. As of April 2017, under the project "Rifugiato a casa mia" (refugee in my home) led by Caritas, 115 migrants were hosted in families (over 500 families in Italy were hosting a refugee), 227 in parishes, 56 in religious institutes and 139 in private apartments as of May 2017; the network Refugees Welcome ran 35 projects of refugees hosted in families in 2017.

Different conditions are instead represented by the case in the Netherlands. Here, in fact, more straightforward conditions and continuity in asylum policies seem to characterize the Dutch situation. Asylum seekers have to register with an application and this procedure usually takes eight days. During this period, the asylum seeker lives in a so-called process reception location (POL). Prior to the asylum procedure, the asylum seekers usually get six days to rest. She/He can then prepare for the interviews with the Immigration and Naturalization Service (IND), the so-called hearings. In addition, the asylum seekers are medically examined. This investigation must show whether she/he has obstacles that the IND must take into account during the hearings and when taking a decision on the asylum application. The asylum seeker receives advice from a lawyer before the hearings with the IND. After these interviews, the IND will take a decision on the asylum application. Those that see their asylum request as legitimate can live in a reception centre. They are usually small units in which about 5 to 8 people live together. Each unit has several bedrooms and a shared living room, kitchen and sanitary facilities. At the time of writing, there were no reports of serious deficiencies in the sanitary facilities in the reception centres. Residents are responsible for keeping their habitat in order. Unaccompanied children live in small shelters, specialised in the reception of unaccompanied children. In the Netherlands adults can attend programmes and counselling meetings, tailored to the type and stage of the asylum procedure in which they are in. In addition, it is possible for asylum seekers to work on maintenance of the centre, cleaning of common areas, etc. and earn a small fee of up to 14 € per week doing this. It is also possible for children as well as adults to participate in courses or sports at the local sports club. Children of school age are obliged to attend school. To practice with teaching materials and to keep in touch with family and friends, asylum seekers can visit the Open Education Centre (Open Leercentrum), which is equipped with computers

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[16] http://www.serviziocentrale.it

with internet access. Children can do their homework here. There is supervision by other asylum seekers and Dutch volunteers. AZC are so-called open centres. This entails that asylum seekers are free to go outside if they please. However, there is a weekly duty to report ("meldplicht") in order for the COA to determine whether the asylum seeker still resides in the facility and whether he or she is still entitled to the facilities.

4.4   Food provision in asylum reception centres

Food is an essential aspect related to the living conditions of asylum seekers and migrants living in precarious situations. All countries included in the study recognize the right to adequate food, realized when every man, woman and child, alone or in community with others, has the physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement. General Comment 12 (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, CESCR, 1999).[17]

In our analysis we have tried to focus on common traits and variation in the food provision in the reception centres system across the countries included in the study. Although our analysis does not consent to assess if the right to food has been violated, there are indications that food provisions at reception centres may not always fulfil the right to food requirements.[18]

The organization of food provision tends to vary in the countries included in the study; it may consist of food that is catered directly in the reception centres, which generally implies limited opportunities to cook own food and more limited economic allowances; otherwise, asylum seekers are in charge of food preparation - as in Norwegian reception centres, given allowances, or a voucher system that can be used for food purchasing. A common feature in the data collected is represented by complaints in the quality of the food that is catered, in limited kitchen facilities to cook own food and by economic difficulties in providing sufficient and adequate food.

In **Italy**, food provision may vary depending on the local management of the structure. Regarding food supplies, local authorities have an obligation to guarantee food to the guests "meeting the request and the special needs of people received in order to respect their cultural and religious traditions." Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the material conditions vary from one centre to another depending on the size, the occupancy rate, and the level and quality of the services provided by the body managing each centre.

In **France**, accommodation centres are usually equipped with collective kitchens; some offer meals, but this is not the rule, as it is most common that refugees buy their own food with their daily allowance. Catering service must be provided by the manager if the facilities do not include kitchens for residents. The expense should be covered by the refugees' allowance, or, for asylum seekers without income, by the emergency asylum seekers' fund.

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[17] OHCHR | OHCHR and the right to food
[18] https://theconversation.com/enough-pasta-already-why-asylum-seekers-in-italy-are-fed-up-with-their-food-rations-84147;
https://www.dw.com/en/asylum-seekers-left-in-inhumane-conditions-in-german-refugee-center/a-48592696

Depending on the diversity of facilities, asylum seekers are not always able to cook or stock heir food in refrigerated spaces.

In Germany, food is supplied in the initial reception centres and is usually served in canteens on the premises of the centres. In general, two or more menus are on offer for lunch and the management of the catering facilities tries to ensure that specific food is provided with regard to religious values. Some, but not all initial reception centres also have shared kitchen space, which enables asylum seekers to cook their own food. In some other centres cooking is not allowed. Refrigerators for the use of asylum seekers are available in some initial reception centres, but this seems to be the exception. In some centres, the management does not allow hot water boilers for asylum seekers as this would be forbidden by fire regulations. This poses an obstacle to mothers with infants.

In **the Netherlands,** the right to reception conditions includes an entitlement to weekly financial allowance for the purpose of food, clothing and personal expenses. The weekly allowance depends on the situation of the applicant. Asylum seekers have the possibility to have the main meal at the reception location, but this will lead to a reduction of their allowance.

In **Belgium**, it is compulsory for the reception centre to provide food, through collective canteens (3 meals a day), the distribution of meal vouchers or the possibility for the residents to buy and cook their own food. The food provision organization thus varies according to the possibilities of each centre, and the reception policies of the association, which manages the reception centres. For example, some centres only use the canteen system, while others create a food shop within the building, or others organize regular transport to the nearest supermarkets. These services are aimed to ensure food security and material assistance to asylum seekers. However, few considerations (and no decisions at a political level) are taken related to the social and cultural aspects of food, although these dimensions often generate conflicts in some reception centres.

In **Norway**, for asylum seekers living in arrival or transit centres, three canteen-driven meals a day are provided to the residents, but there is no transparency in the composition of these meals. When living in ordinary reception centres asylum seekers need to provide for their own meals, receiving an allowance to cover their expenses. Also, single underaged refugees in ordinary reception centres have self-catering.

5.   Presentation and discussion of the controversies

As specified in the methodology each team participating in the project was asked to provide a controversy on a common theme (halal) and a controversy that could represent relevant national media debates. Table 1 specifies the controversies chosen by each country.

Table 5-1: Controversies choses by the country teams participating to the project

Country	Controversy 1 *Halal food*	Controversy 2 *Free choice*
Norway	The slaughter method required for halal meats	The Syrian food in the Norwegian media
Germany	The #HalalChallenge Encourages Racism	Integration German-Style? Blood Sausage at the German Islam Conference
France	The issue of Halal in France	The Catholic church takes action to protect evicted migrants
Italy	Regulations about Halal in Italy	Feeding the migrant at the border between France and Italy
The Netherlands	Halal food in the Dutch newspapers	Vegan food in the Netherlands
Belgium	The ritual slaughter debate in Belgium (French and Dutch speaking region)	The "droit de chaise" ("Chair fee") debate in French speaking Belgium Should we feed the migrant in Zeebrugge?

5.1 The Halal controversy

National regulations regarding *Halal* food

Food is often a symbol of the meeting of cultural practices, norms and values of European societies with those of migrants, of which the controversy over *halal* food is an example resulting from a "food encounter". Meat is considered to be *halal*, i.e., legal according to the codes of the Muslim religion, when the animal was conscious at the time of killing by slaughter by throat-cutting, evoking the name of the Muslim god, Allah (Dassetto & Hennart 1998, Bergeaud-Blacker 2004). All countries participating in the study have a large group of migrants coming from Muslim countries, making the case of *halal* food particularly relevant.

Media discourses, whether around ritual slaughter or the consumption of sacred food in public spaces, mainly focus on Muslim practices and beliefs, whereas Islam shares food bans, slaughter techniques and food consumption patterns with other religions, such as Judaism. In this respect, two particularly controversial issues are of concern to many European countries today: (i) the practice of ritual slaughter and (ii) the consumption of *halal* food in public and institutional spaces.

Controversy about ritual slaughter as an argument for a political cause

In recent years, the debate on ritual slaughter in Europe has focused on the issue of animal suffering when being killed. Indeed, the European Union regulation on animal welfare (regulation 1099/2009) states the legislative framework within which the animal must be killed, i.e., with prior stunning, except in the case of ritual slaughter. This exception is mentioned through derogation and thus ensures respect for freedom of worship. However, the European Union specifies that each Member State may adopt national rules "to ensure greater protection for animals at the time of killing than that provided for in Regulation No 1099/2009 in the field of ritual slaughter".

This legislative framework is part of a European system that does not seem to be controversial at macro level. However, at the national and local level, the controversy surrounding the ban on ritual slaughter is framed differently. National governments, or even regional authorities, deal with these issues in many ways and they are also presented in different ways in the media. The main active members of this controversy are individuals or groups in favour of animal welfare (associations, politicians, veterinarians and citizens) who consider that the mere state of consciousness of the animal before slaughter is an abuse that cannot be allowed on the sole grounds of freedom of worship. On the other hand, those advocating the stunning-free slaughter in the case of ritual slaughter are mainly religious organisations and citizens. This pattern of controversy is found in all the countries of the project even though there are some variations.

In many of the controversies, the debate focuses on the issue of animal suffering. Supporters of a ban on ritual slaughter argue that anaesthesia before killing would be less painful for animals. However, the Norwegian controversy differs because of the presence of a mediatised sub-controversy, characterised by a debate between "experts", an anthropologist and a veterinarian. They highlighted in particular the contradictions of the industrial model of "modern" slaughter, which is sometimes just as, if not more, mistreating than the so-called traditional methods without stunning, with which *halal* and *kosher* slaughters are associated.

The ban on ritual slaughter is often supported by so-called right-wing nationalists, anti-Muslims positions and/or anti-immigration policies, appropriating the argument of animal welfare, while at the same time claiming to be fervent defenders of practices such as hunting, which is equally controversial among animal rights activists. In this respect, it is worthwhile that the Sami in Norway are allowed a certain tolerance regarding the killing of reindeer, as if the same practices were more legitimate when they are "indigenous" (native people) than when they are "imported" (migrants). There is a lot of controversies in the media in all project countries[19] about the connections of some animal welfare activists with right-wing extremists or the development of anti-migrant and/or anti-Muslim discourses under the guise of animal ethics.

The analysis of the *halal* issue in Italy, particularly underlines the similarities and differences between European societies regarding the ban on slaughter without stunning, despite a common legislative framework. Italy, in fact, is trying to "solve" the controversy by setting up a monitoring system that allows the derogation for ritual slaughter to be maintained while ensuring animal welfare in the case of ritual slaughter without stunning.

France also supports the derogation regarding ritual slaughter and standardises the conditions of *halal* and *kosher* meat circulation, with the aim of meeting the request of the two opposing sides in the controversy.

In Belgium, although public policies concerning the ban on slaughter without stunning, show a willingness on the part of the authorities to close the debate by putting an end to the controversy, it doesn't seem so easy. The debate has taken on a wider scope, going beyond the sole subject of ritual slaughter and calling into question the dietary behaviour of halal meat consumers. The public media space is thus becoming the scene of numerous claims. In this context, choosing to eat halal or not to eat halal, operates as a strong identity indicator and can be used by some stakeholders as a political argument. In media discourses, food appears as a criterion for integration or, on the contrary, marginalisation in European societies, which are themselves increasingly divided on this issue (meat eaters versus vegetarians).

Germany has four million Muslim inhabitants but the market for halal food -- produced according to Islamic law -- is still in its infancy, partly because firms fear the wrath of animal rights groups. But companies are slowly waking up to this fast-growing market. German law forbids slaughtering animals that have not been anaesthetized first. For most Muslims, a drugged animal is already dead, and the Koran forbids the eating of carrion. To get around the problem, many German halal producers procure their meat abroad.

Certifiers also have differing standards regarding the requirement that butchers should call out Allah when they kill each animal. Some say it's enough for the call to be played from a tape, provided that a Muslim starts the tape. Germany's devout Muslims haven't yet agreed on uniform halal standards. Because the Islamic faithful in Germany belong to different organizations, there is no overall monitoring body to give a commonly accepted halal

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[19] https://www.lesoir.be/226109/article/2019-05-23/ecolo-persiste-et-accuse-gaia-davoir-incite-voter-vlaams-belang

certification. As a result, there's a large market of halal certifiers who control the raw materials, the production process, the hygiene standards, and the suppliers.

Consumption of *Halal* food in public spaces:

The presence of halal food in public spaces seems to generate several controversies in the project countries, although to less degree in the Netherlands and Norway. The consumption of *halal* meat in public spaces, as in the case of ritual slaughter, has been an issue in European societies for many years. However, the presence of controversies in the media seems to follow some temporality patters, as for instance an increase in 2015, a shift due to the more massive arrival of Muslim migrants and/or the more visible identity claim of some populations stemming from previous migratory waves.

In this media context, various public spaces seem to become iconic places for questioning the consumption of *halal* meat as canteens, public restaurants or supermarkets.

The absence/presence of *halal* food in canteens may be presented as discriminatory or even stigmatising to both *halal* and non-*halal* stakeholders (with or without specific diets, being religious or not). The regular referring to the issue of meals with or without pork, *halal* or non-*halal*, vegetarian or not to French courts evidences the potentially "discriminatory" status that this choice entails in legal terms, as the French team's *halal* controversy shows. In 2012, several articles echo debates on whether schools should offer alternative dishes or meals to Muslim pupils. Some authors show that there exist no specific halal menus or dishes in schools.[20] However, schools sometimes offer an alternative dish whenever pork meat is served, most of the time a vegetarian dish. Then with every election campaign new debates arise. The matter is particularly acute for French municipalities who are usually in charge of providing school meals to school children (from 3 to 11 years). Many of these school restaurants can only offer one single menu every day. Therefore, mayors are left with their own interpretation of secularism[21] and of the 1905 Law (separation of State and religion). School catering being a non-compulsory public service, there is no mandatory rule incumbent upon municipalities. The French Observatory for secularity recommends not to take into account religious prescriptions, but to offer choices, meaning menus with and without meat. And this is what most cities do. However, it wouldn't be illegal either if a mayor decided to offer kosher meals.

A case of particular interest is the controversy that emerged in Germany. The German Islam Conference (DIK) is a major event with high media coverage and high expectations on both sides, but it is also a crucial object for the development of opposing ideologies in the public space. The buffet offered to the guests at the 2018 German Islam Conference in Berlin became the topic of controversy as pork sausage

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[20] "Le halal à la cantine, un fantasme loin de la réalité", by Stéphanie Le Bars, published March 10 2012 and updated September 12 2012 https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2012/03/10/le-halal-a-la-cantine-un-fantasme-loin-de-la-realite_1655942_3224.html

[21] "Cantines scolaires: la laïcité dans l'assiette ; Comment les maires doivent-ils élaborer les menus dans les cantines scolaires ? La question nourrit le débat avant les élections départementales", by Émilie Trevert and Hugo Domenach, published 03/20/2015 https://www.lepoint.fr/politique/cantines-scolaires-la-laicite-dans-l-assiette-20-03-2015-1914391_20.php :

was served. Germany's Interior Ministry regretted people got offended and defended the decision to serve the sausage consisting of pig's blood, pork and bacon as it reflected the "religious-pluralistic composition" of the event, which brought together Muslim associations and leaders with officials from the federal and local governments.

In other countries the question of *halal* or alternative meals, and the presence/absence/disappearance of pork in school canteens and public adult restaurants has been raised for several years. The issue of canteens, and therefore of children, is often highlighted in the media, raising the education of populations considered as vulnerable.

In France, equality and respect for secularism in public institutions, especially regarding children, guide the participants in the debate, which extremists, or the extremist right-wing party (FN-RN), take up by publicising it. In Germany, the *halal* controversy is rooted in public spaces that are supposed to carry the national culture. In connection with these canteen controversies, the supermarket, a very best place of food encounters due to bringing together varied audiences and varied food offers, constitutes an iconic place where controversy is expressed and being reported on the social networks of the #HalalChallenge by its supporters of the extremist right-wing trend in Germany and/or of the animal cause, and their anti-racist opponents*.*

The controversy surrounding the consumption of *halal* meat in public spaces appears above all as a conflict between two opposing sides, i.e. *halal* consumers presented as Muslims migrants and opponents of *halal* meat consumption in Europe, often represented by politicians or other political groups close to the extremist right-wing trend, which are mentioned in all the controversies cited, and/or some animal advocates.

In the media, discourses on migrants' food entail different visions of integration existing in European societies, depending on the stakeholders and the subjects of the controversy. The analysis of the different controversies, clearly shows the almost systematic link between the topics of food, religion and the integration process in media discourses involving the issue of migration. Some food practices and beliefs are indeed often described as evidence of religious radicalism, as a rejection to be part of the host society for religious minorities, while a form of adaptation to the dominant food model is often interpreted as a form of food tolerance, associated with religious tolerance and therefore an evidence for willingness to be part of the host society.

The controversy surrounding the #Halal challenge seems to be particularly illustrative of the identity-based tensions that exist around *halal* food in Europe. The *#Halal Challenge,* first reported in Germany refers to "Put pork on the #halalcounter and film it. Then post the video in your Facebook timeline, on Instagram or on YouTube or wherever; then nominate your friend to participate next!"

The Halal Challenge was not an isolated anti-Muslim initiative in Europe. Worth mentioning is the Facebook-initiated *Apéro Géant saucisson et pinard* (Giant sausage-wine aperitif), which was organized in 2010 by the French far-right group "Bloc Identitaire". It was launched in the wake of a trendy phenomenon called the Apéros Géants Facebook, which involved choosing a public location and organizing an *apéritif* through Facebook. The participants simply had to follow the instructions on the social network site regarding the location and turn up to the open-air drinks party. The

success of these *Apéros* Facebook was such that on some occasions they attracted thousands of participants all over France during the spring of 2010 (5000 in Rennes, 9000 in Nantes and 11,000 in Montpellier). The French Identitaires, being savy communicators, were quick to realize the potential of such popular events and organized their own *Apéro* Facebook but with a twist, as the theme was *saucisson* (dry pork sausage) and *pinard* (a French slang word for wine) (Binet 2016).

5.2 Food as a multi-controversial issue: emerging topics from the country chosen controversies

Migrants' food and food for migrants are at the core of numerous public debates, which show the political and polysemic aspect of food. Indeed, the controversies surrounding food for migrants as well as migrants' food in Europe highlight the discrepancies and social tensions in public spaces. Institutional food organisation and supply, occasional provision of a hot meal, and controversies raised by these actions show how food can quickly become a symbol of political struggles at several levels.

Furthermore, the food related to migrants is often mentioned in the media from the sole point of view of humanitarian aid associations, institutional actors or experts.

Media seem to have an important role in the dissemination of the "institutional food model" - defined previously in the theory section - in European public. This institutional food model influences what migrants eat when they are taken care of, the organization of meals in institutions and the availability of food they can eat. This institutional food model is exemplified, for instance, by the reception centres led by the Red-Cross in French speaking Belgium using catering. The "boulet liégeois", traditionally made with pork, is regularly served in the reception centres for asylum seekers, where the vast majority are Muslims, however, transformed and becomes a *Halal* dish as pork is replaced by other meat such as poultry, and certified *halal* meat is used in order to adapt to the Muslim diet. This adaptation of an element of the institutional food model can generate sub-controversies, particularly when the residents in a Red Cross reception centre refuse to eat the food of the canteen for fear of eating pork[22].

Other food controversies originate in the definition of the principle of "food security" (a notion at the core of the institutional food model), which is the source of many misunderstandings and tensions in everyday life that are rarely mentioned in the media.

Although food security is a fundamental right (a component of the right to food) for all, including migrants, and more particularly asylum seekers (Henjum *et. al* 2019), the application of the institutional food model does not always seem to meet the social and cultural food needs of the people who benefit from it. Addressing their situation solely through the notion of food security interpreted as enough quantity of food - as aid and reception institutions tend to do - may lead to controversies. This is for instance exemplified by the media coverage of the refugees protest of the food provided in Norwegian reception

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[22] (Fieldnotes Vivier 2019).

centres, in which emerged the idea of the refugees as "ungrateful" as they did not like the food that was served to them.

The case for the Italian controversy surrounding the food donation in Ventimiglia a border town between France and Italy is another example of this tension related to the definition of food security. Migrants prefer to feed themselves thanks to donations from local citizens, or by looking for food themselves, rather than going to the official Red Cross camp, which they see as a danger on their migratory journey.

The example of the controversy over food donations given at the French-Italian border also echoes a Belgian controversy, where the aid provided by associations and citizens are being accused of contributing to the potential massive displacement of migrants towards the city of Zeebrugge.[23]

As in the Italian example, although food donations are seen as an improvement in the living conditions of migrants in the area, they are in fact perceived by some people as a threat as this could lead to a mass arrival of other migrants through a draught mechanism, thus causing damage in the inhabitants' local living conditions.

Hospitality as a "living right" to food: the civil society and the local level at the core

As shown in the previous section, food supply is certainly at the core of measures aiming at food security, but this is also one of the first actions of hospitality in many societies (Pitt-Rivers 1967 & 1977, Ruhlmann 2015, Suremain et al. 2019).[24] Moreover, food is often directly linked to space, and in particular to accommodation. Thus, many controversies mention food together with accommodation, by analysing the individual and/or collective commitments of three types of hospitality (private, public, cosmopolitan), as Agier et al. (2019) propose in the context of the 2015 "refugee crisis" for France.

Local associations tend to offer a more rapid and welcoming hospitality, as the Norwegian example seems to suggest.

> A long queue of sick, cold and hungry people outside the police station in Oslo, waiting to be met by the Police Immigration Service was observed. Fortunately, a quickly established group on Facebook decided as a first priority, to feed the asylum seekers a hot meal while they were waiting to apply for asylum.

Similarly, in France, The Catholic church takes action to protect evicted migrants.

> During the summer, the "préfet" of Gironde has evicted migrants and other residents out of several squats, leaving more than 1000 people homeless in the Bordeaux area. In addition, no food was provided by the authorities. Therefore, the local Catholic church decided to act by offering accommodation and food donations, together with anarchist, left wing and unionist activists, who develop

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[23] The governor of West Flanders: «Do not feed refugees» / "Le gouverneur de la Flandre occidentale : « ne nourrissez pas les réfugiés »
https://www.rtbf.be/info/dossier/drames-de-la-migration-les-candidats-refugies-meurent-aux-portes-de-l-europe/detail_le-gouverneur-de-flandre-occidentale-ne-nourrissez-pas-les-refugies?id=9202499
[24] In relation to the reception of migrants, see how the question has been dealt with using the term «inhospitality» by several authors including Fassin et al. (1997).

all kinds of actions to defend the immigrants' and homeless' cause. The State and municipal authorities, and other detractors, denounced the Church's commitment and this "unnatural" coalition for an illegal cause (illegal immigrants and illegal property occupation).

As these examples may show, the issue of the controversy tends to reveal other underlying dimensions. It is no longer about debating the definition of the right to food, which is an international legal achievement, but its interpretation and application in the public sphere in the absence of binding instruments. What is now controversial are the interactions between the legal definition of the right and the way in which people reappropriate and use it, often by claiming this right on behalf of the migrants themselves. In this sense, the debates that first address the issue of food also end up questioning more broadly the issue of the reception of migrants in European in terms of hospitality.

While food security and the promotion of a certain hospitality towards legal migrants who are officially taken care of are of concern to States and the institutions that receive them (institutional food model), civil society plays a leading role in potentially exercising the right to food for all migrants, including undocumented migrants, by transforming it into a real "living right" (Hanson & Nieuwenhuys 2012). In doing so, they become the actors of the spirit of the law.

As demonstrated, food for migrants is sometimes at the core of political arguments in the media. Framed between needs, public policies and citizen commitment, migrants' food is often used for political - even extremist - purposes, which are echoed or amplified by the media, as we will see in the following section.

Food as a vector of integration?

As showed in the previous section, many associations have become aware of the performative power of food as a force for social integration. In this dynamic, public spaces are often the scene of citizen solidarity actions around food that are occasionally stressed by the local media.

The Refugee Food Festival, which precisely aims at participating in the integration of refugees in European societies through the discovery of migrants' food, is covered by the media at national and European level; on a more local scale, a "World's meals/Repas du monde" is being organised by a Red Cross reception centre in French speaking Belgium. This action intends to enhance awareness of the cause of refugees among the local population through a food encounter in the institutional space. These examples of federating food actions exist in all the project countries.

Differences in food practices, norms and values generally appear in media discourses as a mutual learning process, towards a better knowledge of "the other", a "meeting" between the migrant's and the local food heritage. The Norwegian team's analysis of the description of Syrian food in the local media allows us to better understand how this food encounter is described in the media as a tool for integration and a driver for social relationships between people while at the same time migrants receive little global recognition for their economic and social contributions.

6.   Final considerations

The aim of this report was to respond to the project's general objectives of Work Package 2 – the "Macro level approach"- aiming at providing a contextual overview of the integration of migrants through foodscapes. This has been done by gathering and analysing main controversies that have emerged in the countries participating in the studies revolving around food. Each country could choose a controversy that most represented main specific issues regarding food and/or migration topics; in addition, they had to provide a controversy related to *halal* food, a highly politicized topic across Europe. To better contextualize the controversies, information about migration and organization of reception of migrants and asylum seekers have been provided through an analysis of the data collected in a template.

Using controversy as a tool and a scanner allowed us to map the controversies in a comparative way. Doing so, we identified various stakeholders (migrants, governments, citizens, volunteers, institutions, right-wing extremist communities, animal welfare associations, etc.) and some of the power relationships at stake about right to food, identity, place of religion, animal welfare, etc.

The analysis of all the controversies showed how identifying food encounters (a notion we proposed) allows us to understand how foodscapes evolve and how new foodscapes can emerge, in order to progress in the use of the concept (See Deliverable 1.1. "Negotiating Foodscapes").

Most of the controversies chosen by the countries participating in the study are related to forms of material and immaterial insecurity experienced by migrants and asylum seekers even though food security is being promoted in some cases. In fact, despite each of the countries recognizes the right to food and there are formal guidelines specified both at EU and - in some cases - at country level, about nutritional requirements for the diets of asylum seekers, these seem often to be neglected in everyday practice. Lack of food, but also provision of food of low quality, unfamiliar or even in contrast with the religious rules are some of the examples emerging from the controversies. The food that is provided and the way of feeding in institutions (what we have defined the "institutional food model") seem then to reflect two sets of overlapping dimensions: the structural dimension of the food that is served linked to institutional values and norms, and the complex cultural and social meaning carried by the food served or available. Even more precarious is the situation of those not having granted the opportunity of being defined as asylum seekers. They are "indésirables" (unwanted people) (Agier 2008) or vagabonds at the threshold of society (Welten 2015), as also materially represented by the camps at boundaries with France or in the "Jungle" at the Channel. This precarity is in some instances seen and taken care of by citizens, volunteers or charity organizations who attempt to formally realize the right to food to be assumed by governments. They may take side and give voice - in addition to food - to the migrants, but by speaking for them most of the time. Moreover, they can also become part of the system that represents exclusion and stratification by reproducing and disseminating the dominant food model, allowing controversies to emerge, as we have seen in some controversies provided, in the case of the ritual slaughter debates for example.

The resulting hybrid model (institutional food model) facing those of migrants and their practices as well as those of citizens, volunteers or charity organizations can both be

described as a one-way food encounter and thus tends to draw forms of foodscapes underlying the material but also social and cultural precariousness of the asylum seekers' position.

The controversy related to *halal* food reveals as well the "double standards" of integration policies. Two main issues emerged from the controversies: the one related to slaughtering practices, and the other related to food provision in public spaces such as institutions like school canteens or supermarkets. Concerning slaughter practices, four main points have been stressed: the commitment of animal welfare associations, the exploitation of the issue by right-wing extremists, the focus on Muslims who nevertheless share the slaughter practice with Jews, and negotiations between governments and religious authorities. Dealing with the second issue allows us to understand how specific public spaces contribute to elaborate consumption of *halal* food as a central pattern. The *halal* controversy can be referred to as a two-way food encounter. This can indeed be used socially and politically by various stakeholders involved.

As the "incorporation" of food is an important part of one's identity or of one's "becoming identity", adaptation to national diets - or at least compromises to it - seems to be perceived as a necessary step towards integration. Resistance to this is seen with suspicion and can even lead to various controversial discrimination and stigmatization processes. Nevertheless, this food encounter is also two-way even though on unequal premises. In fact, while adaptation is at the core, migrants' own food model and practices are also part of the food encounter taking place in various public spaces and contested visions of integration based on food appear in media discourses.

At last, the crucial question of migrants' representation in the media based on the issue of food allows us to understand how little migrants are given the floor and how food, i.e., the issue of *halal* food, is to blur the private/public boundary. The case of ethnic business reveals indeed also how migrants can take the problem in their hands, escaping the position of marginality and embracing instead the one of entrepreneurs. Migrants' owned shops providing ethnic food (*halal* food but also other foods) are becoming an important presence in the public space participating in another kind of two-way food encounter where migrants propose their food as a good to be sold thereby entering into the economic sphere. This effort for integration is particularly positively framed in the media. Migrants change their status by changing the status of their food in society. Doing so, they actively contribute to shaping new foodscapes of many European cities.

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Consumption Research Norway (SIFO) is a non-profit, transdisciplinary research institute at OsloMet – Oslo Metropolitan University. SIFOs research aims to understand the role of consumption and consumers in society and to provide the knowledge basis for public consumer policy in Norway.

SIFOs core research areas are:
- Sustainable consumption (including food)
- Technology and digitalization
- Marked based welfare
- Clothing and textiles