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Urban Arrival Spaces: Social Co-Existence in Times of Changing Mobilities and Local Diversity

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The Role of Arrival Areas for Migrant Integration and Resource Access

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Abstract
Research on socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods with high numbers of migrants tends to problematise such areas as hindering upward social mobility and further enhancing disadvantage. However, an emerging body of research on arrival areas is highlighting how such areas can provide newcomers with specific arrival resources, helping them to come to grips with their new circumstances. This article provides a conceptual overview and discussion of this newly emerging body of literature on urban arrival areas in the Global North. It argues that arrival areas offer infrastructures which can provide important support for newcomers, ranging from overcoming day-to-day problems to potentially enabling social mobility. In many cases, previous migrants act as knowledge brokers facilitating newcomers' access to resources. The article shows how different forms of arrival-specific knowledge can be found in these areas, facilitating the exchange of resources across different migrant groups and across localities. However, arrival-specific infrastructures can be both enabling and disabling with regard to social mobility, as they often emerge in contexts of underlying disadvantage and discrimination where access to resources such as housing and jobs can be highly contentious. The article argues that understanding the dynamics of urban arrival areas and infrastructures and their specific role in providing resources for newcomers can contribute to our knowledge on integration and help us rethink the role of policymaking and urban planning in increasingly complex and mobile urban societies.

Keywords
arrival areas; arrival infrastructures; diversity; integration; migration

Issue
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1. Introduction

One of the big issues currently facing European societies is the influx of increasing numbers of migrants from various parts of the world. While European states grapple with controlling borders and managing immigration flows, the real challenge faced on the ground is, in fact, the challenge of migrant integration. We understand the contested and increasingly criticised term 'integration' as an analytical concept capturing various forms of access to different functional, social and symbolic resources (Ager & Strang, 2008). In this conceptual article, we investigate integration through the newly emerging concept of 'arrival infrastructures' (Meeus, Arnaut, & van Heur, 2019). Arrival infrastructures have been defined as "those parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled on arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated" (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 1). We argue that understanding the dynamics of urban arrival areas

and arrival infrastructures' specific role in providing resources for newcomers can contribute to our knowledge on integration and help us rethink the role of policymaking and urban planning in increasingly diverse and mobile urban societies.

For a long time, policymakers and leading social scientists have been raising the question of how migrants' integration can be affected by living in areas characterised by a combination of high concentrations of ethnic minorities and socio-economic deprivation (Ostendorf & Musterd, 2011). Research focusing on so-called 'context effects' in deprived neighbourhoods, by nature mainly quantitative, analyses how living in these neighbourhoods can negatively impact local inhabitants' access to resources, affecting their social, economic and cultural capital and limiting their upward social mobility (van Ham & Manley, 2012).

In the context of the recent refugee crisis, which has exacerbated an already hostile climate where newcomers are politically, socially and spatially marginalised, political debates have intensified across Western Europe, with renewed interest among politicians and planners in the paradigm of social mixing. The underlying assumption in these debates is that the dispersion of migrants/refugees might facilitate their local integration. In European cities, social-mixing and area-based policies have been the main instruments implemented for governing diversity (Galster, 2007). This can be illustrated by the lively and partly heated debate in countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands and Sweden on policies of refugee dispersal, which ought to prevent (new) 'ethnic concentrations' in specific cities and neighbourhoods and thereby 'distribute the burden' (Adam et al., 2020; ESPON, 2019; Robinson, Andersson, & Musterd, 2003).

These debates take place within a context where new migrants often move into super-diverse areas already settled by previous migrants from various backgrounds (Vertovec, 2007). These areas, with their long histories of immigration, have also been described as 'arrival areas,' often located in 'arrival cities' which have experienced immigration over many decades (Phillimore, Humphris, & Khan, 2018; Saunders, 2011). Social realities within such areas can be conducive to migrant settlement, somewhat contradicting current thinking on migrant and refugee dispersal.

Building on literature on 'ethnic enclaves' (Wilson & Martin, 1982) and discussions on so-called 'neighbourhood effects,' this article shows how the arrival infrastructural lens expands these debates by taking into account the complexities of arrival in increasingly super-diverse arrival areas characterized by the over-layering of ongoing immigration (Vertovec, 2007, 2015). We start by demonstrating that the notion of arrival infrastructures expands the focus on co-ethnic support structures prevalent in the literature on ethnic enclaves, highlighting how newcomers can draw on support from longer-established migrants, possibly from different ethnic and national backgrounds. Moreover, the provision of support via arrival infrastructures, although often initiated within certain neighbourhoods, can transcend arrival areas. For example, local social connections in arrival areas can provide links to accessible resources transcending neighbourhood boundaries, relativizing the context of multiple disadvantages attributed to many immigrant neighbourhoods (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016) and discussed in the literature on context effects.

This article aims to describe the characteristics of arrival areas, primarily in the Global North, and the ways in which previous migrants can act as knowledge brokers facilitating newcomers' access to resources. It shows that a focus on arrival infrastructures can help shed light on the multi-directionality and complexities of migrant integration and the fact that urban spaces, both in their complex composition and social dynamics, change in the ongoing processes of arrival.

This article is conceptual rather than empirical, drawing on existing literature and debates on urban areas characterized by high numbers of migrants. It summarises academic discourses on the role of neighbourhoods in migrant integration, focusing in the first section on discussions on 'context effects' and 'ethnic enclaves.' This is followed by an overview of emerging work on 'arrival areas' and 'arrival infrastructures,' and the role of this recent conceptual approach in advancing research on migrant integration.

2. The Role of the Neighbourhood Context for Integration and Resource Access

Both academic and political discourses relating to the challenges of migrant integration are often closely associated with the discussion over potential 'context effects' (also known as 'neighbourhood effects'). The neighbourhood context is thereby seen to have an effect extending beyond individual and household-related causes for disadvantage, leading to further disadvantage among residents (van Ham & Manley, 2012).

Numerous empirical studies—many featuring US cities—have identified a negative influence of neighbourhoods characterised by poverty and social disadvantage on their residents (Galster & Sharkey, 2017). Many studies of context effects specifically look at three factors shaping resource access: a) physical-spatial structures and the extent to which infrastructures (such as parks, schools or social services) are accessible for inhabitants, b) the conduciveness of an environment for establishing contacts and social networks, and c) effects determined by the neighbourhood's symbolic role and image, and the related question as to what extent residents can develop a sense of belonging to and pride in living in an area (Galster & Sharkey, 2017). Context effects were similarly found in European neighbourhoods (albeit significantly less ethnically and socially segregated than their US counterparts), though to a lesser extent and with sometimes contradictory findings (van Ham & Manley,

2012). Conclusions differ dependent on the spatial scale selected, the cohort observed, the methodology chosen and the length of the observed period (Hans, Hanhörster, Polivka, & Beißwenger, 2019). Most research into context effects looks mainly at deficits, primarily analysing the negative effects of the neighbourhood.

One of the main problems with research on 'context effects' is that these effects are generally presented in the context of an understanding of a neighbourhood as a spatially limited 'container space' (van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). It is thereby assumed that the neighbourhood and its local resources play a significant role in determining the social mobility of its residents. This focus on the immediate surroundings does not, however, take sufficient account of current society, its practices and social relationships, which are becoming increasingly translocal and transnational. Migrants often draw on resources which go beyond the neighbourhood, for example via social media, making use of transnational networks allowing them to participate in what is happening in both their home and host countries (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; Sametipour, 2017). Studies also point to an increase in temporary forms of migration, a factor influencing migrants' location practices and consequently the development of their networks (Faist, 2015). Such dynamics demonstrate that migrants' networking activities are not limited to their immediate surroundings, but based on multilocal networks (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016). Thus, both local and transnational networks serve as contexts for accessing resources. Some scholars question neighbourhood effect research altogether because it tends to ignore the broader structural factors which lead to social inequality and poverty in the first place, and does not address shortcomings in investments by the state, for example in education and support in accessing the labour market (Slater, 2013, p. 369).

In addition to the wide research body on context effects in deprived neighbourhoods as a broader discussion not solely affecting migrants, a large number of studies look at areas with a high concentration of residents with a migration background, also referred to as 'ethnic enclaves' (Wilson & Martin, 1982), 'immigrant enclaves' (Portes & Manning, 1986) or 'urban enclaves' (Zhou, 2009). Some of these studies conclude that living in 'ethnic enclaves' for a longer period of time can be an obstacle to integration, stressing the disintegrating effect related to socio-economic disadvantage and poor housing, limited social capital with regard to access to individuals with higher educational backgrounds, schools struggling with high numbers of pupils not speaking the majority language, etc. (Ostendorf & Musterd, 2011). However, other studies see potential integration-related benefits in ethnically concentrated urban neighbourhoods (Fajth & Bilgili, 2018). Such benefits include, for example, the spatial proximity to family and co-ethnic (social) support networks, to migrant-specific businesses or other migration-related infrastructures, as well as the potential positive effect of small-scale integration on solidarity and self-confidence (Zhou, 2009). For example, Vaughan's historical research on Jewish immigrant settlements in London's East End illustrates how physical clustering can be beneficial for mutual support and for setting up niche economic activities within the immigrant group. Locations enabling economic activity are highlighted as an important precondition for migrants' successful arrival and social mobility. In addition to the availability of work, access to affordable housing makes such districts attractive to the immigrant poor (Vaughan, 2007, p. 6).

More recent studies have similarly shown how social disadvantage in areas with high numbers of migrants can be relativized by various factors such as the diversity of newcomers, their social ties extending beyond the neighbourhood, and people remaining in the neighbourhood despite having moved up the social ladder. For example, descendants of migrants (the second and third generation) can act as important brokers for newcomers. Qualitative research has shown that social mobility does not necessarily go hand in hand with spatial mobility and that migrants do not need to leave their neighbourhood to climb up the social ladder (Barwick, 2016; Hanhörster, 2015). In fact, many upwardly mobile migrants and their descendants explicitly choose to stay in their neighbourhood. Through purchasing property or setting up a business, 'old hands' can make resources such as housing or services available to newcomers of various backgrounds (Erel, 2011). For example, research on residential location choices of Turkish-origin homeowners in the Ruhr area (Germany) illustrates interlinked business and residential location choices. Turkish entrepreneurs are staying put because of their local networks and social embeddedness, investing in private and business properties in ethnic enclaves (Hanhörster, 2015). Households well-endowed with resources can also use their existing networks to make things easier for newcomers, thereby relativizing the negative effects attributed to the neighbourhood context (Barwick, 2016; Hanhörster, 2015).

Relatedly, and despite the fact that many arrival areas continue to be among the more disadvantaged, the diversity of newcomers is growing, extending the spectrum of available social, economic and cultural resources. Whereas migration research previously tended to differentiate between a transnational elite of high-qualified and mobile professionals and a less-endowed cohort of non-mobile workers, we are now seeing a blurring of this dichotomy, with an increasing number of migrants of middle-class backgrounds. While they might be migrating with little financial capital, many of them possess high cultural and social capital, which affects the way in which they are able to access resources (Ryan, 2011).

These recent studies point to the contribution which an arrival infrastructural lens could potentially make to studies on context effects and ethnic enclaves, with increased attention paid to a) the role of inter-ethnic support networks and long-established migrants in filling structural deficits, and b) access to resources which,

albeit often initiated within an arrival area, go beyond the neighbourhood.

The next two sections look in greater detail at the conceptual understanding of arrival areas and empirical evidence highlighting specific features and dynamics attributed to them.

3. Arrival Areas and Arrival Infrastructures: Conceptual Understandings

Even in times of easier mobility, new digital forms of communication and migrants' embeddedness in transnational networks, localities and physical-spatial infrastructures continue to play a major role in catering for local populations (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017). Virtual networks are by no means doing away with the need for local contacts, but instead complement such contacts and can help with navigating different pathways for local integration (Hsiao & Dillahunt, 2018; Sametipour, 2017). Support and assistance for dealing with everyday situations continue to be provided in the immediate surroundings. This holds true not only for low-income groups but also for high-skilled migrants: "The importance of proximity will persist for services until it is possible to transport a cup of sugar electronically" (Plickert, Côté, & Wellman, 2007, p. 424).

A growing body of literature examines social relations and encounters in urban areas characterized by ongoing immigration. Studies on 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham, 2009) have focused on a wide spectrum of social relations which people form across differences, illustrating new forms of inclusion and exclusion in such contexts (Noble, 2009; Wessendorf, 2019; Wise, 2009). While these studies have looked more generally at social life in super-diverse areas, recent work on arrival areas and arrival infrastructures has more specifically investigated how conditions of long-term immigration shape newcomers' processes of arrival and, possibly, settlement. Doug Saunders' book (2011) *Arrival City* is a good starting point for any debate on arrival areas and arrival infrastructures. He uses examples taken from arrival contexts across the globe to illustrate migrants' arrival conditions and integration processes in cities. While Saunders (2011) understands 'arrival' primarily through the lens of upwards social mobility, we define it (in the sense of our understanding of integration) as access to functional, social and symbolic resources. Saunders turns our attention to local factors influencing the access of various immigrant groups to resources and how such processes can enhance their long-term integration. Despite the wide range of local conditions in different (national) contexts, he identifies overarching patterns and functions characterising arrival areas.

Public institutions and social infrastructures (such as advice centres or language courses) within walking distance can play a decisive role in the arrival process and further integration of residents (Saunders, 2011, p. 58). In addition, a certain housing density and public spaces close to their homes can offer migrants opportunities to meet others and are thus important contexts for building social contacts and potentially social capital (Farwick, Hanhörster, Ramos Lobato, & Striemer, 2019, p. 13). Many arrival areas are characterised by a high density of social networks, whether linking home and host country contexts or establishing ties to other urban contexts (Saunders, 2011, pp. 22–23). Thus, arrival areas can also be described as hubs within cities where a concentration of resources for new arrivals can be found. They can provide newcomers with social networks for accessing societal resources as well as housing and work (Hans et al., 2019). In addition, they allow ties to migrants' home countries, for instance via existing infrastructures for transferring goods or information such as money transfer agencies, Internet cafes, etc.

Building on Saunder's idea of arrival cities, an emerging body of social scientific literature has developed the notion of 'arrival areas' and 'arrival infrastructures.' Kurtenbach (2015) has drawn up a characterisation of 'arrival areas' in the German context, describing such areas as urban neighbourhoods shaped by socio-economic disadvantage, high numbers of migrants and high fluctuation rates. The idea of 'arrival infrastructures' builds on Xiang and Lindquist's concept of migration infrastructures, defined as "the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 124). Arrival infrastructures include, for example, migrant-run businesses as information hubs, hairdressers, mosques, associations or language classes, often set up by people who themselves have a migration background (Schmiz & Kitzmann, 2017). Importantly, arrival infrastructures also include individuals who take on an instrumental role in newcomers' settlement, here conceptualised as 'arrival brokers.' The notion of 'arrival brokers' draws on Lindquist, Xiang, and Yeoh's definition of 'migrant brokers' as a "party who mediates between other parties" (2012, p. 7), for example between a newcomer and employer.

Importantly, Saunders stresses that not all migrant inflows into cities result in the emergence of 'successful' arrival areas. Resource access can be understood as an organisationally embedded process (Small, 2009). The permeability of institutions and local organisations' internal routines shape the nature of newcomers' first steps in the host country and determine whether they manage to move up the social ladder (Saunders, 2011, p. 63), as seen in the housing sector. Various studies have demonstrated migrants' limited access to the housing market in several (European) countries (Auspurg, Schneck, & Hinz, 2018). The declining stock of social housing as well as institutional cultures, such as institutional routines and the blocking strategies of housing providers, contribute to the further marginalisation of specific groups. At present, asylum-seekers and refugees in particular are facing major problems on the housing market (Czischke & Huisman, 2018). Research shows that even long-established immigrants and their children—

even though upwardly mobile and now members of the middle classes—still face barriers on the housing market. Thus, the ability to settle and remain in arrival areas, or 'move on' within the wider city context, is shaped by the institutional environment and local (housing) politics (Barwick, 2016; Hanhörster, 2015).

Importantly, the housing market also plays a major role in the emergence of new arrival areas, for example in urban peripheries and suburbs where newcomers might be able to access cheaper housing (Keil, 2017; Tzaninis, 2019). Arrival areas are thus not necessarily a unique feature of large metropolises but can also be found in 'ordinary' cities (Hall, 2015; Robinson, 2006), for example non-metropolitan areas or intermediate cities. For example, through policies of dispersion at European, national and regional levels, small and medium-sized cities have (re)appeared as places active in the arrival and incorporation of migrants. Hence, a range of city and suburban spaces beyond the big metropolises can function as arrival areas where emerging arrival infrastructures and arrival brokers can be found.

4. Empirical Research on Arrival Areas: Characteristics and New Dynamics

Research into arrival processes in cities and neighbourhoods with high migrant populations has gained pace in recent years (Meeus et al., 2019). Providing resources such as services for newcomers (e.g., international money transfers), casual work in non-knowledge sectors (Kurtenbach, 2015), and access to affordable housing, arrival neighbourhoods offer important opportunities for migrants to gain a foothold in their new country. Using Istanbul's inner-city neighbourhood Kumkapı as an example, Biehl (2014) looks at the characteristics and dynamics of an 'arrival neighbourhood,' describing it as a highly diversified area which has become an anchor point for different cohorts of migrants, the composition of which is constantly evolving in the face of ongoing in and out movement. The area is characterised by informal structures, offering migrants—in addition to access to housing—a range of arrival resources such as access to employment. Often, the brokering of jobs and housing goes beyond co-ethnic networks, occurring between long-established migrants and newcomers. Current studies in arrival areas in Germany and Belgium confirm the special role of local arrival-specific infrastructures offering newcomers hassle-free access to support services (Kurtenbach, 2015; Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & de Decker, 2019). Immigrants in such neighbourhoods often enjoy the support of long-established migrants in the form of social networks and local infrastructures (e.g., migrant-run businesses). Such networks sometimes also facilitate access to resources (such as jobs, advice centres or religious institutions) located outside the neighbourhood.

Using Antwerpen-Noord as their example, Schillebeeckx et al. (2019) examine the extent to which arrival infrastructures provide resources for newcomers, showing that the neighbourhood, in addition to offering housing for people on the poverty line, also provides opportunities for informal work. Such work is found by the newcomers via well-oiled social networks and with the help of NGOs. The authors conclude that the spatial concentration of long-established migrants in a neighbourhood is a factor promoting the chances of newcomers to find their feet in their new environment. Recent research has also shown newly emerging forms of solidarity between settled and incoming migrants, revealing how newcomers often draw on other migrants' know-how regarding information about access to services, housing and jobs and knowledge of the legal system, for example between migrants with refugee status and asylum seekers (Phillimore et al., 2018; Wessendorf & Phillimore, 2019). These findings speak to the emerging work on informal arrival infrastructures provided by settled individuals or groups, also conceptualised as 'people as infrastructures' (Simone, 2004), 'migrant infrastructures' (Hall, King, & Finlay, 2017), 'soft infrastructures' (Boost & Oosterlynck, 2019) and 'infrastructures of superdiversity' (Blommaert, 2014). To a large extent shaped by social support networks and forms of social capital, such infrastructures are contingent on the nature of social relations between long-established residents and newcomers.

While, by its nature, the concept of arrival infrastructures focuses on the materiality of arrival and settlement resources (i.e., the physical presence of such infrastructures), the mobility and fluctuation rates found in urban arrival areas also mean that arrival infrastructures often transcend neighbourhood boundaries. Institutions such as mosque associations or doctors' surgeries are not only used by local populations, but in many cases attract established migrants who have since moved away from the neighbourhood (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016). Empirical studies in Germany have looked at the social ties developed in certain institutions such as mosques and community organisations and in many cases transcending neighbourhood boundaries, illustrating the permeability of (administrative) neighbourhood boundaries (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016).

Alongside the functional aspect of supplying neighbourhood residents with information, goods and services, infrastructures such as advice centres or (migrant) organisations can also provide important forms of informal help. Such personal services can involve the transfer of more informal information or the provision of emotional support but may also involve resources helping newcomers to start climbing up the social ladder (Farwick et al., 2019). The density and configuration of these settings influence the social and cultural resources of neighbourhood residents in many ways. For example, research on arrival areas in Dortmund and Hannover has illustrated the importance of 'weak ties' (Granovetter, 1973) and their ability to also provide resources going beyond just 'getting-by.' The qualitative results illustrate the relevance of the right 'interfaces' for transferring re-

sources: For resources promoting upward social mobility to be transferred, it is not enough to simply have contact with partners well-endowed with such resources, but partners also need to possess knowledge about relevant services or available jobs or housing (Farwick et al., 2019: p. 13; Phillimore et al., 2018).

Institutionalised to varying degrees, these settings play an important role as hubs allowing people to come together and as sites for transferring social, cultural and economic capital (Kurtenbach, 2015; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019). Drawing on research on several high streets in the UK characterised by high numbers of businesses run by migrants, Hall et al. (2017, p. 1325) describe how "the migrant infrastructure of the street offers a partial promise to the newcomer, a space of relative autonomy and invisibility, to obtain a foothold in the city." They describe how some shopkeepers have taken on the important function of helping newcomers with filling in official forms.

Ongoing research in East London, undertaken by Wessendorf, has shown the importance of the visibility of services for migrant newcomers. Especially migrants with little knowledge of the majority language and limited digital literacy often find support just by walking around an area and seeing support services advertised in public space. One of the local libraries, for example, sports a large sign and a huge window through which people can see that it is a publicly accessible space offering various types of advice services. Due to its high visibility and welcoming atmosphere, many newcomers enter the library to gain information on services such as language classes or welfare advice. For many, the library thus functions as a steppingstone to other types of support. An arrival infrastructural approach thus highlights the spatial and material dimensions of migrant arrival, building on calls to "rethink the role of materiality" (Burchardt & Hoehne, 2015, p. 5) in social life (Seethaler-Wari, 2018, p. 147).

Importantly, arrival areas can offer access to resources transcending ethnic boundaries. In such contexts, long-established migrants with 'settlement expertise' can support newcomers of various backgrounds to find a foothold in a new place (Phillimore et al., 2018). Thus, migrants act as 'arrival brokers' in different fields, bridging 'structural holes' (Burt, 1992) within and outside the neighbourhood and providing access to settlement information.

However, arrival infrastructures do not always generate forms of social capital or access to functional support. They can also enhance forms of exclusion. For example, the second-hand car trade in one area in Brussels was set up by particular groups of newcomers decades ago. While it offers employment for newcomers, it also locks some of them into low-paid jobs, particularly those with an insecure legal status (Meeus & Arnaut, 2019). Similarly, research in East London undertaken by Wessendorf has shown that newcomers sometimes get stuck in poorly paid jobs, for example in the building sector, due to limited knowledge of English and dependence on co-ethnic 'gatekeepers' who channel them into specific jobs. Andersson, Musterd, and Galster (2019) investigated refugees' employment prospects in so-called port-of-entry neighbourhoods in Sweden, identifying gender differences and illustrating how female refugees' labour market participation is negatively affected by greater percentages of co-ethnic neighbours and social pressures to refrain from taking up paid work. Taking the housing market as an example, recent research in Germany points to informal letting strategies leading to an overcrowding of newly arriving migrants in dilapidated buildings, taking advantage of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants' weak position on the housing market (Hanhörster, Ramos Lobato, Droste, Diesenreiter, & Becker, 2020). Arrival neighbourhoods and arrival-specific infrastructures can thus be both enabling and disabling with regard to social mobility.

5. Conclusion: Arrival Infrastructures as Crystallisation Points for Transferring Resources

This article has provided a conceptual overview of the notion of arrival areas and how such areas potentially offer a wealth of arrival infrastructures through which newcomers can access arrival and settlement resources. Previous research on neighbourhoods with high numbers of people with a migration background, primarily in the realm of studies on so-called 'context effects' and 'ethnic enclaves,' has described both the advantages and disadvantages of living in such areas. Because much of the research on 'context effects' has assumed that deprivation in such neighbourhoods leads to further disadvantage (van Ham & Manley, 2012), and that, for local authorities, the arrival of newcomers might exacerbate already existing challenges related to deprivation, many European countries are applying distribution strategies in order to disperse newly arriving refugees (Adam et al., 2020; ESPON, 2019).

While research on neighbourhood effects has looked at the effects of disadvantage on the population at large (including people with a migration background), and research on ethnic enclaves has tended to look at long-established migrants and ethnic minorities, research on arrival areas more specifically focuses on how the neighbourhood context affects recently arrived migrant newcomers. This is particularly relevant in a time when newcomers often settle in areas populated by previous migrants, but not necessarily by people from the same background. The arrival infrastructural lens thus enables an analysis of migrant integration which goes beyond assumptions of co-ethnic support, looking at how arrival infrastructures, set up by long-established migrants, might benefit newcomers from various backgrounds. Thus, the spatial concentration of immigrants can facilitate the social participation of newly arrived migrants and their access to arrival resources (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016; Kurtenbach, 2015; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019). Nevertheless, the focus on arrival infrastructures

must not overlook the existence of precarity and multiple disadvantages among those living in such areas. In fact, arrival infrastructures providing support for newcomers often emerge because of underlying disadvantage and discrimination, for example regarding access to housing. Long-established migrants thus fill structural holes resulting from limited welfare provision and lack of urban planning by local government.

Using this perspective on how migrants gain access to resources puts the effects of existing disadvantages into a different light. Dependent on how urban institutions are structured and which local alliances exist, the specific functionalities offered by arrival spaces need to be acknowledged and strengthened. Local governments and urban planners could build on long-established migrants' (often informal) arrival know-how, supporting them in providing access to resources and settlement information for newcomers. With migrants actively participating in many ways in both informal and formal networks, we need further research on migrant networks and the strategies with which migrants gain access to resources upon arrival (see for example Phillimore et al., 2014; Ryan, 2011).

This specific focus on arrival areas and their characteristics also speaks against integration policies which assume that migrants should 'integrate' into a supposed 'mainstream society' which, in areas of long-term immigration, is difficult to define (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2017). This focus on arrival areas shifts attention—dominant in integration theory and policy—away from the individual migrant and towards the role of the resources provided in specific areas. Resulting from a lack of local government support structures, it is often long-established populations, including those with a migration background themselves, who step in and fill structural holes. The arrival infrastructural lens thus contributes to our understanding of migrant integration processes shaped not only by newcomers' own social, cultural and economic capital and by broader national and city-wide integration policies, socio-economic conditions and support structures (or the lack thereof), but also by the presence of long-established migrants and ethnic minorities with specific settlement expertise. It is this specific expertise as 'arrival brokers' which many newcomers tap into upon arrival.

A more detailed analysis of the dynamics and mechanisms found in arrival areas extends static concepts of territorially bounded neighbourhoods whose residents are seen to be primarily influenced by their disadvantageous surroundings, and relativizes the negative effects of living in 'disadvantaged neighbourhoods' discussed in research on context effects. This new perspective applies especially to the social, institutional and spatially related functional ties extending beyond neighbourhood boundaries. The societal processes currently emerging in neighbourhoods with high migrant populations cannot be covered sufficiently by research focused solely on neighbourhood context effects. Looking at arrival areas and specifically at the everyday practices of the people living in these areas enables us to show how different transnational and multilocal migration and settlement practices provide scope for social participation. Through researching arrival areas, the functions of certain spaces in our cities for integrating migrants can be understood in a wider context, as can the constitutive and transformational power of migration and its influence on urban development practices.

Further studies of urban peripheries and 'ordinary cities' could illustrate their role as increasingly relevant contemporary arrival spaces. Although the specific spatial features and social practices described here have been observed in many different case studies throughout the world, a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative indicators needed to identify arrival spaces has only taken place in a handful of European cities. And finally, further research is needed to both identify established and incipient arrival spaces, and to look more closely at the lifestyles, individual practices and social interactions of migrants in increasingly diverse neighbourhoods, thereby gaining a better understanding of the many facets of arrival and integration.

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Article

Broadening the Urban Planning Repertoire with an 'Arrival Infrastructures' Perspective

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Abstract
In this article we propose an arrival infrastructures perspective in order to move beyond imaginaries of neighbourhoods as a 'port of first entry' that are deeply ingrained in urban planning discussions on migrants' arrival situations. A focus on the socio-material infrastructures that shape an arrival situation highlights how such situations are located within, but equally transcend, the territories of neighbourhoods and other localities. Unpacking the infrastructuring work of a diversity of actors involved in the arrival process helps to understand how they emerge through time and how migrants construct their future pathways with the futuring possibilities at hand. These constructions occur along three dimensions: (1) Directionality refers to the engagements with the multiple places migrants have developed over time, (2) temporality questions imaginaries of permanent belonging, and (3) subjectivity directs attention to the diverse current and future subjectivities migrants carve out for themselves in situations of arrival. This perspective requires urban planners to trace, grasp and acknowledge the diverse geographies and socio-material infrastructures that shape arrival and the diverse forms of non-expert agency in the use, appropriation and fabrication of the built environment in which the arrival takes place.

Keywords
arrival infrastructures; immigrant neighbourhoods; migration; urban diversity

Issue
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1. Introduction

At the occasion of the 2016 International Architecture Exhibition of the Venice Biennale, the German pavilion presented the fascinating exhibition and catalogue entitled "Making Heimat: Germany, Arrival Country" (Schmal, Elser, & Scheuermann, 2016). The blurb at the back flap of the catalogue summarises: "Making Heimat investigates the urban, architectural, and social conditions of arrival cities in Germany" (Schmal et al., 2016). It was, we believe, the first time that a country's pavilion at the Architecture Biennale was specifically dedicated to the architectural and urban planning aspects of migrants' arrival. This, of course, needs to be situated against the background of the famous statement of the German chancellor Angela Merkel 'We can do this' (*Wir schaffen das*) at the start of the so-called European 'asylum crisis.' The latter was above all a crisis of European

states in accommodating and literally creating infrastructures for new arrivals. Seen in this way, it comes as no surprise that Germany placed the spatial challenges faced by cities regarding the accommodation of hundreds of thousands of refugees at the top of the urban planning agenda.

In the text of the biennale catalogue, there is a remarkable moment in the conversation between urbanist Stephan Lanz and journalist Doug Saunders. The latter is widely known as the author of the influential book *Arrival City* (Saunders, 2011) and was also the main source of inspiration for the German Biennale project team. In the excerpt below, Lanz challenges Saunders' predominantly territorial perspective on urban arrival processes.

> SL [Stephan Lanz]: In your book, you think of Arrival Cities very much as a territorial model. But don't you think that Arrival Cities sometimes also assume the form of networks or of imaginations? It's not always a territory. For example, if you look at the Poles who immigrated to German cities, they don't have their own ethnic neighbourhoods.
>
> DS [Doug Saunders]: It varies. Some of them are distributed. The classic example of what you're talking about is the Filipinos from Luzon who mainly migrate for domestic service work. They work as servants in people's houses—nannies and cooks—and they're distributed across the middle-class parts of major cities in North America and Europe. But they form a virtual Arrival City. They're connected very closely by social media and they loan each other money but they have not created the physical spaces. It varies with the Poles. Here in Germany, they're more like the Filipinos. In Britain and Ireland though, they have formed districts. *For an architecture exhibition, I think we want to stick to the ones that are classic physical forms.* (Schmal, Elser, & Scheuermann, 2016, p. 52, emphasis by the authors)

We do not want to review in detail the exhibition of 'Making Heimat' here, but we would like to focus on the implications of Saunders' claim. If architects and urban planners confine themselves from the start to 'classic physical forms,' such as (arrival) neighbourhoods, we fear that they will not be able to fully grasp the socio-spatial logics of arrival, or indeed "the urban, architectural, and social conditions of arrival cities" (Schmal et al., 2016; back flap) as announced in the blurb. Instead, they risk limiting themselves to conventional urban planning concepts and methods, and simply reproducing pre-existing urban design practices. Indeed, arrival is not only a matter of learning for the newcomer, "of getting to know those parts of the city that may provide opportunities for survival and getting by" (McFarlane, 2011, p. 43), urban planners equally have to learn this 'unknown city.' In order to do so, we suggest here that urban planners develop a deep understanding of the diversity of migrants' arrival situations. In defining the latter, we take inspiration from Zigon (2014, p. 503) for whom:

> To be in a situation is at one and the same time something that falls upon us, or perhaps better put, that we get caught up in, and something that to a great extent provides the conditions for possible ways of being, doing, speaking, and thinking within that situation.

Transposed to contexts of migration, newcomers can be said to find themselves 'in a situation' that falls upon them on arrival as a constellation of challenges, possibilities and connections. Taking inspiration from assemblage theory (see Zigon, 2015), for Zigon such an (arrival) situation is a 'nontotalizable assemblage': It is shaped by a multiplicity of local and translocal sociomaterial relations that stretch across neighbourhoods, cities and countries.

An arrival situation is to be understood as "both relational and territorial, as both in motion and simultaneously fixed, or embedded in place" (McCann & Ward, 2011, p. xv). The situations in which migrants arrive are partly localised, and partly taking place in relation to places elsewhere, both through physical and virtual connections (Beeckmans, 2019). Therefore, migrants' multiplicity of arrival situations cannot be captured with the imagery of the 'classic physical forms' (Saunders, 2016, p. 52) alone. As we argued before (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019), the neighbourhood as an imaginary and as a starting point for intervention builds further on the notion of the 'urban transition zone,' conceived by the Chicago School of Social Ecology in the early 1930s. The urban transition zone is part of a theoretical model of concentric urban development, so typical for 19th and early 20th century industrial cities. Examples of transition zones as first described are ethnic neighbourhoods such as Little Italy, with ethnic shops, church communities, village associations and social work initiatives that supported newcomers in their process of arrival. This model of the 'transition zone' continues to inform academic research and policymakers, including 'arrival city' and 'arrival neighbourhood' scholars (see Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & De Decker, 2019). Yet, there are many indications that this does not allow for a comprehensive understanding of, and planning for, migrants' arrival situations. The interplay of economic globalisation and transnational network formation has resulted in more complex patterns of migration, not only bringing more migrants to Europe from more countries of origin, but also in a broader geographical distribution of migrants over the territory. This results in settlement patterns in which the capital cities and global cities—the 'arrival cities' as depicted by Saunders—are being bypassed as 'gateway cities.' It also results in new patterns of settlements in which migrants are increasingly distributed over the urban territory, instead of being only concentrated in 'arrival neighbourhoods.' In an earlier ac-

count (Meeus, van Heur & Arnaut, 2019), we already explained that due to suburbanisation and gentrification, the socio-spatial structure of the postmodern metropolis has increasingly diversified the geographies of arrival (Zelinsky & Lee, 1998). Urban service economies in the Global North depend on a bifurcated labour force, but there is—arguing against Downey and Smith (2011)—no particular reason why this functional need would translate into geographical concentrations of newcomers in particular neighbourhoods in cities across the globe. Of course, there are a number of historically grown neighbourhoods in cities that have accommodated subsequent waves of newcomers and still have this function (Albeda, Tersteeg, Oosterlynck, & Verschraegen, 2018; Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck & De Decker, 2019). And although newcomers probably use a network of arrival infrastructures distributed over the city rather than just one arrival infrastructure, when physically aggregated, urban arrival infrastructures might form new arrival neighbourhoods. Yet, a mere focus on arrival neighbourhoods risks to miss out the infrastructures that shape the arrival situation elsewhere in the broader metropolitan region. In that sense, an arrival neighbourhood framework might be too essentialising, and as Amin (2013) also argues, may produce a problematic 'telescopic urbanism' that neglects how socio-material politics that operate on diverse other scales produce unequal access to collective resources in the first place. Moreover, migrants' arrival, also in spatial terms, is multidirectional, both referring to the place that is occupied and places elsewhere in the world.

If urban planners and architects from the outset of their urban analysis and design fall back onto the classic repertoire of urban planning, with its unspoken ideological underpinnings and implicit normative assumptions, and above all its extremely limited vocabulary to speak about urban arrival (and urban diversity more generally) in spatial terms, the multiplicity and complexity of arrival situations may stay under the radar or may even be hindered by urban planning interventions. Therefore, without wanting to downplay the importance of neighbourhoods of arrival, we do think that jumping into the 'classic' territorial frameworks of 'arrival countries,' 'arrival cities' or 'arrival neighbourhoods' to approach newcomers' arrival situations, will not only result in missing out on arrival situations located elsewhere in the city, but also in entirely missing out on the relational constitution of these arrival situations beyond the implied territories.

In an attempt to acknowledge such a translocal, multi-sited and relational view on urban arrival, transnationalism scholar Smith (2005) coined the notion of emplacement to situate the agency of migrants without necessarily choosing one particular spatial scale such as the neighbourhood, the city or the country as the most important scale for analysis. Instead he advocated a spatial analysis which is sensitive to the territorial and the relational constitution of arrival. These ideas are shared by prominent transnationalism scholars such as Çağlar and Glick Schiller (2018) studying the relation between migration and multi-scalar city-making. Within the same transnationalist tradition which Çağlar and Glick Schiller initiated in the early 1990s, Amin (2002, p. 972) demonstrates how migrants—bringing along their "multiple and hybrid affiliations of varying geographical reach" and passing through the city—constitute socio-material trajectories that continuously shape and reshape the territory of the city. Trajectories "imprint places with layers of investments and practices" and "give rise to interpreted histories and spatial connotations, some of which come with more weight and influence than others" (Lagendijk et al., 2011, p. 165). Lagendijk et al. (2011) and Collins (2012) have experimented with such a perspective. Drawing on the work of Doreen Massey (2005), they have tried to embrace what Collins (2012) calls the 'productive tension' between the territorial and the relational character of the city. While Lagendijk et al. (2011, p. 163) start from "the multiple worlds in a single street" to examine "the consequences of [the] plurality of 'trajectories' for actual place-making," Collins (2012, p. 317) aims to look at the city as a whole as "both a relational and territorial configuration connected to other places yet marked by its own specificities." For Collins (2012, p. 320), the aim is to "tease out the ambiguities of transnational mobilities and their emplacement in urban space in ways that recognise how this emplacement is both facilitated and blocked."

Tying in with this literature on migration and transnationalism studies, but at the same time in an attempt to infuse it with an infrastructures perspective, we propose in this article to broaden the existing urban planning repertoire with an 'arrival infrastructures' perspective. This perspective does not radically replace the existing perspectives on migrants' arrival, but rather aspires to add new layers, and to open up and enrich prevailing perspectives in urban planning.

2. Infrastructures and Infrastructuring Work

This section introduces and outlines the notion of 'arrival infrastructures' and argues in favour of an ethnographic approach which can be emulated by urban planners in order to explore the relational, spatiotemporal and socio-material conditions of the processes of arrival. In subsequent sections we unpack this approach into a three-way analytic of directionality, temporality and subjectivity of arrival infrastructuring. Both the notion and the analytic build further on earlier publications (Meeus, Arnaut, & van Heur, 2019). In these publications, arrival infrastructures are defined as "those parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled on arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated" (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019, p. 1). While some authors with an architectural background such as Stephen Cairns (2004), differentiate between an 'architecture-for-migrants' and an 'architecture-by-migrants,' we rather

approach arrival infrastructures as the result of socio-material practices of a variety of actors, including architects and urban planners, state-employees, citizens, civil society organisations, newcomers and more established migrants. Consequently, an arrival infrastructures perspective goes beyond the assumption that assistance for settlement comes solely through formal channels, agencies and programmes, instead bringing into view a wider constellation of actors and putting the spotlight on the special role played by long-established migrants (see Wessendorf, 2018). Arrival infrastructures comprise of, for example, a variety of housing typologies (including asylum centres and squatting), shops as information hubs, religious sites, facilities for language classes, hairdressers, restaurants, international shipping and call centres. This multi-actor and multi-sited perspective on arrival infrastructures has, immediately, implications for urban planning as practice, since it unavoidably requires urban planning professionals to engage with a diversity of actors and sites beyond the planning administrations. It also opens up the debate on planning to actors such as newcomers and civil society organisations who are de facto urban planners 'on the ground,' without mostly being recognised as such.

As a consequence, and following our previous line of argument in Meeus, van Heur, and Arnaut (2019, p. 2; see also Mezzadra & Neilson, 2012):

> An infrastructural perspective on processes of arrival allows for a critical as well as transformative engagement with the position of the state in the management of migration. States have continuously produced new layers of supportive and exclusionary governmental infrastructures, funnelling particular groups into 'permanent arrival' or 'permanent temporariness.'

As noted by Graham and Thrift (2007), a considerable amount of labour from diverse actors is needed to continuously maintain, repair and update state infrastructures:

> At the same time, migrants and various other actors incrementally build up sites or vantage points of temporary deployment with whatever is at hand, including parts of these governmental infrastructures. Therefore, the notion of arrival infrastructures emphasises the continuous and manifold 'infrastructuring practices' or 'infrastructuring work' by a range of actors in urban settings, which create a multitude of 'platforms' of arrival and take-off within, against and beyond the infrastructures of the state. (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019, p. 2)

As a result, arrival infrastructures can be considered both as artefacts of governmentality and as socio-material expressions resulting from a variety of spatial agencies coming from below, and it is exactly the dialectic relationship between the two that defines their spatial aspects on which we will expand now in more detail.

Evidently, institutional arrival infrastructures, such as detention and asylum centres, can be conceptualised as artefacts of governmentality, constituted by a multitude of interception methods, waiting and mustering techniques, security systems, corridor building, etc., but also by specific architectural typologies such as the panopticon model. Yet, also non-institutional arrival infrastructures are to a greater or lesser extent embedded in urban fabrics, urban plans and urban policies and are affected by subsequent waves of governmental programmes and partnerships with civil society actors, which each imbue the arrival infrastructures with particular, sometimes even conflicting, normativities, channelling particular forms of migrant arrival. Maybe more than any other infrastructure, arrival infrastructures show that the state does not act as a monolithic bloc, but instead performs through various conflicting forms and fractions of statehood (Jeffrey, 2012, p. 39), which are all integral parts of arrival infrastructures but never completely determine it.

Moreover, while infrastructures are (partly) the product of planning processes 'from above,' infrastructures also emerge out of continuous infrastructuring practices 'from below,' as is most clearly emphasised in anthropological literature (Arnaut, Karrebæk, & Spotti, 2016; Calhoun, Sennett, & Shapira, 2013). Likewise, drawing on Star (1999), Graham and Thrift (2007) argue in favour of an academic engagement with the continuous practices of maintenance and repair that sustain infrastructure. This move indicates a methodological strategy of "infrastructural inversion" (Bowker, 1994, p. 235), which involves an investigation into the inner workings of infrastructure in order to be able to analyse its process of construction and maintenance: it requires "going backstage" (Star, 1999, p. 380) and studying infrastructure "in the making" (Star, 2002, p. 116). Situations of infrastructural failure typically instantiate such an inversion. Well-functioning infrastructures tend to disappear into the background and only become visible when they fail, potentially producing apocalyptic fears (Graham, 2010). The 2015 European 'refugee crisis' can be seen as a particular case of spectacular infrastructural failure, foregrounding an asylum infrastructure which under regular circumstances should "work in the background, effectively and silently" (Walters, 2004, p. 255).

Adopting inversion as a methodological strategy implies not only going into the backstage of the well-known institutional arrival infrastructures but also strategically describing the non-institutional infrastructures emerging from the bottom up (Elyachar, 2010; Simone, 2004). In the context of migration, Kleinman (2014) for instance describes how West Africans gain access to city life and build translocal livelihoods through the socio-material infrastructures transecting the Gare du Nord station in Paris. These migrant infrastructuring "partially transforms this space of transportation…into a hub of encounter that translates the social infrastructure of African migrants into a French public space" (Kleinman, 2014, p. 289). The European 'refugee crisis' is again a

case in point: "The collapse or transformation of the existing asylum infrastructures and the emergence of new ones was gaining visibility by being constantly politicised, contested, or indeed accompanied by popular mobilisation and infrastructural work" (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019, p. 18).

El Moussawi and Meeus (2016), for instance, show how activist groups built an arrival campsite in a park (Maximiliaanpark) near Brussels' North Station in September 2015, providing the basics of shelter, food and clothes distribution, medical support, exchange of information, etc. Through their intervention, the activists exposed the carelessness of the refugee reception services in Brussels as a spectacle of migrant 'illegality' (De Genova, 2013). While refugees waiting for their turn to register as asylum seekers chose to spend the night in the activists' camp instead of in the temporary accommodation provided by the state, the camp flagrantly exposed the deficiencies of the official reception centres by building a richer and 'livelier' infrastructure (Amin, 2014)—opening the prospect of some form of "infrastructural citizenship" (Lemanski, 2018, p. 115; see also Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019).

It is noticeable that while architects and urban planners fully master the urban planning process from above, they sometimes lack the vocabulary to speak about and the practical methods to fully trace, capture and acknowledge the infrastructuring work from the bottom up, which is such a crucial part of the arrival infrastructures. Hence, an arrival infrastructure's perspective is not only an invitation to broaden the prevailing urban planning vocabulary, but also a plea to open up conventional methods for urban analysis and design. Two methods in particular seem to be of interest. Firstly, if urban planners want to figure out how migration arrival processes take place and to be able to identify them, it seems important to carry out a detailed spatial or architectural ethnography (Kalpakci, Kaijima, & Stalder, 2020; Low, 2017). In turn, insights from architectural ethnography could be visualised and mapped through collages, drawings and software for spatial analysis to fully mobilise the visual as an interpretative instrument of analysis, instead of mere illustration (Iseki, 2018). Second, in order to steer the participation of various groups, including newcomers in the planning of the city, it seems important to engage in more reflexive and interactive forms of research, such as participatory action research. This is a disciplined, and sometimes activist, process of inquiry conducted by and for those taking the action (Kindon, Pain, & Kesby, 2007).

3. Urban Planning and Migrants' Futuring Vectors

Building further on the dialectic of (arrival) situations proposed above and inspired by Zigon (2015), in our view, arrival infrastructures are constructed simultaneously and interdependently 'from above' and 'from below.' But the notion of arrival infrastructures challenges an ambiguity in architecture and urban planning that hinders any longer-term perspective on migration. As pointed out by Cairns (2004, p. 7), for architects and urban planners, migration and infrastructure appear at first glance to contradict each other: while migration connotes a sense of temporariness, fluidity and deterritorialization, infrastructure, in contrast, seems to imply permanence, stability, rootedness, reterritorialization. How to start planning infrastructures for the fluid and the unexpected? Yet, this only appears to be a paradoxical situation, as Hannam, Sheller, and Urry (2006, p. 3) make the convincing argument that "mobilities cannot be described without attention to the necessary spatial, infrastructural and institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities." While concepts such as 'migration infrastructure' (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014) focus on the fixities and moorings that channel mobility, our 'arrival infrastructure' approach highlights the duality of the arrival situation itself, much in the sense in which Papadopoulos, Stephenson, and Tsianos (2008, p. 2010) claimed that "migrants' material becomings do not end in a new state of being; rather they constitute being as the point of departure on which new becomings emerge." They go on to state that "arrival has a longue durée…one is always there and always leaving, always leaving and always manifesting in the materiality of the place where one is. You never arrive somewhere" (Papadopoulos et al., 2008, p. 217). While the arrival situation manifests itself materially for a while, migrants keep aspiring (Boccagni, 2017, p. 1) and desiring for a 'new becoming' (Carling & Collins, 2018), a future somewhere 'here' or 'there.' Hence, migrants' aspirations and desires can be conceptualised as 'futuring vectors': the realisation of which is an integral part of the arrival situation. These are vectors that point towards potential, desirable or undesirable future becomings in the place where one arrives, in the place where one comes from, or in yet another place. In order to further clarify our approach, we will unpack the three analytical dimensions of these futuring vectors: the directionality, the temporality and the subjectivity.

3.1. Urban Planning without Imposing Directionalities

In the 1990s migration scholars started emphasising that migrants carry histories, attachments and legal and social statuses that link them to a range of places. They formulated the need to conceptualise migration as operating in transnational fields of relations that continuously relate migrants to a number of places. These insights gave way to a now firmly established tradition of 'transnationalism' studies (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999), a new turn in the migration and development nexus debate (De Haas, 2010) and the critique that migration studies were uncritically reproducing nation-state building efforts by taking for granted the migrants' aspiration to settle in a country and the need for assimilation in a national society (Favell, 2003, pp. 59–60). Instead, where arrival takes place is "an open question that can only be answered a posteriori"

(Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008, p. 5). Migrants' futuring obviously implies a notion of directionality, a 'where to' that is difficult and at least undesirable to fix beforehand and can therefore best be envisaged from the start as multidirectional. The spatial 'end-point' of arrival cannot be socio-spatially 'fixed'—either on the national or on the urban or neighbourhood level—but is always oriented toward the future, with migrants shifting their relative engagements toward certain places for a variety of reasons over time.

This multi-directionality of the past and future contrasts sharply with the normative directionality in the immigrant district approach. Scholars working on the Chicago School transition zone and its successors (enclave, suburban ethnoburb, etc.) often implicitly adopt a teleological settlement approach (Collins, 2012, p. 316) in two stages: migrants temporarily arrive in a 'port of first entry' before settling for good in the broader metropolitan region. In these accounts, migrants either move in the direction of wealthier residential areas, a process of 'spatial assimilation' (Massey & Denton, 1985), or they remain in their zones of arrival. Urban planning that implies such a normative trajectory—an arrival in the nation-state, the broader metropolitan region, the neighbourhood—constrains the multi-directionality of migrants' futuring vectors. There are plenty of examples of urban planning practices that indeed 'cage' migrants' desires. In many European countries, newcomers are, for example, expected to demonstrate their intention to stay 'forever' and to prove their local 'ties' in order to access affordable or public social housing (Schuermans, Schrooten, & De Backer, 2019). Similarly, and in the context of the 2020 COVID-19 crisis, roofless persons in Flanders had to prove their 'durable ties' to the city in order to gain access to shelters. The Belgian 'transmigrant' discussion that emerged when undocumented migrants appeared in public parks and other public spaces in Belgium in the wake of the dismantlement of informal camps near Calais in 2016, focused on migrants' 'wrong intentions'—their assumed futuring vectors pointed towards the UK and not towards applying for asylum and permanent settlement in Belgium. These formal vectors (from asylum application to either refugee status or deportation) appear to be the dominant planning rationales, but the negation and neglect of these 'deviant' vectors obviously hamper the durable planning of infrastructures that support a diversity of directionalities. Instead, they result in the regulatory illegalisation and criminalisation of bottom up produced support infrastructures such as free public toilets, informal food distributions and pop-up (mental) health provisioning in public parks and transport hubs.

A multi-directional perspective also helps to understand the complexity of place-making practices among diaspora communities that are no longer—if they ever were—simple transfers of practices from origin to the host country. According to Ley (2008), migrant churches offer newcomers a place to meet fellow immigrants with shared existential concerns (living in a foreign city, the trauma of a foreign language, difficulties finding a job) and shared biographies (migration from the same region, country). Beeckmans (in press) found out that when new Redeemed Christian Church of God churches (a Pentecostal church originally established in Nigeria) are established throughout Europe, pastors do not primarily look at place-making strategies in Lagos for inspiration. Instead, they refer to the church-building practices they have encountered elsewhere in Europe before establishing their own parish, as these are much more fitted to the context. Along these polycentric networks, physical place-making practices are exchanged, as well as transformed and adapted to the local context. Yet, research into Afro-Christian churches (Beeckmans, in press), has demonstrated how (building) regulations are sometimes used in an attempt to obstruct certain forms of interaction without formulating it as such. This is, for instance, the case when legislation with regard to noise pollution or fire safety is employed to ban certain ('ethnic') activities from particular urban locations. Hence, if we want to strengthen 'arrival infrastructures' we should avoid that urban planning policies allow such improper use of (technical) regulations.

3.2. Urban Planning for the Temporary

Many political debates about migration keep revolving around the crucial binary distinction between 'temporary' and 'permanent' residents. Arguing against this dichotomy, and as we already indicated in Meeus, van Heur, and Arnaut (2019), scholars have observed that more and more migrants are being kept in a state of "permanent temporariness" (Latham, Vosko, Preston, & Bretón, 2014, p. 20) or "transient permanence" (Isin & Rygiel, 2007, p. 193). Paths to full inclusion are growing longer for those who are portrayed as not yet adapted to fit into an imagined homogenous national culture. However, we support Latham et al. (2014) in arguing that the dichotomy between permanency and temporariness hampers a nuanced understanding of the diversity of temporalities that shape the arrival situation. We argue that urban planners should leave space to 'liberate temporariness' (Latham et al., 2014) and to plan for durable solutions for temporary presences. A particular case in point is the improvised 'shipping container' and 'recycled pallet' architecture and aesthetics that appears time and again whenever flows of asylum seekers are seen as exceeding the existing asylum infrastructure.

Planning for the temporary is best illustrated by the proposal of the Belgian architectural collective HEIM to build permanent (arrival) infrastructures for temporary residence in cities (Beeckmans, 2017). While migration is all but a new phenomenon, the European refugee crisis of 2015–2016 has painfully demonstrated that long-term sustainable infrastructure for the temporary accommodation of refugees in times of peaks does not exist. In its work, HEIM reflects on innovative housing typologies

for the temporary accommodation of refugees (both before and after their acceptance) that are not temporary in the sense of ad hoc or provisional on an architectural level. At the same time, HEIM reflects on how this permanent infrastructure for temporary residents can also accommodate for other urban dwellers that are in transit in the city, such as students, tourists, homeless people, etc. Is it, for instance, possible to develop a sustainable and flexible infrastructure for the temporary accommodation of both students and refugees, with a standard of quality that goes far beyond current makeshift solutions and having the capacity to also become an asset for the city as a whole? While such infrastructures already exist in the Netherlands, such as Startblok Riekerhaven (Amsterdam), we see that they spatially take the form of a provisional construction indeed forming a village of containers. The question is all the more relevant, since the university not only has to cope with a large population of temporary residents in the city, namely its students and part of its personnel, the university has also partly contributed to the current housing crisis in many cities. Indeed, the presence of students, most often financially supported by their parents or the state, has significantly driven up the rental prices on the private housing market.

In its work, HEIM problematises the situation of newcomers on a spatial, architectural and infrastructural level. In this context HEIM has argued that the way refugees are currently accommodated (both during their procedure and after their acceptance) is not contributing to their inclusion. Today refugees applying for asylum are housed in large collective centres, often converted (and decayed) buildings like military barracks or holiday camps, isolated from the (urban) environment. After their acceptance, newcomers are only granted a very short period to find a new place of residence in their host country. Without any social or professional network, severe discrimination in the housing market and a shortage of public housing, they often end up in very precarious housing conditions. The challenge is to think about new housing typologies that have the potential to both foster the inclusion of newcomers (both before and after acceptance) and add to the city by providing room for a new kind of collective space.

HEIM conceptualises this question as an important societal and design question and by doing so appeals to architects to take up a more social-responsible role as they often passively wait for assignments to come to them. Together with NGO's, private investors and local policymakers, HEIM thus seeks to develop new flexible, sustainable and permanent housing models for the temporary accommodation of newcomers. This permanent infrastructure for temporary accommodation is necessary during their asylum procedure, but also after this period since the family composition of many newcomers as well their financial situation is often highly flexible, causing many movements in the first years after their acceptance. HEIM believes that by inserting such housing facilities with secondary functions for employment and leisure, such as social restaurants or bike repair cafés, as is the case in Refugio Sharehaus Berlin, a former home for elderly where Berliners and refugees now live together, they will not only have the potential to strengthen the interaction between the diverse population groups of the city, they will also diversify the futuring vectors of the inhabitants in terms of potential subjectivities.

3.3. Urban Planning beyond Entrepreneurial Subjectivities

An important distinction can be made between the theoretically endless multiplicity of migrants' own and collective subjectivities on the one hand, and the narrow objects of governance (forced/voluntary, economic migrant/asylum seeker, etc.) clearly defined by the regulating state on the other hand (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013, p. 185). The creation of these objects of governance effaces the multiplicity of migratory subjects and struggles, and as a result: "sovereignty breaks the connectivity between multiple migratory subjects in order to make them visible and render them governable subjects of mobility" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013, p. 185), a connectivity which is the basis of a range of solidarities between migratory and non-migratory subjects. Recent scholarship on the role of desire and aspiration in migration has further explored the individual and collective dynamics of 'being-becoming': "People do not aspire to migrate; they aspire to something which migration might help them achieve" (Bakewell, as cited in Carling & Collins, 2018, p. 9). Hence, "the significant relation to study…is not between subjects and migration possibilities, but rather between subjects and their potential transformation through migration" (Bakewell, as cited in Carling & Collins, 2018, p. 9). As explored elsewhere (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019, p. 7), migrants negotiate who they are with a range of actors such as traffickers, humanitarian and civil society organisations, and other (non-migrant) residents who imagine and objectify them respectively and to varying degrees as commodities (Bilger, Hofmann, & Jandl, 2006), animals (Papadopoulos et al., 2008), victims (Pallister-Wilkins, 2018), deserving and non-deserving illegals (Chauvin & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2012), but potentially also as allies in particular social struggles (Featherstone, 2017; García Agustin & Jørgensen, 2016).

Urban planners should therefore avoid a third trap, which is falling into particular pre-defined subjectivities, an example of which can be read in Doug Saunders' introduction to the Making Heimat exposition:

> The immigrant district, when allowed to function fully, is perhaps the last remaining center of pure capitalism. Many of the most successful enterprises in European countries, including some of the largest and most famous corporations, were products of new-immigrant entrepreneurship. (Saunders, 2016, p. 32)

Saunders builds his argument earlier on a legitimate starting point: the fact that Fordist industrial factory employment used to be integration machines for newcomers and that such forms of employment have disappeared. For Saunders, ethnic entrepreneurship now appears to be the preferred route towards integration. A route that thus has to be encouraged. But industrial employment was not only a way towards integration. As Bauman (2013) noticed, industrial production units were also factories of working-class solidarity. The preference for the subject of the entrepreneurial migrant resonates with the lingering growth of a particular strand of liberal urban governance discourses on 'slum,' and 'ethnic' entrepreneurship. As revealed by McFarlane (2012) and Amin (2013), these discourses narrow down the energies in poor immigrant urban areas to the entrepreneurial potentials of individuals and do not scale up in a similar way the innovative practices and discourses on solidarity-in-diversity that grow there as well (Meeus, 2017; Oosterlynck, Loopmans, Schuermans, Vandenabeele, & Zemni, 2016).

Indeed, the attractive panorama of ethnic commerce in the immigrant neighbourhoods can lure urban planners into a narrow 'planning for entrepreneurs' that prioritises the place-making practices of entrepreneurs. Again, we do not want to downplay the diverse roles the infrastructures of ethnic commerce can play in shaping the arrival situation. The work of, for example, Schillebeeckx et al. (2019) demonstrates that shops can equally function as important meeting places, providing an infrastructure for conviviality, for social support, etc. But many other socially innovative and place-based solidarities suffer from too strict regulatory frameworks and normativities (see Oosterlynck, 2018, for examples). Hence, apart from a more adjusted, less normative (building) regulatory framework, in many cases these activities would also benefit from the introduction of less strict law policy areas/zones so that the potential for diverse and still unimaginable futuring vectors can be realised.

4. Conclusion

In this article we propose an arrival infrastructures perspective to broaden the existing urban planning repertoire on urban diversity. If we want to come to more inclusive cities and plan for diversity (Fincher & Iveson, 2008), it seems important to understand where and how migrants' arrival takes place. We believe that an arrival infrastructure's perspective allows for a more in-depth and layered understanding of migrants' arrival situation.

If urban planners want to engage with migrants' arrival, and we think they should, even simply because urban planners should plan for all urban dwellers, an arrival infrastructures perspective could help them (1) to explore the discrepancy between migrants' own futuring vectors in terms of directionalities, temporalities and subjectivities and the deficiency of the current arrival situation in accommodating and resourcing these vectors, and (2) to identify which interventions in the infrastructures that constitute these situations could accommodate a greater diversity of futuring vectors. Hence, an arrival infrastructures perspective offers a vocabulary to start imagining the multiplicity of potential arrival situations and of potential actors involved in infrastructuring the futures of migrants who find themselves in these arrival situations. As a vocabulary, it aims at broadening our understanding of urban space as something that is mutually produced, and urban planning and design as a process that is negotiated and always unfinished (Latour & Yaneva, 2018). As a result, such a perspective requires practical methods to identify and explore this multiplicity and to trace, grasp and acknowledge the non-expert agency in the use, appropriation and fabrication of the built environment. Providing the spatial arrangements for 'arrival' to take place then implies not only another role for urban space, but also for urban planning. This is of course also an intensely political statement as it seeks to facilitate an everyday 'right to the city,' building on the famous concept of Lefebvre (2009), yet moving away from a bias which is sometimes incorporated in it, assuming that agency 'from below' is legitimate, while 'top down' intervention is faulty. Hence, perhaps idealistically, yet tying in with some recent studies, we believe in a positive effect of qualitative urban and architectural design on urban diversity (Aelbrecht, & Stevens, 2018; Rieniets, Sigler, & Christiaanse, 2009). Moreover, this belief is fostered by the observation that poor urban design and planning can stifle the very diversity architects and policymakers want to achieve (Talen, 2008). The greatest challenge for urban planners while imbuing potential arrival infrastructures with design interventions, will then be, firstly, safeguarding the fragility (and sometimes even 'illegality') of these spaces, and secondly, to design in a participatory way, also in the sense that there is still enough room for (cultural) appropriations in the post-design phase (Vervloesem, Dehaene, Goethals, & Yegenoglu, 2016). Ultimately, the aim would not be purposefully designed scenarios that entirely predefine the use of spaces, but instead provide the spatial arrangements enabling arrival in such a way that they still can be tailored to the needs of users and by the users. Hence, this requires a design approach that leaves sufficient room for "uncertainty as a productive factor" (Havik, Patteeuw, & Teerds, 2011, p. 4). Or, the futuring of the diverse city should start from the diverse futuring vectors of its inhabitants.

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Conflict of Interests

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Article

How the Presence of Newly Arrived Migrants Challenges Urban Spaces: Three Perspectives from Recent Literature

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Abstract
This article explores the notion of arrival spaces in the recent urban studies literature, and it outlines three emerging perspectives on their role and the associated processes and complexities. Recently, within changing migratory trajectories, the dimension of arrival has gained increasing relevance, and scholars have discussed the growing complexity underpinning it. Within this framework, some contributions reflect on the role of arrival spaces, which currently represent a rapidly changing research subject. However, by the term 'arrival space,' authors refer to various types of space, and the article argues that a clearer reference to the spatial dimension of arrival is needed. Spaces are contexts where different actors interact and intervene in the city, and their understanding represents a preliminary step for future research. In this sense, this contribution aims to unpack the previous decade's debate on arrival spaces. It outlines three main perspectives: The first discusses the role of trans-local contexts, working as nodes in international migration networks; the second follows the debate on arrival neighborhoods; the third suggests that arrival spaces may be defined as all those parts of the urban fabric with which newcomers interact at the moment of arrival. Finally, drawing from this review, the article underlines that arrival spaces are not only specialized areas with migrant newcomers' concentration, but they may also be ordinary urban spaces that temporarily work for arrival. Hence, future research should further deepen this perspective and more explicitly investigate the relation of arrival spaces to the city and its actors.

Keywords
arrival infrastructure; arrival spaces; migration flows; temporariness; urban space

Issue
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1. Introduction

Since the beginning of this century, migration and urban studies research have highlighted the changing nature of migration processes by stressing their diverse geographical patterns (Black, Engbersen, Okólski, & Panțîru, 2010) and the multiple temporalities (Collins, 2017) and subjectivities (Khosravi, 2010) of migrants. Scholars introduced the concept of 'incomplete' or 'liquid' migration (Black et al., 2010) to describe the complex, transitory, and temporary patterns of contemporary international migratory processes. Along this multifaceted journey, the process of arrival gains relevance. In a context where migration regimes are increasingly imposing legal restrictions (Collins, 2011), many scholars outline the extension of arrival in time and space. On a temporal level, arrival is no longer a short step preceding settlement but, in many cases, has turned into a long wait (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2018) that occurs several times along the migratory trajectory. On a spatial level, arrival processes have influenced an increasing number of places, places that have already changed and often in the long-term (Cremaschi, 2016). In addition, building on the work on temporary migration (Collins, 2011, 2017; Vosko, Preston, & Latham, 2014), scholars have recently begun to focus on the part of the arrival process that is not oriented toward a permanent settlement per se, but rather toward further transit. Arrival is discussed

as a temporary territorialization (Meeus, Arnaut, & van Heur, 2018) implying a different use of the social and spatial urban fabric. Within the debate on arrival, many contributions have discussed the role of spaces, and arrival spaces are described as the parts of the urban fabric that play a crucial role for migrants during the arrival process. This concept was already introduced in the early 20th century (Burgess, 1925). However, in the last decade and concerning the changing nature of migration processes, the debate on arrival spaces has gained increasing attention in various disciplines of migration and urban studies. Hence, the theme of arrival spaces is today a very broad and rapidly changing subject of investigation.

However, within this multidisciplinary debate, by the term 'arrival space,' scholars do not refer to a unique type of space, but rather to a range of different contexts. In many cases, space is intended as a background of the arrival process, and its tangible spatial dimension is not always made explicit. Spaces are contexts where different actors interact and intervene in the city, and their understanding represents a preliminary step for future research.

In this sense, the article argues that a clearer definition of the different types of arrival spaces discussed in the literature is needed. The contribution develops a literature review intending to provide an analytical tool to guide future research on arrival spaces and policy challenges. In particular, the article has two sub-objectives: 1) To identify the type of space scholars refer to, and its associated processes and complexities; and 2) to outline the main perspectives on arrival spaces emerging from the recent debate. Thus, the article develops around this initial question: Which spaces matter during migrants' arrival?

The review privileges literature published during the last decade, which refers to recent migration processes and investigates their changing nature and the growing complexity underpinning arrival. Additionally, given the aim of the work, the article explores those contributions that explicitly emplace arrival processes in space. This implies that other relevant aspects, such as legal frameworks, are rather intended as background issues. Urban studies research is taken as the main framework; however, the work also builds on relevant contributions in the field of migration studies, which significantly contributes to the debate, especially since the 'local' and 'spatial turn' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2015; Scholten, 2014).

With this focus, the article highlights three perspectives on arrival spaces and their features. The first one draws from the discussion on the trans-local character of migratory trajectories and introduces the concept of 'places of condensation' (Bontemps, Makaremi, & Mazouz, 2018), as those contexts—islands, border towns, major cities—where the local and trans-local nature of migration pathways evidently intersect. The second one assumes the rural-to-urban migration framework and discusses the concept of arrival neighborhoods. The third perspective, by focusing on the complexity of arrival processes, refuses to identify arrival spaces only with specialized urban areas and introduces the notion of more diversified 'arrival infrastructures' (Meeus et al., 2018).

After this introduction to the topic, Section 2 retraces the debate on arrival spaces and its recent developments; Section 3 outlines the three identified perspectives, discussing different types of arrival spaces; finally, the conclusion summarizes the most relevant standpoints, hinting at further trajectories for future research.

2. The Debate

The discourse on arrival spaces builds on the extensive literature on the relationship between migratory processes and urban transformations. Today, scholars work in two parallel dimensions: On the one hand, global networks, flows and National policies, and on the other hand, a rather local focus, where municipalities, inhabitants, and local policies act (Caponio & Borkert, 2010; Filomeno, 2017; Penninx, Kraal, Martiniello, & Vertovec, 2004; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017). A crucial dimension to understand tools and processes of migrants' territorialization appears to be the local one, which looks both at the dynamics occurring in city districts and smaller towns (Briata, 2014; Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018; Caponio, 2006). Urban and migration studies have further built a rich framework around the territorial dimension of migration, focusing on immigrants and populations who are settling—or have already settled—in urban areas. Within this long-term perspective, the literature describes the processes of territorialization of immigrants (Blockland & Savage, 2008) and discusses the tools of spatial policy towards the multiethnic city (Vertovec, 2015).

Within this broad field of research, some scholars focused on the process of arrival and its relation to the urban environment. In this sense, one of the first and more relevant standpoints was represented by the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s; through the lens of Social Ecology (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925), its scholars developed the concept of 'zones of transition.' Recognizing migration as one of the most relevant drivers of metropolitan development, Burgess (1925) writes a contribution on the growth of the city and describes its expansion as a series of concentric circles, i.e., successive zones of urban extension. Building on the idea of separation and specialization of urban areas, he defines the second concentric circle as a zone of transition with a double role.

On the one hand, these areas are 'ports of first entry' for migrant newcomers and, on the other hand, they fulfill the mentioned transition function towards other neighborhoods (Burgess, 1925). This model has informed urban studies scholars for years, both through critical and supportive standpoints. Many agreed on the specialization of certain urban areas in supporting migrants' arrival and further settlement, and this was one of the starting points for the debate on 'ethnic neighborhoods' and

the so-called 'context effects' (Hans, Hanhörster, Polívka, & Beißwenger, 2019).

However, in the discourse on arrival spaces, the main critique of the Chicago School's approach regards the initial standpoint of Social Ecology, an ecology that 'makes' society; as regards arrival neighborhoods, a discussed point is the link between spatial and social mobility. In the recent debate on arrival, many authors argue that spatial mobility is not necessarily linked to social mobility (Hans et al., 2019). Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, and de Decker (2018) suggest that the idea of spatial differentiation and specialization, and that of transition are worth retaining, but their spatial logic should rather be explained through political-economic factors. They argue that processes of reciprocity among communities, resources redistribution, and market exchange are the main drivers for the specialization of certain urban areas as transitional zones, experiencing great concentrations of newcomers.

Recently, scholars have underlined the difference between transitional spaces and the so-called ghettos, or destitute places, that is how Burgess (1925) defined the zones of transition. These authors criticize the understanding of the 'context effects' as merely negative and discuss the potentialities underpinning the arrival neighborhoods (Hans et al., 2019). The debate on arrival spaces develops throughout the twentieth century and introduces a rather reciprocal understanding of the relationship between spaces and arrival processes.

Hence, the literature on arrival neighborhoods has characterized the debate on arrival spaces and has represented a main field of investigation in migration and urban studies. This concept is still very much in use; today, many works agree on the criteria of arrival neighborhoods and underline the potentialities lying under these areas (Hans et al., 2019; Kurtenbach, 2015; Meeus et al., 2018; Saunders, 2011; Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). However, concerning the changing patterns of global mobility and migration flows, the reflection on arrival spaces has recently offered new points of view. Many authors reflect on the increasing diversification of arrival spaces (Meeus et al., 2018), their role, and associated processes at different scales. Hence, today the literature provides a rich but fragmented understanding of arrival spaces, which is worth trying to unpack.

3. Three Complementary Perspectives

In the debate on arrival processes, this article works on literature published over the last decade, and those authors that more explicitly refer to the spatial dimension of arrival; urban studies literature is taken as main—but not only—reference. The review identifies three main perspectives, shared by authors across several disciplines. Each perspective privileges a type of arrival space, at different scales: The first one discusses the role of trans-local contexts, working as nodes in international migration networks; the second perspective develops the debate on arrival neighborhoods; the third one introduces the notion of more diversified urban arrival spaces. Additionally, each of these perspectives builds on a shared understanding of some key aspects that are taken as starting points of analysis.

The first aspect of the analysis regards the understanding of arrival: Some scholars focus on arrival as a long-term process (Bressan & Tosi Cambini, 2011; Saunders, 2011; Schillebeeckx et al., 2018), often leading to permanent settlement; others see it as a temporary situation (Meeus et al., 2018). The second aspect of analysis refers to the type of space that emerges from the different interpretations of arrival; authors identify arrival spaces at different scales and discuss their function during the arrival process. A third aspect of analysis regards the role that the mentioned arrival spaces play in the broader urban context and the challenges that they set for local actors: This subject is not addressed by all reviewed authors, only some of them explicitly reflect on it (Agier et al., 2018; Fawaz, 2016; Hans et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). The following sub-sections will introduce and discuss the three identified perspectives.

3.1. Places of Condensation

> London looks back at Calais and Paris looks back at Ventimiglia, Beirut also plays a significant role. (Dahdah & Puig, 2018, p. 22)

The first perspective draws from recent contributions in the field of anthropology, sociology, and urban planning. This viewpoint on arrival spaces builds on the work of authors who focus on the trans-local nature of contemporary migratory trajectories and the associated complexities. Among them, the review privileges those who reflect on the place-based implications of trans-locality and the consequent definition of arrival spaces. Hence, the work of the research group Babels (Border Analysis and Border Ethnographies in Liminal Situations), and within it, the contributions of Agier (2016), Bernardie-Tahir and Schmoll (2018), Dahdah and Puig (2018), and Bontemps et al. (2018), are taken as key standpoints; for the same reason, the works of Agier et al. (2018) and Cremaschi (2016) represent important references.

Within the broader framework of global mobility, migration flows during the last decade have been increasingly characterized by trans-local territoriality. Each place along the trajectories is strongly interconnected with those preceding and following it. The multilocal emplacement of migrants builds on different factors: Paths are highly variable and strongly interconnected, support networks almost always exceed the limits of the occupied space and relate to global contacts, and, similarly, processes of transnational trades—mainly regarding revenues sent back to countries of origin—are directly linked to migrations (Saunders, 2011).

The circulatory nature of migration paths introduces a renewed understanding of arrival, to be regarded as a

repeated moment and point along the trajectory, more similar to a series of successive transits, rather than unique destinations (Bontemps et al., 2018). The work of the project Babels (Agier, 2016) is particularly interesting in this sense as it investigates the multilocal nature of recent migrations both theoretically and empirically, through fieldwork in different places around the Mediterranean and in Europe. They define migration as a trajectory made of pathways and moorings, where certain places take on a relevant role, from the points of departure, through those of transit to long-term settlement.

The mentioned viewpoint sheds light on specific contexts, where migrants' arrival occurs at the intersection between trans-local networks and local realities, and where this encounter has dramatic effects on space and society. Bontemps et al. (2018) define these areas as 'places of condensation': local realities where a concentration of multilocal issues and a physical density of events occur, giving them new visibility. Such places are the major arrival cities, but also, some specific threshold regions, such as border towns, which could be considered as truly 'influential places' (Cremaschi, 2016). An example is that of Mediterranean border islands, where the encounter of global processes and local contexts is evident. On a global scale indeed, islands are 'pivots' (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2018) around which trajectories and routes change, according to local, national, and international policies; hence, they work as barriers, transit stops or moorings.

At the same time, beyond the global narrative, local realities undergo dramatic changes. During a lecture in 2019 at the MigBord Summer School, Lesbos, E. Papataxiarchis tells the experience of the small village of Skala (150 inhabitants) in Lesbos, Greece. Since summer 2015, this place has witnessed the passage of 250,000 people, and become the center of global attention; suddenly, the inhabitants of the once-isolated town would find thousands of migrants sleeping in their backyards, international NGOs setting up structures in the town's public spaces, and international magazines reporting the stories of local people.

Similarly, since the late 1980s, on the Italian island of Lampedusa, the number of migrants passing through the island has exceeded its population by a factor of 80 (Cremaschi, 2017). The effects of this tension have produced changes on many levels. The first is the introduction of new 'players,' which turn certain places into 'battlegrounds' (Fontanari & Ambrosini, 2018) resulting from power relations of very diverse actors, including migrants. Cremaschi (2017), for instance, outlines the coexistence in Lampedusa of four populations: Inhabitants, tourists, migrants, and practitioners involved in the reception—from medical units to social workers to international press operators. Their presence partially represents a new input for local governance but also implies higher levels of complexity.

On a spatial level, the multilocal nature of migratory pathways outlines the presence and role of 'local places with supralocal meanings'; they may be very different, from the conflictual spaces of refugees' camps to less institutional ones, as public squares, and private backyards. The interplay between the local and supra-local dimension is well expressed by an empirical case discussed by Agier et al. (2018), focusing on the small French town of Grande-Synthe, at the border with the UK. In the backlash of the so-called European 'refugees crisis,' a tent settlement growing at the town's doors reached 5,000 inhabitants; in March 2016, the Mayor decided to intervene and only adopted light measures—i.e., turning the tents into wooden structures—without dismantling nor making the whole site permanent. Initially, the National government had asked to dismantle the camp, arguing that it was unacceptable to allow an 'informal' settlement of that size. However, the town administration understood that what at the local level was an informal settlement also represented a crucial node for the migration trajectory towards the UK. Making the camp and its inhabitants permanent, or dismantling it, would have prevented that space from functioning as a point of temporary arrival and take off.

Despite the effectiveness of the described intervention, this episode describes the challenging role of arrival spaces for the overall urban context. Agier et al. (2018) stress the discomfort of a European town accepting informal settlements, and this point is crucial to understanding the complexity of this arrival space, as discussed below. Informality was somehow granting migrants the possibility for further transit, but at the same time, it was also what made that kind of space 'unacceptable' for that urban context.

The mentioned authors suggest that particular attention should be paid to some specific arrival spaces, as they represent nodes of trans-local networks, but at the same time, different actors have to deal with this condition locally. Consequently, they introduce a further point of view on arrival spaces by suggesting that they are not only relevant within the migratory trajectory, but also concerning the established urban environment and its associated actors. In particular, two main issues arise from the literature review: One related to the actors involved around arrival places of condensation, and a second one referring to the use and organization of the space. As regards the first point, the examples of Lesbos (according to E. Papataxiarchis' lecture) and Lampedusa (Cremaschi, 2017) show how around certain arrival spaces a geography of local and supra-local actors of a different kind is developed: more or less institutional organizations and individuals, professionals, migrants, and local inhabitants. All actors are engaged locally around the arrival space, and their interrelation opens up new scenarios of governance. As regards the relation between arrival spaces and their context, the contributions introduce a second issue. Arrival indeed may imply a new way of using and organizing the space, which may conflict with its more established use. Sometimes this happens only temporarily, when for instance public squares are used for one-

day protests, however, this may occur also on the longer-term, as in the case of Grande-Synthe's settlement (Agier et al., 2018).

A less regulated, or informal, use and organization of space often characterizes arrival spaces; in many cases, informality is what makes a certain space immediately accessible, and also what allows the transit through it. This clashes with the regulated urban space of many contemporary arrival cities. Cremaschi (2016), referring to the Italian context, writes "given the manner cities are organized, they reject anything that does not fit into procedures" (Cremaschi, 2016, p. 122). In this sense, arrival spaces, when confronted with the urban context also set questions of spatial planning: Which measures should be used to deal with them? Interestingly, these questions often involve areas of the world, such as European arrival cities and destination countries, where informality is less discussed today.

3.2. Zones of Transition

> The great migration of humans is manifesting itself in the creation of a special kind of urban place. (Saunders, 2011, p. 3)

In recent urban studies literature, a second perspective on arrival spaces can be outlined. It builds on contributions that focus on the urban dimension of arrival, and which consequently emplace the discourse on arrival spaces within the city and its neighborhoods. This literature assumes as background the contribution of the Chicago School of Sociology, and it has recently gained renewed attention. Among academic contributions, the sub-section also mentions the journalistic work of Doug Saunders (2011) in *Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping Our World*. The book, far from being a scientific contribution, triggered the debate on arrival spaces and solicited interesting reactions also in the academic realm.

The starting point of many reflections on migration processes is their rural-to-urban trajectory; in other words, migration is seen within the frame of urbanization. Scholars investigate arrival within its urban dimension and position the debate at the level of the city. This, however, does not imply a fixed understanding of it, but rather defines arrival as part of a trajectory that starts in some regions of the world and continues within the city (Saunders, 2011).

Many authors agree on the presence in the city of certain areas that end up playing a crucial role for newcomers, defined as 'zones of transition' (Burgess, 1925). As seen, the definition of these areas changed over the last century. Broadly speaking, they can be described as urban neighborhoods, where the concentration of migrant newcomers corresponds to the specialization of some spaces on arrival and transition. The term 'transition' adequately explains the role of these districts: places with an unstable character that can support arrival and mobility within the urban system (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). The concept was introduced by Burgess (1925) in a contribution to the growth of the city and the notion of arrival neighborhoods still informs the current debate on arrival spaces.

Across current literature, we may identify three main features attributed to arrival neighborhoods. The first one refers to their function as 'ports of first entry' in the city, namely, these areas are the most accessible for newcomers. Saunders (2011) argues that the poor conditions of these districts are what render them accessible and often the only accessible points of the city. He describes it as one of the paradoxes on which the arrival city is built, the logic of the bootstrap, "you cannot possibly afford to live in the city, but to escape being a rural outsider you must first have a place to live in the city" (Saunders, 2011, p. 53).

The second feature of arrival neighborhoods is that of facilitating upward mobility; that is to say that these areas not only provide the first entrance into the city, but also support the transition in time and space through its districts. In this sense, the capacity of certain areas to deploy this function is also what makes them successful or unsuccessful arrival neighborhoods. This argument is not shared by all authors: While Saunders (2011) links social and spatial upward mobility, other authors blame him for being too deterministic (Amin, 2013) and relate this mobility to a series of different factors (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). In Saunders' narrative, for instance, the case of the Parisian *banlieues* of Les Pyramides represents a failed arrival city, an 'entrapped' urban transition, where people are stuck between the villages they came from and the French metropolis, that they are never effectively allowed to access (Saunders, 2011). In contrast, Schillebeeckx et al. (2018) ground their definition of Antwerpen-Noord as an urban zone of transition on spatial mobility, not necessarily linked to social and economic improvement. As they write, the neighborhood welcomes 1/5 of the newcomers with foreign roots yearly arriving in the city and the spatial mobility of the neighborhood's residents is the second-highest of Antwerp. However, they also suggest that more research on longitudinal data is needed to understand if the residential mobility corresponds to a socially and economically improved condition (Hans et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2018).

The third feature of arrival neighborhoods is introduced in recent contributions and refers to the notion of 'resourcefulness' of these areas (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018): They provide newcomers with a range of resources, that are more accessible than in other parts of the city, and that regard different fields. One of them is access to housing (Günther, Hanhörster, Hans, & Polívka, 2019), which often deploys through a residual and secondary private rental market. A second aspect that often represents a resource in arrival neighborhoods is the possibility for (self-)employment, often bonded with reciprocal social networks. Where present, welfare services may also represent a key resource field.

As regards the role of arrival neighborhoods, it is worth reporting a contribution by Fawaz (2016) focusing on the city of Beirut, Lebanon. She discusses the cases of certain areas of the city, that played a crucial role in supporting the first arrival flows of Syrian refugees, starting from 2013. In the years of the so-called 'crisis,' the Lebanese government asked international organizations to propose housing solutions in response to the increasing shelter demand. The only solution to provide the required number of shelters rapidly, they argued, was to establish camps, following what had been already done in other parts of the world. Instead, as Fawaz (2016) underlines, the answer to the housing demand of Syrian refugees was eventually realized in those neighborhoods of the city, where existing networks and low-cost housing conditions enabled an actual emplacement of the newcomers. She further argues that these areas are those presenting the character of informality, and she proposes it as a framework of analysis for these neighborhoods. Accordingly, Fawaz (2016) hints at some specific measures, like the constitution of neighborhood-based organizations, implementation of basic infrastructures, and the involvement of local municipality.

The literature on arrival neighborhoods mainly explores the role of specific urban areas for migrants during the arrival process. In addition, some authors also discuss the relation of these districts to the city and question how they are addressed by local actors. The function of arrival neighborhoods is often grounded in existing networks of local inhabitants, which, in more or less regulated ways, provide easier access to certain resources through secondary housing markets and employment. Their presence and their role in the arrival space open up an issue of governance in many cases. Also, given the largely informal and non-institutional nature of these neighborhoods' resources, the question arises of how public action shall address these areas. In this sense, the authors report tension between the need for heavy interventions and a *laissez-faire* approach. Schillebeeckx et al. (2018), in the case of Antwerpen-Noord, suggest that public intervention should draw from external resources but also mobilize local knowledge. Interestingly, once more, the debate on arrival neighborhoods shares many similarities with the theme of informality, where a singular regime of rule does not prevail, but rather a fragmented domain of multiple sovereignties (Alsayyad & Roy, 2006; Darling, 2016). In this sense, we recall the contribution of Fawaz (2016) on Beirut, which bridges the experience of arrival neighborhoods and the planning experience on informality, proposing the latter as a framework of analysis and reflection.

3.3. Arrival Infrastructures

> We can start envisioning the city and other urban spaces as consisting of more robust platforms for arrival and takeoff. (Meeus et al., 2018, p. 24)

The third perspective draws from contributions that reflect on the diversified nature of arrival processes and, in particular, on their temporary character (Black et al., 2010; Collins, 2011, 2017; Vosko et al., 2014). Among others, the review privileges those scholars that try to relate this concept of arrival to space, thus defining a third perspective on types of arrival space. For this reason, the work on arrival infrastructures by Meeus et al. (2018) represents the main reference.

Migration is experiencing a growing diversification, both as part of global mobility and in itself (Castells, 1996; Tarrius, 1993; Urry, 2007). This increasing complexity is linked to various aspects of the migration process concerning the geography of its patterns, its temporalities, and the growing diversification of people who migrate (Khosravi, 2010).

Contributions reflect on the implications of this process in the definition of arrival; in particular, Meeus et al. (2018) discuss it within three 'politics of arrival,' that of directionality, temporality, and subjectivity. As regards the 'politics of directionality,' drawing from the contributions on transnational studies (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004; Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999), it criticizes the 'one-way directional understanding' of migration, and reflects on its multi-directional nature. By the term 'politics of temporariness,' Meeus et al. (2018, p. 5) argue that "a dichotomy between temporariness and permanence still plays a crucial role in imagining national citizenship rights (permanence) and in the eligibility criteria to obtain these rights (the right to permanence)." This dichotomy hampers a nuanced understanding of processes of arrival, and thus suggest to 'liberate temporariness' (Vosko et al., 2014) and to look at precarious and less precarious forms of arrival.

The 'politics of subjectivity' relates to the diversification of the populations who migrate, which often clashes with the categories used by policies to regulate aim. The definition of the three politics of arrival, according to Meeus et al. (2018), helps to warn of at least two 'traps.' The first is teleological and is well exemplified by the concept of arrival neighborhood. This concept often implies that the migratory path is made of fixed phases—from a point of first entry in the city, within a specific neighborhood, to further mobility and settlement—and it prevents from considering the multiplicity of migrants' trajectories. The second 'trap' is defined as territorial: When contextualizing arrival processes in space, it is important to consider all the spaces where they can take place, not only specialized urban areas.

These reflections, shared by many contributions (Papadopoulou-Kourkoula, 2008; Vosko et al., 2014), imply two main shifts in the conceptual understanding of arrival: Firstly, the need to assume a diversified notion of urbanity, namely looking at arrival not only in city neighborhoods, but anywhere it happens. Secondly, the suggestion is to address arrival as a temporary presence and territorialization, not per se oriented towards permanence, even when seeking some kind of stability. It

follows the need to go beyond the previous perspectives on arrival spaces, and to try to refer to a more dynamic definition, namely moving from the notion of arrival 'city' to that of arrival 'space' (Saeidimadani, 2012).

Starting from here, the focus shifts to 'arrival infrastructures' (Meeus et al., 2018), defined as all those parts of the urban fabric with which newcomers interact at the moment of arrival, through their agencies and competences of use. This term builds on two concepts: the temporariness of arrival and the infrastructural perspective (Blommaert, 2014; Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006; Simone, 2004). In particular, the concept of infrastructure refers to selective 'channels' that support or prevent mobility, and Meeus et al. (2018) describe arrival infrastructures as both social and material supports, which can be robust or fluid.

Robust infrastructures relate to the material dimension of artifacts and procedures of arrival—citizenship papers, work/residence permit, medical files–, the actors performing them, and the spaces where they take place. Often, such procedures are spatialized in institutions such as police stations, and even more evidently, in detention centers and border crossings. Other robust infrastructures may be the 'institutional settings' (Small, 2009), and what Hans et al. (2019) name 'opportunity structures,' such as community centers and counseling services. They channel the arrival process both by offering low-threshold services and by representing reference and encounter points (Schönwälder et al., 2016). Among robust infrastructures, eventually, we may also include other non-public services, such as money transfer services, which in any case, have a clear spatial dimension.

Fluid infrastructures, instead, are described as emerging from social infrastructuring practices (Werlen, 1992), and involve a rather social dimension. Overall, the concept of arrival infrastructures provides an interesting and new insight into arrival spaces: Many examples of infrastructures indeed correspond to specific spaces. This is clear in the examples of robust infrastructures, but fluid ones often also have a spatial dimension; this is the case of public spaces that have often supported the presence of temporary migrants during arrival. Referring to a contribution by Kleinman (2014), Meeus et al. (2018, pp. 17–18) report:

> How West Africans gain access to employment through a social infrastructure in the Gare du Nord station in Paris that partially transforms this space of transportation into a hub of encounter that translates the social infrastructure of African migrants into a French public space.

A further concept that can be related to fluid arrival spaces may be that of 'spatial interstices,' introduced by Fontanari and Ambrosini (2018) around the case of Orianenplatz in Berlin. Here, a group of refugees started a protest against the impossibility to access rights in Germany and based the protest in Orianenplatz square, supported by a wide network of other actors. The square is described, among other non-spatial interstices and 'spaces of struggle,' as a space of opportunity opened by everyday practices and working around imposed structural limits to support the arrival and mobility of newcomers. Hence, by building on the concept of fluid arrival infrastructures, temporary settings might also start to be considered as arrival spaces; this is the case of public spaces that support spontaneous encounters and exchanges among newly arrived migrants. The notion of arrival infrastructures allows thinking of a more diversified range of arrival spaces.

In this third perspective, as in the previous one, the spaces of arrival are described starting from the role that they play for newcomers. However, by building on the reflection on urbanity and temporariness, the literature on arrival infrastructure provides a different viewpoint on arrival spaces. They are not only specialized areas, but they may be any 'ordinary' parts of the urban environment, which for some periods play a relevant role in the process of migrants' arrival. Arrival spaces are not only camps or specific neighborhoods, but can be public squares, libraries, and police stations. In this sense, Meeus et al. (2018) suggest an evocative image of the cities as 'platforms of arrival and take-off,' which temporarily support arrival processes.

Within this framework, further research is needed to discuss who the actors involved in these spaces are and how they act and interact. It is worth underlining that the frame of temporariness opens up a further issue, namely the capacity—and the political will—of cities today to support the temporary presence of migrant populations and the tools that different local actors have to do it. As Collins (2011) suggests, the subject of temporariness still needs further investigation; in this sense, the work on arrival infrastructures appears to be promising perspective to develop, especially through empirical work.

4. Conclusive Remarks

Facing the growing diversification of migration processes, many scholars have recently engaged with the topic of arrival. Building on the need to explicitly address its spatial dimension, the article develops a literature review of recent contributions on arrival spaces. To set the stage for future research on the topic, this article has critically reviewed recent works and has outlined three emerging perspectives. The first one refers to so-called 'places of condensation' (Bontemps et al., 2018), which represent pivotal points of arrival within trans-local migratory trajectories. The second perspective discusses the role of arrival spaces within specific urban areas, i.e., arrival neighborhoods. The third understanding describes arrival spaces as ordinary parts of the urban fabric that temporarily work also as arrival spaces.

The three perspectives are complementary, and the related contributions offer common reflections. Firstly, scholars make a shared effort to unpack the complexity

of arrival, at least on two levels, a territorial and a temporal one. The territorial complexity of arrival lays both in its trans-local (Bernardie-Tahir & Schmoll, 2018) and local nature, and in the diversification of spaces where it may occur (Meeus et al., 2018). The temporal complexity of arrival builds on its temporariness, which may not necessarily be linked to further settlement; namely, arrival is not per se related to permanence. Secondly, the reviewed contributions agree on some functions of arrival spaces; indeed, although referring to different territorial scales, the three types of arrival spaces do not exclude each other. In the same city, there might be an arrival neighborhood and, at the same time, more fragmented and temporary arrival spaces, this is true both in border regions and in inner areas. In addition, many contributions agree that arrival spaces shall have two main features: be accessible for newcomers and allow further transit. Border islands, arrival neighborhoods, and other urban spaces, at different scales, represent points of first access to the National territory, or to cities. At the same time, these spaces should allow and facilitate the transition to other—and possibly better—spaces within the same territory, or to other parts of the urban environment; in other words, they should facilitate and allow transit. Thirdly, the three perspectives open some shared questions on the role of arrival spaces within the broader urban context. The reviewed literature does not explicitly discuss this point; however, it hints at some recurring questions of governance and planning. Around arrival spaces, we often witness the activation of various actors that introduce the theme of the governance of these areas. At the same time, the organization of these spaces often clashes with the established use of the overall urban context, and this challenges how planning and policy tools may relate to arrival spaces.

Despite the shared issues among the three perspectives, it is worth underling also dissonances. While the literature on arrival neighborhood refers to arrival as a long-term process, the literature on places of condensation and arrival infrastructures consider arrival as a temporary condition—although it can be long-lasting. Indeed, the first tends to refer to arrival as oriented towards permanence, while the latter engage more explicitly with the concept of the temporariness of arrival spaces. The notion of arrival neighborhoods builds on older literature, and it is often influenced by a more linear understanding of arrival; instead, the other perspectives develop around recent migration flows and their circular and temporary character. In this sense, the literature on arrival infrastructures, and the associated understanding of arrival spaces, appears a particularly promising field of investigation. By introducing the concept of 'platforms of arrival and take off,' Meeus et al. (2018) point to new considerations regarding arrival spaces and the city, explicitly related to the temporariness of arrival.

Going back to the initial argument, the three perspectives on arrival spaces show that, under the term 'arrival space,' scholars indeed refer to very different types of spaces, ranging from islands to local police stations and squares. Thus, unpacking this term is a useful step to guide future research on arrival spaces. Additionally, the attempt to outline the different types of spaces mentioned in the literature helps drawing a conclusive remark. The initial question that has been proposed is which are the spaces that matter during arrival? Thus, it assumed the perspective of newcomers and their arrival experience. However, throughout the work, the need to think of how these spaces relate to the urban environment also emerges, as well as how different actors interact with them. This reflection requires a shift in how arrival spaces are viewed: Not only as spaces of migrants' arrival but also as ordinary parts of the city that often have multiple functions.

Recently, scholars have discussed how migrants are rarely addressed as local actors (Çağlar & Glick Schiller, 2018) and this is even more evident when considering temporary migrants (Collins, 2011). Similarly, arrival spaces are mainly addressed as specialized spaces for arrival, and their role within the overall urban environment and other local actors is less investigated. Border regions and arrival neighborhoods are indeed often discussed as introvert realities; Schillebeeckx et al. (2018) suggest that further research is needed regarding mobility outside the arrival neighborhood.

To conclude, it is worth underlining possible trajectories for future research. Arrival processes, as seen, play a relevant role in the migratory pathway and the city; investigating the spaces where they take place is a needed step to effectively address them. In this perspective, empirical research plays a crucial role, as it implies a place-based work; the mentioned types of arrival spaces may be a starting point for it. In light of the conclusive remarks, research should increasingly address arrival spaces as ordinary and structural parts of cities, and it should explore how actors interact with them. Eventually, this would also allow outlining emerging questions of spatial policy and governance, which this contribution has only hinted at.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interest.

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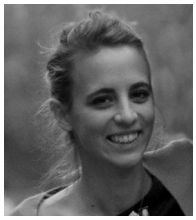

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Article

Arrival or Transient Spaces? Differentiated Politics of Mobilities, Socio-Technological Orderings and Migrants' Socio-Spatial Embeddedness

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Abstract
For the last decade there has been a lively debate on urban arrival spaces. Saunders' (2011) widely received book *Arrival Cities* can be seen as catalyst of this debate. Taking a hitherto largely unexplored comparative approach, based on two empirical research studies on migrant workers and highly-skilled migrants in Singapore, this study debates the notion of arrival cities and spaces and argues for a differentiated perspective on the complex and interdependent processes of spatially and socially arriving. By comparing how the politics of mobilities, migration management and differential inclusion influence the migration trajectories of workers and professionals we argue that the concept of transient spaces might be a more fruitful approach for understanding the differentiated processes of arriving and (not) becoming socio-spatially embedded. In order to educe the relevance of a processual perspective, and for a systematic comparison, we apply four analytical dimensions that shed light on the process of migrating, arriving, and passing through. These four dimensions comprise (1) arriving, (2) settling, (3) mingling locally and translocally, and (4) planning ahead for future mobilities. We argue that the scholarship on politics of mobilities needs to take note of the combined effects of states' and companies' neoliberal politics of mobility throughout the migration process, and of the increasing relevance of socio-technological orderings, which imprint migrants' socio-spatial embedding.

Keywords
arrival city; comparative approach; migration management; Singapore; translocal spaces

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Urban Arrival Spaces: Social Co-Existence in Times of Changing Mobilities and Local Diversity'' edited by Yvonne Franz (University of Vienna, Austria) and Heike Hanhörster (ILS—Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development, Germany).

1. Introduction

For the last decade, the debate on urban arrival spaces has been in full swing. Saunders' (2011) widely received book *Arrival Cities* can be seen as a catalyst of this debate. In contrast to previous contributions, Saunders offers a positive narrative on arrival cities. The arrival city "is not a temporary anomaly" but has become the global norm (Saunders, 2011, p. 35). Saunders exemplifies this by pointing to a myriad of arrival cities/neighborhoods such as the *Kiez* Kreuzberg in Berlin, *banlieues* in Paris, *favelas* in São Paulo, *slums* in Mumbai, *barrios* in Los Angeles, and entire cities such as Hong Kong, Dubai, and Singapore. As Massey (2005) prominently highlighted, however, we have to be aware of the specificities of spaces, which "are a product of interrelations—connections and disconnections" (Massey, 2005, p. 67). They are shaped not only by diverging historicities, culture, and geographic settings, but also by divergent politics of mobility (Massey, 1991, p. 26), eventually resulting in migrant subjects' 'differential inclusion' (Ye, 2017).

We contribute to this debate by adopting a processual and differentiated perspective on the dynamics of arriving and (not) becoming socio-spatially embedded

by two migrant populations in Singapore: migrant workers and professionals. We ask: How do they experience their arrival, and the following process of (not) becoming socio-spatially embedded in Singapore, to planning ahead for future mobility or stay? What are reasons for the differences in their socio-spatial embeddedness?

Singapore's migration management positions migrants very differently in the city-state's assemblage, based on their skills, origins, and gender. Whereas there is rich research on different migrant groups in Singapore, there is a lack of comparative studies. Based on empirical research by both authors with qualitative multi-method approaches we offer a comparative approach. The results of this study inform the notion of arrival spaces and argue for a differentiated perspective on the complex and interdependent processes of arriving spatially and socially, which considers the relationality, translocality and technological co-production of such spaces that we frame with Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016) as 'transient urban spaces.' We reveal how the politics of mobilities, socio-technological orderings, migration management and differential inclusion, as well as migrants' reflexive responses and their translocal connectivity, affect workers' and professionals' spatial and social embeddedness in transient spaces differently throughout the phases of their migration pathways. We do so by reflecting upon and comparing four analytic and processual dimensions that we developed inductively out of an empirical comparison of our case studies. This allows us to distinguish how the dynamic interplay of these factors influences migrants' experiences of arrival (dimension 1: arriving), (not) becoming spatially and emotionally embedded (dimension 2: settling), local and translocal interactions (dimension 3: mingling and connecting), and their perspectives, plans, and strategies of staying or moving again (dimension 4: planning ahead).

2. Arrival and/or Transient Spaces: Balancing Politics, Relationality, Moorings, and Frictions in Theorizations of Migration Processes to and through Cities

Saunders' understanding of arrival spaces as fragments within the urban fabric—such as neighborhoods—which are characterized by high immigration flows and diversity (Saunders, 2011, p. 15) is not new. It can be traced back to the 1930s and the Chicago School of Social Ecology's contributions on urban transit zones and ethnic neighbourhoods (Meeus, Arnaut, & van Heur, 2019). These posited that arrival spaces cannot be defined merely by physical structures, but also by people, practices, and social structures. Other contributions on 'migrant settlements' (Abu-Lughod, 1961), 'migrant neighborhoods' (Conzen, 1979; Solis, 1971), the 'immigrant metropolis' (Nee, Sanders, & Sernau, 1994), 'immigrant enclaves' (Marcuse, 1996; Wilson & Portes, 1980), 'ethnic minority neighbourhoods' (Logan, 2006), or 'shadow cities' (Neuwirth, 2005) followed. Most authors describe these urban arrival spaces as multicultural, diverse, and complex fragments within an urban assemblage and as 'hybrid living spaces' (Moore, 2015). They are delimited from other urban spaces which have experienced far fewer inflows of people, ideas, goods, social practices, identities, etc. (Meeus et al., 2019).

Still, amendments were developed in response to particularly Saunder's conception. Amin (2013), for example, questioned the limitation of arrival spaces to specific urban fragments, leading to a "telescopic urbanism" (Amin, 2013, p. 484) and an overemphasis of locational scales such as the neighborhood. Similarly, Smith (2005) argued that associating migrants in the city with specific locations is misleading since they navigate through and within the city. As migrants venture through the city, social encounters and social coexistence take place not only at a specific locale but also through space and time (Massey, 2005). Another aspect that has less been addressed in the arrival spaces literature is the complex relationality of people and places through translocal connections elsewhere (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016; Peth, Sterly, & Sakdapolrak, 2018; Steinbrink, 2009).

Picking up the (trans)local relationality of space in the context of migrant mobility, Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016, p. 142) developed the notion of 'transient urban spaces' as "diverse types of overlapping social and material spaces in cities that are (re)produced and transformed by people's everyday practices and their local and translocal interactions" (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p. 142). Trasient spaces encompass:

> Spaces of face-to-face interaction, virtual, and other ways of contact, and [they] can serve an endless number of functions, for example, as space of communication, housing, business, meeting, or recreation but also as space of domination, surveillance, of closure or openness, public, or private space. (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p. 135)

These earlier conceptions of transient spaces must be amended by an acknowledgment of the increasing socio-technological co-production of spaces in the 'digitally mediated city' (Rose, 2017) through codes, sensors, algorithms, and the affordances and agencies of digital technologies (Kitchin, 2017). The ambivalent role these take, often deepening the "exclusion, adverse incorporation, impoverishment and enrichment" (Elwood, 2020, p. 1) of diverse urban subjects, has been emphasized by post-colonial, (post)feminist and posthuman scholars (Datta, 2018; Gabrys, 2014; Rose, 2017).

Whereas the notion of arrival conjures a sense of a relatively brief timespan, the transient spaces concept emphasizes the emergent and dynamic nature of space and the importance of understanding migration processes in the context of socio-political and socio-technological historicities as much as individual trajectories, altogether influencing the (aspired) embeddedness of migrants in urban societies. Criticism has also highlighted that 'arrival' implies a notion of a pathway

towards social integration, social upwards mobility, and permanent stay (Amin, 2013; Meeus et al., 2019). Yet both migrants' aspirations to stay on the one hand, and the realities of their stays on the other "may vary from permanent to temporal to circular forms" (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p. 134). Hereby, case studies have shown that the interplay of migration and urbanization often produces precarious living conditions and protracted insecurity (Peth et al., 2018; Porst & Sakdapolrak, 2018; Swider, 2015), which may force people into a situation of 'permanent temporariness' (Swider, 2015; Yiftachel, 2009). Koh (2015) has argued that due to shifting periods and understandings of citizenship legislation and shifts in individual migrants' life courses, even citizenship is characterized by temporalities and fluidities.

Then again, fixities and structural moorings must not be neglected—they are often as important as movements themselves (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). Bork-Hüffer et al. (2016) argue that we have to take note of different degrees of everyday (trans)local (im-)mobilities of migrants. These (im-)mobilities are shaped by politics of space, mobilities and technologies on the one hand and migrants' reflexive making of spaces and mobilities on the other (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2016; Oswin & Yeoh, 2010). The politics of space and mobilities comprise official rules and regulations, practiced politics, and the public discourse—ranging from 'hostile environments' (Hiam, Steele, & McKee, 2018) to 'sanctuary cities' (Bagelman, 2016). They strongly influence the drivers, velocities, rhythms, routes, experiences, frictions, and fixities of mobilities (Cresswell, 2010). As Massey (1991, pp. 25–26) noted:

> Different social groups and different individuals, are placed in very distinct ways in relation to these flows and interconnections….Some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it.

Pécoud (2013, p. 2) argued that countries increasingly pursue entrepreneurial approaches to migration governance that often seek "the transformation of a complex, multifaceted, sometimes unlawful and always challenging process into 'predictable,' 'sound,' 'manageable,' 'orderly' and rule-obeying dynamics." As we will argue, the role of (transnational) companies in the neoliberal co-managing and streamlining of migrant subjects' mobilities in this process must be recognized. Still, authorities' and companies' endeavors are negotiated, followed, ignored, or avoided by migrants through their tactical quotidian practices (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013). Adding an important dimension, Ye (2017) discussed how migrants' incorporation process is not only shaped by state regulation but also through social norms and civility in the politics of everyday co-existence. She emphasized how "the normative and productive categorisations of race, citizenship and civility in shared spaces" become (re-)produced through both of these sets of factors, leading to a 'differential inclusion' (Ye, 2017, p. 1033) of migrant subjects in the city.

3. Migration Management and the Bifurcation of Migrant Labor in Singapore

Compared to many other migrant-receiving cities, which have witnessed at least partly a momentum of uncontrolled urban transformation, Singapore has enacted a very strict political control and management of migration and urban development (Platt, Baey, Yeoh, Khoo, & Lam, 2017; Wong, 1997) as part of an overall state-engineered endeavor seeking "world recognition" (Ong, 2011, p. 5) and branding Singapore as world-class city. Singapore has established one of the most sophisticated and strict migration-management systems worldwide (cf. Peth et al., 2018), which simultaneously produced a bifurcated migration system (Yeoh, 2006) strongly separating and differentiating migrant subjects according to qualification and skills, origins, and gender.

Starting from the 1980s, highly-skilled migrants, so-called 'foreign talents,' largely working in the services sector, were regarded as key to the country's pan-Asian and global economic competitiveness and the city's international and cosmopolitan image (Beaverstock, 2011; Ho, 2006; Iwasaki, 2015; Yeoh, 2006). Whereas these professionals enjoy wide-ranging freedoms, 'lower-skilled' migrant workers are confronted with various restrictions (see Figure 1). Their inflow is managed through quota systems based on nationality and economic sector; they are not allowed to choose their accommodation freely, and may not marry or have children in Singapore (Peth et al., 2018). Migrant workers' occupational fields are gendered: women are recruited as domestic or service-sector workers, while men are employed in the construction, manufacturing, and marine sectors.

Despite the government's initial plans to render the country's reliance on low-skilled workers unnecessary, they still make up the largest share of the 1.7 million so-called non-residents or temporary residents (out of a total population of 5.7 million people, Department of Statistics Singapore, 2019a). Together with 520,000 permanent residents (Department of Statistics Singapore, 2019a), temporary and permanent residents make up 37.1% of the total population and 43% of the current work force (the latter number includes daily commuters from Malaysia; Department of Statistics Singapore, 2019b). Singaporeans' increased dissatisfaction with immigration, and the growing population, particularly since the global economic crisis of 2008–2009, made the government react with measures that became known as 'Singaporeans First' policies, which increasingly affect the stay and in-migration of migrants (Bork-Hüffer, 2017; Gomes, 2017; Yeoh & Lam, 2016; see also Section 5). Although Singapore is truly a mobile city and migration

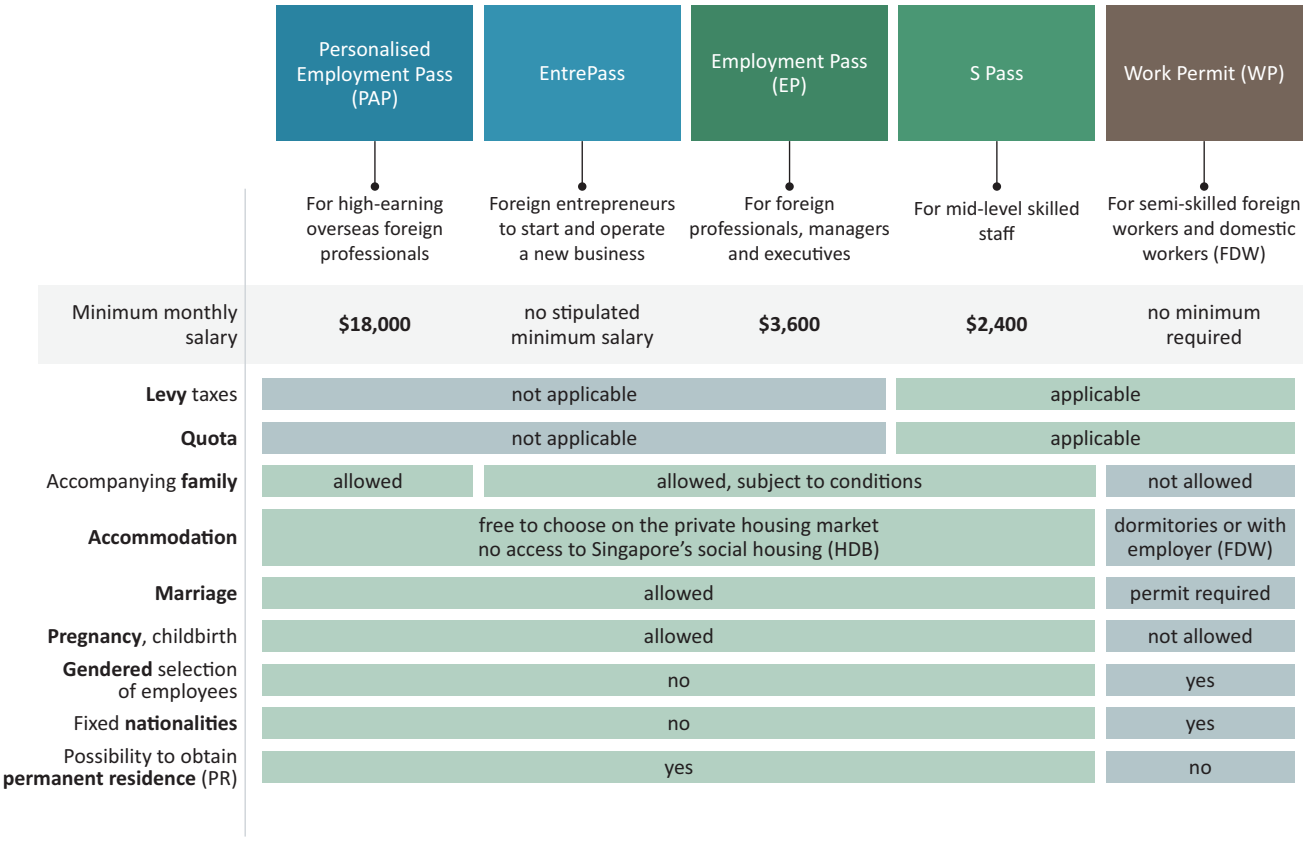

Figure 1. The main types of work passes and related freedoms in Singapore. Source: Own draft, based on Iwasaki (2015) and Ministry of Manpower of Singapore (2020).

has become part of everyday life, migrant mobilities are highly differential and selective (Ye, 2017).

4. Methodology

This article is based on research by both authors, each using multi-method approaches and incorporating in-depth interviews, photo elicitation, mobile media elicitation, and cognitive and migration pathway mappings. The first author focused on migrant professionals whose fields of work reflected the above-named employment fields (Section 3) for professionals in Singapore. The second author focused on Thai migrant workers, who were working on construction sites and in shipyards in Singapore.

The research with Thai workers in Singapore was integrated into a wider multi-sited research project (2014–2018) which started at migrants' places of origin (Thailand). The second author followed the migration trajectories (Marcus, 1995) of Thai workers to Singapore, where they were working under the Work Permit or S-Pass scheme. Altogether, 51 semi-structured interviews were conducted, combined with participatory observation. Additionally, five photo-interviews were conducted, during which photos taken by a former migrant worker to Singapore were shown to the participants as an elicitation method, to talk about the changes in the migration system and working conditions. In addition to this, the author conducted eight mappings of migration pathways between Thailand and Singapore, and joined two of the monthly dormitory visits with the Royal Thai Embassy in Singapore.

The research with migrant professionals, conducted by the first author (2013–2017), is part of a larger project that looked into the relationship between mobilities, encounters, and the role of digital media in migrants' perceptions of Singapore. It included 50 professionals of different origins and transnational backgrounds, staying on Employment Passes or with permanent residence. Migrant professionals are defined as migrant subjects who are highly skilled—with a tertiary-level education degree, or specialists working in high-level positions (cf. Föbker, Imani, Nipper, Otto, & Pfaffenbach, 2016)—whose qualifications and skills are recognized and who were working or looking for work in Singapore (Meier, 2016). The project combined narrative, in-depth, structured, and repertory-grid interviewing techniques with cognitive mapping and mobile media elicitation.

5. An Empirical Comparison: Pathways to and through the Transient City Singapore

5.1. Arriving

Migrant workers were flown in with low-cost airlines, picked up by the companies at the airport, and had to

start working from day one. In contrast, the professionals usually arrived individually, were not picked up by employers at the airport, and thus performed their arrival and initial navigation through the city independently. Those professionals who had known people in Singapore before arriving often met their acquaintances soon after arriving. Hence, the imprint such contacts had made on their subsequent locational and social arrival was usually very large. Companies usually organized or supported the bureaucracy of finding a place to stay, applying for an Employment Pass, enrolling children for school, etc., for those who were posted. Some received 'orientation programmes,' during which they were shown apartments, the office, and, where applicable, education institutions for children. These interviewees' first impressions were much more streamlined and less affected by unexpected developments: "Because, the first three days I had immediately an orientation program somehow, I was chased around the city and I asked everyone only for apartments" (Lena, 27). The utilization of new digital media (such as navigation, restaurant, food or event apps), partly recommended by new acquaintances, or discovered through online search, co-produced and channeled the discovery of the city.

The arrival for most Thai migrant workers meant their first confrontation with a very new and unfamiliar context. Almost all Thai workers were torn between fascination at how "developed" and "clean" Singapore was and feelings of alienation and homesickness. Lek (50), a construction worker, for example observed a very different sense of community when he arrived. "My impression [was]…they open the door in a blink, they close the door and go to work in the evening, they come back, get in the room and close the door…[they] didn't know their neighbors" which is in great contrast to his life in a rural village in Thailand, where everybody knows everybody. The limited possibilities for mingling with locals was regrettably noted by some.

5.2. Settling

Right after arriving in Singapore migrants settle down and start to work. This process is institutionally regulated and has various spatial and social implications. For migrant workers the process of settling down is predetermined by the system of migration management. Those who come on a Work Permit have to stay in dormitories (see Figure 1) or, as they call them, "camps." Bunmee (51), who was working as a welder for over 17 years, described their situation as follows: "It is like sleeping in boxes…people who go to Singapore have been trained like soldiers…it is totally different from our country; you cannot sleep at the time you want to, you cannot eat at the time you want to." In the past the foreign workers were housed in makeshift container camps—often provided and improvised by their employers on or near the work site. Today, they have to be accommodated in high-tech dormitories such as the Tuas View Dormitory or Kranji Lodge 1 which are run by profit-oriented private operators and host up to 17,000 workers. The coming and going of the workers is registered by fingerprint and iris scanners and it is often not allowed to bring friends for visits. There are shops, gyms, laundries, canteens, internet rooms, and even cinemas and sports facilities to keep the workers as much as possible within the compounds.

This segregation logic continues within the dormitories. Here the workers are separated by nationality, which is quickly internalized by the workers: "Well the cooking was different, the food that we had, so we separated ourselves and also were sleeping separately. The employer understands that Thais and Bangladeshis are different in many ways, but we can work together" explained Lek. Hence, social encounters of (Thai) migrant workers are largely limited to co-nationals. Since most of the dormitories are located at the edge of the city, migrant workers are locationally separated from the host society. Hence, the possibilities of quotidian encounters other than with migrant workers are rare, and further hampered by language barriers.

Other than the migrant workers, migrant professionals are free to choose their accommodation on the private housing market. An initial and interim arrival phase to a hotel or hostel was followed by a relocation into rented accommodation. Although migrants remembered these spaces of initial arrival, in their stories they often appeared as somewhat detached, separate islands from their later everyday spaces of life in the city. Afterwards, the informants mostly moved to rented accommodation on the private housing market—the only housing formally available to temporary residents. The private housing market is separated from Singapore's highly successful social housing market (HDBs), which accommodates 81% of the Singaporean resident population (as of 2018 according to the Housing Development Board, 2019). Rental prices on the private market are high (in average $1,935, making Singapore the 10th most expensive place for renting worldwide; CBRE, 2019). Nonetheless, and also due to more recent urban planning guidelines, which, e.g., develop mixed HDBs and private housing estates, migrant professionals are spatially embedded in the socio-spatial fabric of the city. Although this does not eliminate the emerging of housing areas preferred by expatriates, it prevents a much stronger segregation.

Despite popular narratives that attribute free choice of housing to professionals, depending on contract statuses, income, and special economic benefits, our informants were positioned quite differently on the housing market, and as a result also spatially in the city. Those who came on an expatriate contract and received housing allowances were indeed privileged and had a relatively free choice. So-called 'middling' professionals (Bork-Hüffer, 2017; Conradson & Latham, 2005) on local contracts with salaries near the Employment Pass minimum (cf. Figure 1) had to look for more remote, cheaper

and often shared housing. Parents in this group were not able to afford tuition fees or housing large enough to bring their families to Singapore.

5.3. Mingling Locally and Connecting Elsewhere

Although entitled to one day off per week, most of the migrant workers chose to work overtime to make their stay economically viable. On average our informants had one day off per month. In the remaining time, their lives were confined to their places of work and the dormitories. The mobility between these places is organized by the employer in trucks, and separated from the city's public transport. On work days there are hardly opportunities even for fleeting encounters with people other than co-workers and room-mates. In addition, as is further detailed in the next section, the employment situation is characterized by protracted temporariness and planning insecurity. Combined, this resulted in social practices which were almost entirely focused on workers' places of origin. During their rare free time they called relatives back home (usually through video-calls), spent time with fellow Thai workers, and only in rare cases engaged with Singaporeans. Those who had arrived before the mid-2010s, had often invested in buying a smartphone after coming to Singapore upon the pressure to keep in touch with their families, whereas those arriving later already owned one. A few workers had received business phones from their employers. One informant reported how his boss controlled his progress of work by requiring him to send pictures of the results regularly via his business phone.

The workers' translocal social embeddedness also found its material expression in the urban fabric of Singapore, in the Golden Mile Complex. It is a shopping mall in downtown Singapore which has been adopted by Thai migrant workers and has become their main social meeting point at weekends. It provides a range of services and shops catering to the needs of Thai workers including remittance services, a Thai supermarket, restaurants, Karaoke Bars with Thai waitresses, job placement agents, and a branch of the office of labor affairs of the Royal Thai Embassy. In the latter the workers can seek help regarding labor rights and employment issues, and also extend their Thai ID cards or continue educational qualifications via distance learning.

In contrast to the workers, the degree with which the professionals nourished their translocal contacts varied greatly. Decisive differences were related to their length of stay in the city, and particularly the location of their children: those who had not brought these along commonly spent a significant time daily using online social media communicating with their children. Further, professionals had shorter work hours, most (but not all) two days off per week, and as noted above were (relatively) free to reside in and move through the city. Quite differently from the socio-spatially segregated lives of migrant workers, their living and work contexts brought them in contact with diverse people. Overall, they had many more opportunities for fleeting encounters, as well as for establishing enduring sociability.

A feeling of 'having arrived' was for many professionals tied to the successful establishment of a local social network, underlining the importance attributed to socializing. Adopting new digital devices (particularly smartphones) and types of media (particularly WhatsApp and QQ) in order to adapt to new Singaporean or other migrant peers, played a significant role for connecting locally, but also for venturing through platforms (e.g., Online Citizen) to pick up socio-political debates otherwise disclosed to newcomers. For some, having a network of friends from various origins was important for identifying and belonging to a cosmopolitan elite. Others built up relations mostly to other professionals from their home countries. Reasons for this included a strong reliance on translocal networks through contacts to fellow migrants from their home countries before coming and joining their communities after arrival. Furthermore, particularly migrant parents' sociability was channeled through their children's (mostly international) schools. For others, a feeling of exclusion and discrimination or of cultural distance from local society was intertwined with not actively seeking to establish contacts with locals. This affected migrants from various origins, but interestingly, migrants from within Asia were most surprised that Singapore was culturally different from what they had expected, such as for Crisanto: "I was mentioning that, maybe as Asians going into another Asian country it's going to be more, how should I say?…Accepting." Class was a major—although not verbalized—factor driving the choice of relations, as almost none had established relations with non-tertiary-educated locals or migrants. Not being successful with establishing social relations, conversely, was often linked to plans or desires to return or move elsewhere.

Other than for migrant workers, meeting places of the professionals with their friends and acquaintances were scattered throughout the city as there was no perceived limitation of their movements in the city. Furthermore, the huge differences in income affected opportunities for participating in leisure activities: The Thai workers sent the money they earned almost entirely to Thailand. Not only did far fewer of the professionals remit money; having much higher incomes enabled many to participate in the expensive leisure life in Singapore, although this was clearly limited for 'middling professionals.'

5.4. Planning Ahead

Migrant workers (below S-Pass level) can only get work contracts for a maximum of two years and have to return immediately to their home countries after each contract period, then returning later for another contract. On average, our Thai informants stayed, with multiple short-term contracts, for a total of 10 to 15 years.

However, the length of this protracted temporary stay was subject to their employers. Likewise, professionals on Employment Passes are allowed to reside in the city only as long as they are in active employment; any periods of unemployment or retirement would lead to immediate expulsion from the country. Similarly, to Work Permits, Employment Passes need to be renewed on a regular basis (usually every 2 years). Then again, migrant workers are deprived of the right to apply for long-term stay. Their only paths to a long-term future in Singapore would be marrying a Singaporean or a permanent resident. And they face an age limit which is not applicable to professionals: At the age of 60 all workers lose their Work Permit and have to return to their home countries within seven days. In contrast, some of the professionals we interviewed had applied for permanent residency or citizenship. Yet, given recent 'Singaporean First' measures, their chances had plummeted and the applications of some had been turned down (cf. Bork-Hüffer, 2017). Still, staying on an Employment Pass does not allow retirement in Singapore, even for professionals. Beyond these limitations, none of the professionals in this study considered Singapore as their anticipated place of retirement, mostly due to high costs of living.

Given these limits to the future stay of migrant workers, they live in a stage of 'permanent temporariness' (Swider, 2015; Yiftachel, 2009). However, they make their own decisions within these politics of mobility. Often, they align their decision to return back home with the educational stages of the children in Thailand. Sanan, a return migrant, is an example. He waited until his daughter obtained her university degree and his son finalized his teacher training before he returned back home. Despite the fact that Singaporean companies are often eager to hold onto experienced migrant workers, as soon as the latter no longer see the need to toil in Singapore, they leave, sometimes under the pretext that they only want to go home for a holiday. In particular, the younger generation of Thai workers is increasingly turning away from Singapore, as they see better conditions and more opportunities in other destinations such as South Korea, Taiwan, Israel or Sweden. As a result, the number of Thai migrant workers has dropped by over a third according to estimations by the Thai Royal Embassy (2014 to 2016 from 35,000 to about 20,000 to 15,000; Interview, 2016).

Among other reasons due to the fact that they can switch contracts while being in Singapore and apply for long-term stay, professionals' perspectives, though facing limitations, are nevertheless less constrained. There were roughly three groups when it came to future plans of stay or mobility: the first group planned to leave soon, especially due to better career or income opportunities elsewhere, the end of placements, and a lack of social connections. For 'middling' migrants high living costs, particularly resulting in the inability to bring their families or start a family in Singapore, were reasons to leave. Social reasons dominated among those who had plans or wishes to return to their native countries in the mid-term (5 to 10, or occasionally up to 20 years' time). Planned return so as to reunite with their spouse and children, parents or friends was named by those who had left their spouse and/or children behind. Other reasons were the need to care for, or simply the desire to be close to aging family members. A third group of migrants that were mostly on permanent residence, usually with local partners and spouses, and were well-networked, planned to stay until retirement but not beyond.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

Our comparison of the two case studies has shown that there are fundamental differences in terms of the spatial emplacement of migrant workers and professionals in Singapore related to strict politics of mobilities and migration management, and as a result also in terms of their social incorporation into the host society.

This differential emplacement and treatment starts with the arrival in Singapore. The arrival of migrant workers is predefined by both the neoliberal state's endeavours to minimizing encounters by spatially segregating migrant workers in the 'camps,' and by company logics that are targeted at making imported labour productive from day one. It also imposes an engineered structure of everyday (im-)mobilities on the workers from the start, largely confining them to (moorings in) their places of labour, and dormitory compounds respectively. Similarly, their mobility between these places is controlled and manged by the employers through transport services. In contrast, professionals usually arrive individually, directly venturing into the city-state's 'throwntogetherness.' Recent research has underlined the relevancy of these mundane, short and 'fleeting encounters' in the context of superdiversity and politics of difference (Ye, 2016). Nonetheless, despite more freedom of choice and movement for professionals, the arrival of those posted by companies is partly steered through orientation programs and other support services, also targeted at ensuring they are ready to start working as soon as possible.

With regard to the process of settling, the notion of a neighbourhood or particular spaces of arrival and their role for emotionally and socially arriving does not hold true in the case of professionals. Their spaces of initial arrival (usually hotels or hostels) have little effect on or relation to their later lives in the city; they are anything but spaces of social arrival and remain rather disembedded 'islands' in the migrants' memories. Then again, their eventual spaces to stay are scattered throughout the city, very much defined by their incomes. Similarly, their social networks were not tied in particular to their spaces of stay. Overall, the spaces they became embedded in had little in common with Saunders' (2011) notion of arrival neighbourhoods. Singapore's tight urban planning and housing policies have also played a role here, as they prevented the emergence of segregated expatriate enclaves, which characterize other cities such as Bangkok or Kuala Lumpur.

Very much in contrast, a segregation logic steers the state's separation of the migrant workers into dormitory compounds. This segregation is reflected in various—sometimes subtle—policies such as accommodation regulations, locational decisions on where dormitories are allowed to be build (often at the edge of the city-state in areas otherwise confined to industrial use) or regulations on free working days and overtime which reduce the time in which foreign workers could mingle with Singaporeans. Furthermore, within these dormitories, on the micro-scale, another segregation-logic is (re-)produced through the migrant workers' allocation to dormitory rooms and sections according to their nationality. This separation by nationalities is implemented by the private operators to 'avoid social conflicts.' This is, however, just a replication of the governments rhetoric that has always stressed the necessity of strictly managing and differentiating the country's multicultural populace in order to avoid the repetition of ethnic clashes that occurred in the country in the 1960s (cf. Chua, 2003). This rhetoric is once more reproduced and legitimated through migrant workers' narratives of social and cultural differences between the workers. Consequently, encounters and sociability are minimised, not only with the local population but even between the migrants. At first sight, one could describe the new high-tech dormitories as arrival spaces in the sense of arrival infrastructures (Meeus et al., 2019). Yet, they deviate significantly from Saunders' (2011) notion of multi-layered and hybrid arrival places as they are gated fragments of the city only for migrant workers but not for locals.

Against the backdrop of other contributions, which suggest that 'arrival' implies achieving social embeddedness and 'integration' and even social upward mobility (cf. Meeus et al., 2019), the case of Singapore shows that this is not given, and that 'arrival' in the sense of social integration can be deliberately prevented—even over long periods of time. Migrant workers' local mingling was strongly differentiated by race and gender as it focused on their male co-workers and dormitory mates of their own nationality. Furthermore, through their translocal digital social practices, they maintained a strong sense of belonging with their places of origin, which again counteracted relating and bonding to Singapore (see also Peth & Sakdapolrak, 2019; Peth et al., 2018). The combination of their socio-spatial segregation, permanent temporariness (Yiftachel, 2009), the structural manifestation of the translocal space of the Golden Mile, and the translocal connectedness to their places of origin resulted in hardly any enduring social relations to Singaporeans, even after staying more than a decade. In such a way, as Ye (2017) argued, migrant workers' inclusion remains limited to civility in everyday encounters, whereas building enduring sociability or intimacy is deliberately prevented, also through laws forbidding marriages and childbirth by migrant workers. Yet migrant workers also move within the city, and their trajectories cannot be merely reduced to the state-defined migrant spaces such as the dormitories as is manifested, e.g., in the vibrant translocal space of the Golden Mile.

In contrast, professionals had many more opportunities for venturing through the social fabric of the city and becoming socio-spatially embedded by building ties and bonding emotionally to the city. For many the feeling of (not) having arrived and the entailed feeling of (not) belonging and being attached to the city-state were very much tied to having (not) managed to build up a local social network. Particularly 'middling professionals,' who do not have enough money to finance the stay of their children, were translocally embedded abroad, due to Singapore's migration management that benefits capital.

With regard to migrants' plans of stay or mobility, Singapore's strict politics of mobility affects the prospects of staying for all groups with temporary statuses, as their stay ends immediately with the ending of their work contracts. Yet whereas workers on Work Permits are deprived of the right of permanent stay or naturalization, professionals on Employment Passes may apply for both, and some of our participants had applied for permanent residence or citizenship. However, the 'Singaporeans First' policies (cf. Section 3) have further emphasized temporary perspectives for professionals too. Moreover, independent of the immigration legislation, costs of living made all professionals want to leave the city-state latest at retirement. Overall, this makes the concept of 'arrival city' unsuitable for capturing the mostly temporary realities of stay for both groups, as even though many workers and professionals in Singapore stay for a significant time span, up to decades, they plan to leave eventually. Still, perceived temporality is relative and for workers a feeling of 'permanent termporariness' is clearly more pronounced through their lack of opportunities for socially and emotionally bonding locally.

We argue that the concept of transient spaces more adequately captures the socio-spatial and -technological embedding of workers and professionals. For both groups, the concept captures how migrants are embedded in a 'farrago of overlapping' social, material and (we add) technological spaces "deriving from and simultaneously being shaped by (power) relations" (Bork-Hüffer et al., 2016, p. 142) rather than spatially confined arrival spaces. Professionals' power positions mean their freedom regarding mobilities and encounters is much greater than that of workers, as a result of which their spaces of interaction, work, leisure, and socializing stretch across various locations in the city-state and beyond—virtually and offline. Still, these were co-shaped by the availability, assemblages, and local practices of media and technology use and their affordances, as well as state orderings of the split public–private housing market, with public housing being largely inaccessible to foreigners in general, and dependent upon limited prospects of stay.

Workers' everyday offline local sociability, mobilities, and practices on work days, in turn, are greatly

limited to interactions with male co-workers, foremen, and security personnel and locationally confined to the 'camps,' work sites, and the corridors in between. At the same time, through digital means they remained strongly translocally embedded in their places of origin. Overall, their everyday spaces are increasingly co-shaped, surveilled and controlled by socio-technological orderings. These range from fingerprint and iris scanners that regulate their entry and exit to the 'camps' (at the time of writing in May 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic, further mechanisms were established to constrain workers' movements to sections of the dormitories), wide-spread CCTV on work sites and within the camps, distance control through business phones to the affordances (time, financial) of the mobile media they employ for connecting to peers abroad. Altogether, these orderings have fostered what Elwood (2020, p. 1) referred to as "adverse incorporation."

Simultaneously, whereas professionals started adopting different media in a strive to stay informed, discover the city or adapt and connect to peers in Singapore, workers remained embedded in the digital and social spaces they had been part of prior to migrating. Hereby, time barriers due to significantly longer work hours, language barriers, and more social obligations to translocally connect to families abroad limit not only workers' opportunities to venture through physical space and social 'throwntogetherness' in Singapore but also their digital opportunities to connect, become informed, and explore. This difference starkly reflects a digital reproduction of existing offline inequalities, largely co-produced by a differentiated management and politics towards the two groups.

It is important to note that the extent of state-driven politics of mobility and migrant management in Singapore that seek to maximize order and control over migrant bodies and subjectivities is exceptional. Its bifurcated migration management affects migrant workers through its clear-cut, state-engineered locational segregation and control over everyday mobilities most. Workers are wanted for their labour, which nourishes the country's construction and manufacturing sectors, but otherwise they are separated, not incorporated. Simultaneously, more concessions are made to the so-called 'foreign talents,' a strategy maintained since the 1980s to sustain the city-state's status as a global city and model for economic and urban achievements. As we have argued, the state's and companies' neoliberal logics here go hand in hand, maximizing productivity of labour and—in the case of workers—minimizing any other enduring sociability, intimacy, or bonding. As we have further shown, looking at migration not as an end point (arrival) but prolonged pathway and process helps to bring to fore how the politics of mobility, migration management, and differential inclusion play out dynamically and differently throughout the migration process and relate to migrants' differential embedding in transient spaces.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Transformative Power of Urban Arrival Infrastructures: Berlin's Refugio and Dong Xuan Center

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Abstract
Migration researchers and urban scholars are increasingly applying infrastructural approaches to analyze the production and organization of urban spaces and migration. While transformative and transforming power seem to be inherent characteristics of infrastructures, studies to date have rarely emphasized this aspect, only placing minimal focus on its importance for understanding the constitution and development of infrastructures and for examining the mobility of migrants. In the current article, we study Berlin's Refugio, an alternative form of housing for forced migrants, and the city's Dong Xuan Center (DXC), a Vietnamese hypermarket. We argue that they not only represent infrastructures in which newcomers reach a city, and navigate their trajectories, as well as the obstacles, and opportunities of urban life, but they are also 'infrastructures of conversion' that transform material space and the people inhabiting them, and their entanglement with the city. While the DXC and Refugio emerged out of necessity, addressing the lack of economic (DXC) and housing (Refugio) opportunities, they have changed into cultural and economic hubs for migrant communities and beyond. On the one hand, these changes come with multilayered negotiation processes, revealing a complex interplay of interests, actors, and internal hierarchies within the DXC and Refugio. On the other hand, their transformation illustrates the influence of local planning authorities, institutions, and the pressure to culturally and economically exploit their social, spatial, and 'ethnic' characteristics. This mesh elucidates the diffuse position of both infrastructures in the urban realm. While their existence and future development is constantly challenged, they simultaneously represent political spaces that prompt institutional logics and questions of immigrant integration.

Keywords
commodification; infrastructures of conversion; local governance; migration infrastructure; mobility; urban arrival

Issue
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1. Introduction

Over recent decades, scholars of migration and urban studies have increasingly paid attention to the role of infrastructural formations as "socio-technical apparatuses and material artifacts that structure, enable, and govern" urban space and migration (Burchardt & Höhne, 2015, p. 3). As a result, various analytical concepts of infrastructure—such as 'migration infrastructure' or 'arrival infrastructure'—have emerged, aiming to study how urban life and migration is organized and to unpack the space that migration acquires (Leurs, 2019;

Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019; Simone, 2014; Xiang & Lindquist, 2014). The majority of this scholarship exemplifies that infrastructures are not static, but they can expand, change, or decline, because "infrastructure is never complete" (Simone, 2014, p. 151). Meeus et al. (2019, p. 17) even find a "transforming nature of the infrastructures themselves." While transformation seems to be an inherent characteristic of infrastructures, particular in relation to migration, scholars to date have rarely emphasized and empirically studied this quality, only placing minimal focus on the transformative power of infrastructures and its importance for understanding their development, for the people inhabiting and using them, and for the urban realm. The purpose of the current article is thus to reveal what happens in, through, and with migration infrastructures, and to analyze what determinants, mechanisms, and practices are relevant for their transformation and for the mobility of people. We are particularly interested in the following questions: How are these infrastructures operated internally and how do they function 'inside'? To what extent do external factors such as planning regulations and institutional structures shape their development and transformation? To what degree do these infrastructures enhance or impede "people's migratory capability" in the city of arrival (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 125)?

We examine two arrival infrastructures, which at first glance appear to be distinct: Berlin's Refugio, an alternative form of housing for forced migrants, and the Dong Xuan Center (DXC), a Vietnamese hypermarket and wholesaler. We argue that the two represent not only infrastructures where newcomers reach a city, and navigate the trajectories, obstacles, and opportunities of urban life, but they are also 'infrastructures of conversion' that include a bundle of dimensions in which their transformative and transforming powers appear and unfold. First, they quite literally 'make' places, transforming the locations and material spaces they occupy, and the functions, purposes, and meanings of these places. Second, they constantly transform the mobilities and positions of the people that inhabit and use them, producing multidirectionality of newcomers' trajectories (Meeus et al., 2019). This in turn contributes to the transformation of the material spaces of these infrastructures. Lastly, while they convert places, people, and their position, the infrastructures simultaneously convert themselves, because of their constant changes, updates, and expansions (Simone, 2014). These transformations influence local institutional approaches and perceptions, and the positionality of these infrastructures within local immigration understandings.

To understand the characteristics of conversion infrastructures, the ways in which they work, are produced, subjugate, or facilitate space and bodies, and what they transform space, bodies, and perceptions into, we study the "logics of operation" of the DXC and Refugio (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 124) and the "infrastructuring practices" these infrastructures emerge out of and are developed by (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 2). This includes, on the one hand, going backstage (Star, 1999) and studying the inner workings and rationalities of these infrastructures. Here, we particularly focus on the social and cultural networks, social practices, and negotiations that have resulted in the development of the DXC and Refugio, and that internally regulate and gradually change them, highlighting the role of "people as infrastructure" (Simone, 2004, p. 410). On the other hand, we pay attention to the forms of urban governance and external factors in which they are embedded and are regulated by. These comprise regulatory forces (governmental institutions, policies, discourses, and non-governmental actors) as well as economic factors and logics that impact and structure the development and existence of the DXC and Refugio and the people inhabiting them. The two spheres are interlinked and overlap each other, underlining the complex and dynamic relationships of actors, interests, and practices on various scales.

The data used for the current article derives from qualitative comparative research conducted in Berlin in 2018 and 2019. The data collection prioritized actor and interest-centered analyses. We used three research methods. First, we conducted multiple site visits to the DXC and Refugio and their surrounding areas, studying the way they are used and the variety of users' practices. Second, we carried out participatory observations, examining spatial appropriations, interactions, and relationships. Third, we conducted 19 open and guideline-based interviews (eleven at the DXC, eight at the Refugio) with (1) decision-makers and administrative bodies, such as the directors of both projects and local authorities, (2) people at both places with specific occupations, such as vendors and business owners at the DXC or social workers and employees at the Refugio), and (3) users of the spaces (residents and guests at the Refugio, and shoppers and workers at the DXC). The purpose of this approach was to gain knowledge about the living and working conditions, specific behaviors, conflicts, and relationships in the use of space, and about the development of the DXC and Refugio. Interviews were conducted in German and translated into English for this article.

In what follows, we define the mechanisms and structures that result in the transformation and diversification of these spaces and the people using them. We show that while the DXC and Refugio emerged out of necessity, addressing the lack of economic opportunities for Vietnamese Berliners in the case of the DXC and the shortage of housing for forced migrants in the case of the Refugio, they have changed into cultural and economic hubs for migrant communities and beyond. On the one hand, these changes are accompanied by with multilayered negotiation processes, which reveal a complex and adversarial interplay of interests, actors, and internal hierarchies within the DXC and Refugio. On the other hand, the transformation of the DXC and Refugio reveal the influence of local planning authorities and institutions, and the pressure to culturally and economically exploit their

social, spatial, and 'ethnic' characteristics. This mesh finally elucidates the diffuse position of the two infrastructures in the urban realm. While their existence and future development is constantly challenged, they simultaneously represent political spaces that prompt institutional logics and questions of immigrant integration.

2. Infrastructures and Their Transformative Power

Infrastructure orders spaces, things, and people, and it configures and enables mobilities (Hannam, Sheller, & Urry, 2006). While infrastructures include technological and spatial characteristics, a precise focus on infrastructures of migration exemplifies that it is not only technical or physical factors—the "immobile material worlds" (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 15)—that define infrastructures, but also "systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 122). Infrastructures are thus not simply places, institutions, sites, or artefacts, "singular, fixed or stable entities that can simply be isolated or demarcated" (Leurs, 2019, p. 92). Instead, they are "relational infrastructures" (Simone, 2014) that involve "multidirectional rationalities between different actors and entities" (Leurs, 2019, p. 94). They condition the mobility of people (as well as objects, thoughts, animals, etc.) and mediate temporary territorialization by institutions and actors whose "logics of actions collide with and contradict one another" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 135). This takes place in "multiple and hybrid affiliations of varying geographical reach" (Amin, 2002, as cited in Meeus et al., 2019, p. 14). Meeus et al. (2019, p. 1) thus define infrastructures where migrants arrive, as "those parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled on arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated." Infrastructures determine the mobility of people. Similar to a portal or to spaces of transit, people enter an infrastructure, "prepare their becoming" (Papadopoulos, Stephenson, & Tsianos, 2008, p. 217), and negotiate their further trajectories.

Infrastructures have different functions and purposes, depending on those who govern and use them. They include regulatory sorting or channeling functions and processes, which allow access to some and construct barriers to others (Meeus et al., 2019). Leurs (2019), for example, studies 'migration crisis infrastructures' as regulatory infrastructures that contain, control, and select people, and the unjust ways in which migration is managed. Similarly, Kreichauf (2018) defines 'forced infrastructures of arrival,' explaining cases where, by means of law, the state uses infrastructures to limit migrants' mobility and legal rights. Simone (2014), instead, focuses on the relationship of top-down and bottom-up action in constituting infrastructures. He includes the role of urban residents who put together infrastructures to produce viable forms of inhabitation from the bottom up. Xiang and Lindquist (2014) capture these various dimensions and explain five infrastructural logics of operation that constitute migration infrastructures: the social, the regulatory, the commercial, the humanitarian, and the technological. It is the "deep entanglement" of these logics and dimensions that is "key to understanding migration infrastructure" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 124). In this regard, Meeus et al. (2019, p. 2) place emphasis on "infrastructuring practices", the social practices of a range of actors and networks that establish and maintain an infrastructure. Infrastructuring practices and the logics through which an infrastructure operates reveal that infrastructures are dynamic. They need constant input, repair, updates, maintenance, and validation from a variety of involved actors to function for migratory processes (Graham & Thrift, 2007; Leurs, 2019).

People 'go through' infrastructures, but infrastructures themselves also change because of ongoing processes of (re-)negotiation. Even though they have a particular robustness, stability, and coherence (Meeus et al., 2019), they are constantly in the making and are never complete (Simone, 2014). Infrastructuring practices (the negotiation of actors, networks, and institutions through infrastructures) result in continued restructuring and repositioning processes of the actors involved, as well as of the material spaces of infrastructures. Infrastructures can take new forms, new meanings, and a different relevance for those who use them. The logics of operation can take diversions. Xiang and Lindquist (2014), for example, determine that a social infrastructure can develop into a commercial infrastructure, which in turn can become a site of regulation. This hints at the fact that infrastructures and the people using them undergo progressions. The nature of an infrastructure is one of transformation. Infrastructures transform actors, the people using them, and their mobilities. In addition, they transform material space and the infrastructure's functions.

We believe that a more in-depth focus on these transformative powers is needed. We advocate an approach that includes this quality together with introducing the notion of 'infrastructure of conversion.' Conversion infrastructures are contested, spatially manifested, and continued negotiations and social practices of migration and mobility that result in inexorable spatial conversions and changes to these infrastructures, and to the mobilities and socioeconomic status of the people using, inhabiting, and governing them. Infrastructure of conversion does not represent a new theory or concept. Instead, it aims to, analytically and empirically, point to what is already there but has remained hidden. It pays attention to the empirical reality of migration infrastructures and illustrates that their logics of operations and infrastructuring processes are a cause of, and result in, transformations. It is through and because of these transformations, or conversions, that logics and functions, actors, negotiations, and conflicts become visible. For example, as we explain below, our cases have undergone transformations from a migrant economy and a form of housing, to cultural and economic hubs. These developments are a result of continued conversion through negotia-

tion and infrastructuring practices that lead to certain trajectories of infrastructures and the mobilities of people. The lens of conversion allows us to see and study mediation and negotiation practices, and to reveal by whom and through what means and rationalities the development of infrastructures is determined. Putting conversion at the center of analysis, we thus gain a deeper understanding of the actual conditions and make-up of infrastructures, and of the means and practices that are relevant for their constitution and transformation. Further, we can investigate what these infrastructures are developed into, why they take a certain direction, and who and what is responsible for their trajectories. Therefore, this approach facilitates analysis of the reasons, rationales, and consequences for the development of infrastructures and migrant mobilities.

A focus on conversion processes and practices can accordingly offer clarity about the essence and functions of an infrastructure. More importantly, studying conversion from below—from the mobilities, agencies, and social relations of those who practice infrastructuring—can reveal power structures, hierarchies, interests, and territorial changes of and within infrastructures. However, this does not mean that the analysis of conversion is limited to the inner workings of infrastructures. Engaging with infrastructures through conversion can also be used as a tool to uncover the entanglement of infrastructures with (general changes in) the society and city they are embedded in, affected by, and contribute to. Through conversion, we can identify how infrastructures respond to societal organizations and trends, because conversion often takes place as a reaction and adaption to societal changes (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014), and as we illustrate below, conversion can also be an initiator of societal change. Consequently, this approach contributes to a more diverse understanding of migration and mobility, and to current debates about the "multidirectionality of the histories and the potential futures of migrants" (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 5). It shows that infrastructures not only channel people's mobility in multiple directions, but also the future paths of infrastructures themselves.

3. Conversion Infrastructures as Spaces of Translocality, Transformation, and Community Making

The DXC and Refugio represent the variety of forms infrastructures can take, as well as the diversity and trajectories of newcomers arriving in cities 'through them.' In both infrastructures, migrants become entangled with the urban society; with a community where they find protection, social support, help in finding work or with a new language, and where they negotiate their future mobilities. At first glance, the two are radically different in terms of their origin and location, setup, and material appearance, as well as with regard to their meanings for different communities. Our analysis reveals, however, that they have significant similarities in the course of their developments.

The DXC is a 36-acre, covered Vietnamese hypermarket and bazar located in an industrial and commercial area in Berlin-Lichtenberg (see Figure 1). Opened in 2005 by a Vietnamese businessman who purchased the site, it has developed into "Germany's largest Vietnamese-run trade center," consisting of eight 200-meter long halls with street-like corridors flanked by mostly Vietnamese shops (Schmiz & Kitzmann, 2017, p. 1). It has around 2,000 tenants, shop owners, and workers. The Refugio was developed by a German writer couple in 2015 as an intercultural housing project for forced migrants in cooperation with the Berlin City Mission, a welfare association involved in providing support for homeless people, and since 2015, also in the operation of refugee shelters in Berlin. It is located in a residential street in Berlin's multicultural and super-diverse district of Neukölln (see Figure 1). The five-story building houses 40 people, two thirds of whom have forced migrant backgrounds and one third of whom are native German speaking. According to a resident at the Refugio, it follows the "simple idea to not distinguish between people, but I come here and I am loved as who I am and I am appreciated for who I am." As a shared house, which aims to connect newcomers with long-established residents and to provide opportunities for their economic integration, it is frequently referred to as a pioneering project for refugees (Loos, 2017).

The emergence of the two institutions stems from people who seek, develop, and manage opportunities in precarious times (Simone, 2014). The development of the DXC is a result of the marginalized economic situation of Vietnamese Berliners because of their exclusion from Berlin's struggling labor market in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and continued discrimination; as well as the lack of Vietnamese cultural institutions in Lichtenberg, which is home to the highest number of Vietnamese Berliners (around 20,000). The Refugio was developed as a reaction to the increasing arrivals of forced migrants, providing alternative shelter for those who initially could not be accommodated by the state, particularly people from Somalia and Arab countries. The DXC is a migrant-led infrastructure that emerged from the Vietnamese community's intervention, in an effort to provide labor, shopping facilities, and local amenities, predominantly serving its own community in Berlin and beyond. By contrast, the Refugio was set up by civil society and humanitarian actors serving migrants in need of accommodation, but it is also impelled by migrants who participate in the project's development. Both cases can be seen as necessities to a life in the city, as responses to and results of the lack of access to legal rights and state institutions that have failed to provide means for migrant incorporation, and as places in which people arrive and find the resources (labor, housing, and social networks) they need. For the DXC, a trader summarizes the importance of this infrastructure for newcomers:

> For many Vietnamese people who do not speak the language yet and who haven't integrated themselves,

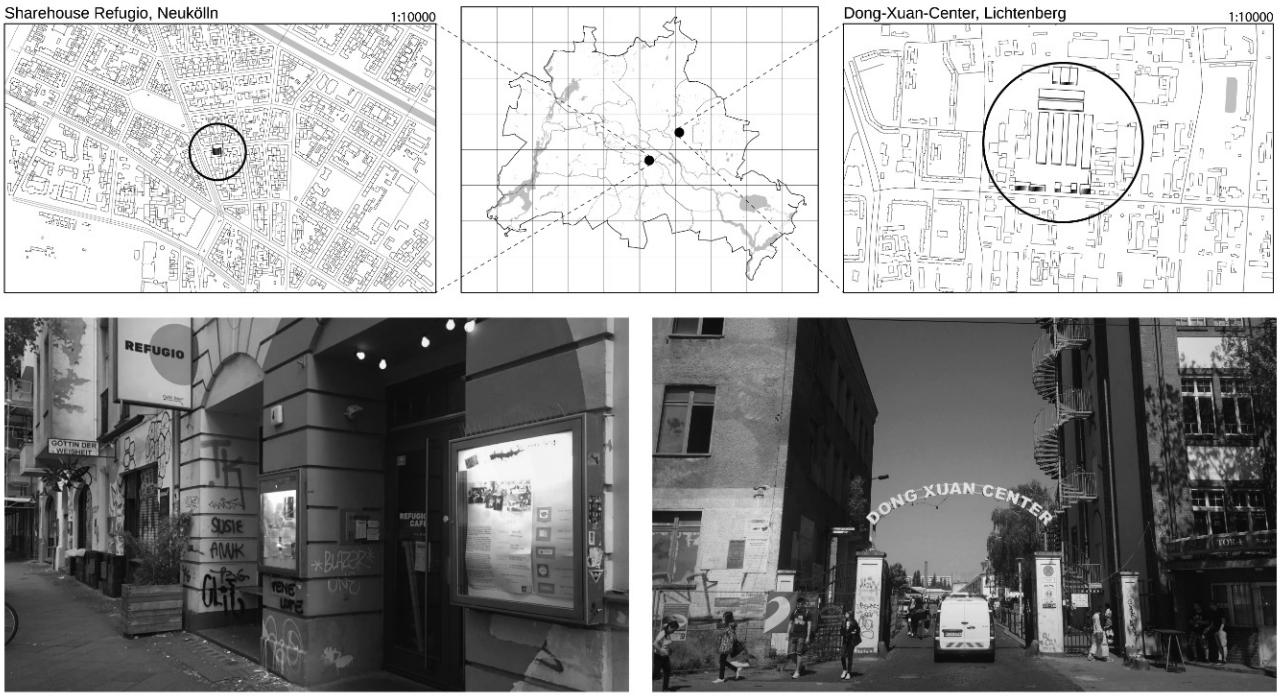

Figure 1. Location of the DXC and Refugio. Figure based on openstreetmap.org and fisbroker.

> this is the central contact and starting point, because people here speak Vietnamese. There is a Vietnamese community. This is important if you have come from Vietnam, because you are directly integrated here, and you can find a job immediately. We help ourselves here and newcomers help themselves with finding jobs and making progress in their life.

As arrival infrastructures, the institutions provide services for newcomers' settling, access to information regarding employment, leisure, and education, and information on particular services for their respective communities such as language classes and places of worship. Despite their different setups and purposes, they are places in which migrants assert a collective identity, establish the validity and aspirations of a new community, and enable former and recent newcomers to feel accepted in their otherness (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016).

In this process, the people that inhabit and use the Refugio and DXC convert and 'make place,' both literally and figuratively. For the development of the DXC, the Vietnamese community "transformed a private, industrial, half demolished block" and heavily polluted area that once belonged a coal processing company "into a sort of public space" (Geuna & Suraci, 2016, p. 272). With regard to the Refugio, an old retirement home was transformed into a place for multicultural community living. The ideas for the development of both cases were imported, and reflect the economic, social, and cultural structures of their origins. The founders of the Refugio developed the share house idea in South Africa and brought it to Berlin. In South Africa, they started an intercultural community in an old fisherman's house, serving as a place for music, art, craft work, and public events. For the DXC, the translocal functions are even more striking and architecturally evident, as the DXC is oriented toward and named after the largest covered bazar in Hanoi. The Hanoi DXC has a long-established history, reaching back to the late nineteenth century. Similar to its Berlin counterpart, it is a place for wholesale traders, shopping, and for cultural and touristic purposes. The Refugio and especially the DXC are translocal infrastructures that represent symbolic, cultural, and economic connectivity between, and embeddedness within, geographies that are specifically local, yet spatially global (Brickell & Datta, 2011). The extent to which their translocal characteristics are visible, spatially unfold, and are practiced depends on the functions and purposes of these places. For the DXC, underlining the relation to its Vietnamese heritage through entrance signs (see Figure 1), Vietnamese lettering, and symbolism is important to make and mark it as Vietnamese place, "Berlin's little Hanoi," which aims to attract the Vietnamese community and visitors (Geuna & Suraci, 2016, p. 271). By contrast, the Refugio is integrated into its urban surroundings, and from the outside is barely noticeable as a somewhat special place and alternative form of housing, as seen in figure 1. Spatial appropriation practices emerge inside, in the private apartments of the residents. As a refuge, a place for living, and a place of integration, the Refugio does not aim to attract spatial attention and visibility, but instead it adapts to its local setting.

Over the course of their existence, the DXC and Refugio have expanded and diversified their initial func-

tions and purposes. The DXC has transformed from a wholesale market into a place of retail trade and for cultural, social, and leisure activities and services such as clubs, feasts, nail and hair salons, tattoo studios, bars, restaurants, Vietnamese-speaking driving schools, and supermarkets. An interviewed trader highlights the role of cultural institutions at the DXC:

> We have many, many clubs. We have a women's club, we have club for businessmen, we have clubs for the respective towns and regions from Vietnam. We do a lot of community work here. We celebrate the Vietnamese New Year and have big feasts here for that. And we have a number of feasts for children. So, culturally there is something for everyone.

Because of the DXC and the concentration of Vietnamese Berliners in Lichtenberg, the district has become "the capital of Vietnamese people in Germany," as the owner of the DXC states (Nguyen Van Hien, as cited in Strauß, 2019; authors' translation). It also has changed matters of centrality, making the remote Lichtenberg neighborhood a central node for the Vietnamese community in Berlin, and internationally a place "where people know more about the DXC than they know about Berlin" (interview, Lichtenberg Councilman). As a migrant economy and "ethnic retail neighborhood," it has transformed into the economic, social, and cultural epicenter for Berlin's Vietnamese population and into a destination for tourists and Berliners, with hundreds of visitors daily (Schmiz & Zhuang, 2016). The Refugio started as a form of transitional housing, where forced migrants were quickly (and without any bureaucracy) accommodated, and has gradually changed into a place of community and work, and a venue for public and private events and conferences. It rents out permanent office space to small companies, non-profit and migrant organizations, and has a public café.

Even though both infrastructures were developed in very different settings and with different missions, they have equally transformed into hotspots and hubs for cultural, leisure, and social activities receiving local, national, and international attention. The transformation and diversification of the Refugio and DXC beyond infrastructures that serve as arrival points for newcomers is a result of manifold conversion and negotiation practices, and the particular ambitions of the people who manage them, as well as regulatory and economic rationales. In the following, we explain the interactions of these factors and their impact on the mobility of people.

4. The Governance of the DXC and Refugio, and the Impact on Migrant Mobilities

The development and transformation of the DXC and Refugio highlight similar trends. They both emerged in some form of a crisis situation and out of necessity, and further expanded by establishing cultural and economic profiles and unique characteristics, filling niches and contributing to Berlin's urban fabric. This process, however, involved a transformation "into objects of intensive regulation, commodification and intervention" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 125). Even though both infrastructures were mostly developed from the bottom up, they are managed and organized to a large extent from the top. In this, the regulatory, socio-cultural, and economic factors at play have resulted in hierarchically organized structures within the DXC and Refugio, while externally financing structures (the Refugio), institutional regulations (the Refugio and DXC), and planning regulations (DXC) have influenced their development. The entanglement of these internal and external mechanisms is a cause of and has resulted in the conversion of these infrastructures, impacts on their further development, and transforms people's life situations and mobilities in various ways and multiple directions.

The DXC is organized by DX GmbH, a private limited company lead by the mogul Nguyen Van Hien. DX GmbH rents out shop spaces to shop owners or tenants, providing work opportunities for predominantly Vietnamese newcomers who become employees in the shops. The hierarchy between DX GmbH, the shop owners, and the employees results in a relatively uneven distribution of social and economic capital, especially because people at DX GmbH and shop owners are mostly members of the established Vietnamese community, while the employees are often newcomers. Informal and exploitative working conditions, including long working hours and low salaries in many cases, characterize the employment conditions. A Vietnamese graphic designer who works at the DXC explains:

> A lot are illegally employed. Moonlighting. The salary is very low, between 800 and 1,000 Euro a month for at least twelve hours a day and often seven days a week. On the one hand, this is certainly exploitation. On the other hand, the Germans want to eat crispy duck for six euros.

Adding to this, a line is drawn between those who are more familiar with German bureaucracies and labor regulations, and those who are not. The inability to speak the local language and understand context-specific forms of communication make newcomers vulnerable in relation to those who have mastered these challenges. Some shop owners take advantage of the insecure and precarious situation of newcomers to ensure their businesses' economic prosperity. While employees appear to be not organized and lack a common platform to highlight their interests and problems, shop owners and tenants articulate their interests to the DXC management through business associations (Schmiz & Kitzmann, 2017).

These hierarchical structures are nevertheless porous and allow for social mobility. Many newcomers eventually become more closely integrated in the DXC structures, often becoming tenants of shops, open-

ing businesses at the DXC, or becoming a part of the DXC international mercantile trade, increasing their opportunities for economic advancement. Others profit from DXC's networks and relations to communities in Germany and beyond. Because of the DXC's attraction and relation to the (international) Vietnamese diaspora, it serves as a steppingstone for those whose journey and desired path lie beyond Berlin. Here, the DXC functions as a stopover and means to an end for people's further movement once an opportunity arises. Moreover, the DXC has opened up to Pakistani, Indian, Turkish, Arab, and Chinese vendors, who have started businesses at the DXC. Although the Vietnamese community still dominates the site and its cultural representation (Schmiz & Kitzmann, 2017), there is an increasing heterogeneity of vendors, reflecting the access of the DXC to non-Vietnamese (but Asian) businesses, and the multiple directions people can take.

Externally, the development of the DXC area is shaped by Berlin's and Lichtenberg's planning regulations and authorities. Lichtenberg's interference in the practices of and at the DXC was demonstrated when the aspiration to turn the center into a Chinatown-styled neighborhood by adding a cultural center, social facilities, and housing units was intervened in by the district. Lichtenberg authorities rejected the DXC's requests to change the official land use from industrial to mixed-use, impeding Van Hien's desire to transform the DXC into a Vietnamese neighborhood; an 'Asia town' functioning as a place for social life, trade, culture, and tourism. The district did so, because it has officially stated that the DXC plans would increase rents and housing prices, because it wants to preserve the area for production firms, and because it wants to protect existing retail traders in the district. However, in an interview, a Lichtenberg's city council member revealed that another reason is the fear of migrant concentrations and the development of 'parallel societies' in line with an assimilatory integration paradigm:

> The DXC developers have a lot of ideas and want to develop a Chinatown-style neighborhood with housing, business areas, kindergartens, and everything a neighborhood needs. But I don't want this kind of seclusion. We from the district don't think that such an enclosed society would be beneficial but would only result in a parallel society.

The district's reservations limit the further agglomeration of the DXC and the legalization of already existing but unauthorized uses, such as gastronomy and retail. However, the DXC has formed alliances with neighboring companies that have resulted in the setting up of new channels of political communication. The importance of the market, which has become one of the major taxpayers in Lichtenberg, and its rising popularity as a tourist attraction have added to the reshuffling of power relations between the DXC and local authorities. The DXC's power in negotiating its interests resulted in the opening of a hotel in 2017, as well as building permission for the Dong Xuan House, planned to host events and provide guest rooms. Nevertheless, Lichtenberg still limits DXC's hope to develop housing and more cultural institutions on its land.

The development of the Refugio has similarly been affected by internal hierarchies and external institutional structures. Since 2017, the Berlin City Mission has exclusively operated the Refugio through a house management operation comprising City Mission employees. As the owner of the building, it sets the terms for the Refugio's spatial usage and community living. The management finalizes the rental contracts with the residents, including obligations to contribute to the organization of the house. Residents are encouraged to participate in house and floor council meetings, in which decisions are made about the house order, cleanliness, and the usage of space. Contractually, residents also have to undertake volunteer work for four hours a week, for example in the café, the maintenance of the house, or in support of other residents. The house management can dismiss residents who do not meet their obligations. It also decides on the resident structure of the house and who fits best into the community, specifying the ratio of one third native German speakers and two thirds people with forced migrant backgrounds, in an aim to regulate the 'social mixing' of residents. Social mixing is also promoted in the distribution of apartments in the Refugio, where the City Mission prohibits migrant concentrations on each of the floors. The strict regimen of rules demands a strong commitment from the residents, as a former resident explains in an interview: "You are welcome when you believe in these rules. If you don't believe in these rules, this is not the place for you."

While the Refugio describes itself as a participatory and community-oriented project, participation is implemented and organized from the top-down and a number of decisions are not made in participatory processes, but over the heads of the residents. One resident explains:

> There was a problem with the design of the floor for the roof terrace. There were many ideas, but the City Mission wanted to install concrete slabs. We were all against it, but they did it anyway….What about participatory democracy? But I understand they wanted to make it as cheap as possible.

Hierarchical power structures and decision-making processes often result in frustration and questioning the participatory organization. In addition, there are unequal power balances among the residents, because of different language capabilities, identifications with participatory structures, and motivations for living at the Refugio. German residents are more involved in contributing at decision-making platforms and in the organization of the house, resulting in a situation where the interests of forced migrants are underrepresented. For German res-

idents (mostly students and young professionals), living in the Refugio and participating in its community structures is often a conscious lifestyle decision. By contrast, for many migrant residents it only serves as a means for housing, due to the lack of alternatives. The regulations of the house, together with the strict resident ratio, are problematic, as they make apparent the dichotomy between 'Germans' and 'migrants,' and the perceptions of who a native German speaker or a forced migrant is. The regime of community and participation also neglects the real needs and hardships for migrant residents, who often do not have the time, resources, or emotional capacities to adapt to the Refugio's intense community structures. Many migrant residents are also in asylum proceedings or have uncertain residence status, and thus few of the same rights and choices. The management and residents address this situation. Some migrant residents who do not identify with the participatory structures find other means to communicate their concerns and needs. As one interview partner states: "Our bosses, well, I talk with them and propose my ideas and concerns, sometimes daily. And they usually take it seriously." Some bypass participatory floor and house meetings and directly approach the house management team; a practice tolerated by the management. Even though the management and residents are aware of these imbalances, they have not yet found an adequate strategy, and focus more on trying to give migrant residents an understanding of the implemented structures (often obligatory) rather than adapting to their needs and situation. This is also because the Refugio is embedded in institutional and social structures, "where social and political rights depend on one's citizenship status" and where residents with German citizenship and forced migrants "cannot function as co-equals" (Mayer, in press).

The ambiguous ways in which the access to—and housing in—the Refugio are organized, foster the mobilities and trajectories of migrant residents. The majority of those who initially arrived have become permanent residents, having lived at the Refugio for a couple of years now. This development contradicts the institution's initial purpose to be a place of transition. On the one hand, this has resulted in a certain 'upgrade' and social mobility in Refugio for many migrant residents, in which they become more closely entangled in the place's structures, for example as employees in the café. Some of them stay at the Refugio for lifestyle reasons and community seeking, despite having other housing options. On the other hand, there are also permanent residents who do not actively participate in its structures and do not equally change their position within the Refugio as others do. This is often because their interest in living at the Refugio results from barriers to moving out. A smaller number of (former) residents, temporary stayed at the Refugio, and profited from its networks, interpersonal relationships, and access to information relevant for them to move. The case of the former residents Samer and his wife illustrates this process exemplarily. They arrived in Berlin in 2015, and while living at the Refugio, started a catering service for events being held at the house. Learning about the German requirements to become self-employed entrepreneurs, Samer and his wife finally opened a Syrian restaurant in Berlin-Schöneberg in 2019. Here, the Refugio represents a place of transition, in which Samer and his wife 'transformed' from mere residents in need of shelter on arrival, to economic subjects and entrepreneurs.

In all the cases, we see the regulatory and social forces of these conversion infrastructures. The way in which they shape people's mobility and 'convert' their trajectories is rarely linear, but strongly depends on the individuals' situations, experiences, and desires to navigate their trajectories, as well as the internal and external structures of the places. The DXC and Refugio are infrastructures that channel people and their mobilities, privileging and enhancing access to various paths and opportunities for some as well as impeding migratory mobility and constructing barriers to others (van Heur, 2017). The channeling functions of the DXC and Refugio work differently. The Refugio regulates mobility through participatory social and institutional—but top-down—structures, which may result in the migrants' inclusion in these structures or the retreat from them, or may enable them to move on while maintaining continued relations to the Refugio. In the case of the DXC, we only focus on those who have a specific occupation at the market (shop owners and tenants), and find that employment conditions and economic positions hierarchically regulate mobility, while having the potential to allow for multiple directions within and beyond the DXC.

5. Conversion Infrastructures as Places of Commercialization

The regulatory governance of the DXC and Refugio follow economic logics and increasingly financial motives. With regard to the DXC, assistance in the process of arrival is not offered due to universal solidarity within the community, but is in fact based on the mutual fulfilment of each other's needs. An interviewed DXC trader underlines this observation: "If you come from Vietnam, you find a community here that helps you….And for us traders, this means we have more opportunities to employ workers." While newcomers are looking for quick opportunities for employment, shop owners are in search of cheap and flexible labor. The DXC functions as a cultural hub, but has attracted (supra-)regional attention for being unique and culturally valuable for Vietnamese and other people, which in turn has made it an 'insider tip' for many Berlin tourists. This popularity is also a result of and partly grounded in the motivation of Vietnamese entrepreneurs to capitalize on the DXC's cultural features, providing visitors with authentic 'Vietnam experiences.' The financial and economic rationales are also reflected in the transformation of the market itself. The diversification of the wholesale center into a multipurpose bazar

attracting a broad variety of visitors can be read as a component of the owner's expansion strategy. The promotion of the center as a cultural hub is therefore also utilized as a measure to increase the numbers of visitors, thereby ensuring the prosperity of the wholesale and retail operations.

Similar to the DXC but on a smaller scale, there has been a commercialization of the Refugio's cultural and social characteristics. The opening up of the Refugio by providing Berlin's migrant communities with open language cafés, counseling meetings, and by renting out space to small companies, organizations, and for external events have resulted in the Refugio becoming a social and cultural hub. However, this strategy is linked to economic rationales. The City Mission rents the space to the Refugio. In turn, the Refugio pays for this through the rent from residents and small businesses, and from events. In the past, the Refugio often struggled to cover its expenses and to pay its rent to the City Mission. As a result, the City Mission has pushed the Refugio management and residents to generate greater revenue, by renting out more space for business and events. This strategy will ultimately ensure the financial existence of the project, but it contradicts and endangers its initial ambition of being a multicultural, participatory communal housing project that creates solidarity (Baban & Rygiel, 2017). Consequently, the German couple who founded and managed the Refugio until 2017 were replaced, and the community work—which up to then had occupied a large proportion of the City Mission's employees in the Refugio—changed into administering events and rentals. A social worker who has been working at Refugio for the past few years criticized this development:

> The soul of this project has changed….And I believe if the management is more concerned with the profitability than it is with the community, it is not really conducive for a project like this….And it is also difficult for residents when the management only embodies administration, rental contracts, and all these aspects, where some residents may not even dare to approach them.

For both institutions, the increasing pressure to establish themselves as attractions and to become and remain viable has characterized their conversion (Cave, Ryan, & Panakera, 2003). The commodification of culture and of the particular characteristics of the DXC and Refugio, as well as the reproduction of ethnicity, is important for their survival and advancement (Lee, 1992). The Refugio has to monetize its community and cultural character in order to maintain its participatory and community-oriented characteristics. It has to open the house up for external uses and provide services to refinance the project and make it profitable for the City Mission. The DXC applies and emphasizes particular cultural and ethnic characteristics (Asia Town, Little Hanoi, etc.) to further expand, increase acceptance, and attract the non-Vietnamese visitors necessary for its further development. The Refugio's development from a socio-cultural infrastructure into a commercial one and DXC's diversification from a mere economic to a multipurpose urban space—encompassing economic as well as cultural functions—have resulted in the growing importance of these infrastructures. However, this transformation also exposes them more to regulatory institutions and financial, bureaucratic, and legal pressures, which put their existence and further development on shaky ground: The contract between the Refugio and the City Mission is annually negotiated and can potentially be terminated at short notice and the DXC continues to develop social and cultural usage on its land without legal permission. So far, authorities have turned a blind eye to these developments, probably because they see the advantages of the DXC for Lichtenberg. However, they could restrict them altogether. The two institutions depend on the courtesy and willingness of the local authorities and the City Mission, which may change with different political will and actors.

6. The Potential of Conversion Infrastructures

In this article, we contribute to current migration and urban studies debates on infrastructures by particularly focusing on their transformative power and their workings as infrastructures of conversion. We believe that this approach allows for a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the constitution and operation of infrastructures and their functions. This angle enables us to unravel the rationalities and consequences of the emergence and development of infrastructures, in which we give evidence that they produce and are produced by continued conversion practices that impact on their material space, their meanings and missions, and the people inhabiting them. With regard to our cases, these illustrate that conversion infrastructures can take very different shapes and functions. The DXC and Refugio emerged from profoundly distinct circumstances and origins, and with diverse missions, yet their transformations illustrate significant similarities. While they initially started as a social infrastructure (the Refugio) and migrant economy (the DXC) aiming to serve 'their own' communities, they have transformed into cultural and commercial infrastructures that attract a broader audience. They have simultaneously become sites of intense regulation that results from the entanglement of internal structures and hierarchies, as well as from external factors such as local authorities and institutions. Of course, this development raises the question of the extent to which migrant-produced or migrant-impelled conversion infrastructures generally face commercialization along their transformation, and how much these processes precisely shape migrant mobilities. While in this article we are only able to provide a limited view on the trajectories and directions of migrants inhabiting and using the DXC and Refugio, we do provide some evidence that the way in

which conversion infrastructures transform changes the positions and paths of migrants.

The evolution of the DXC and Refugio confirms the importance for scholars to analyze the transformative characteristics of infrastructures, and the determinants and mechanisms relevant to their transformation. As infrastructural approaches become more relevant in studying the organization of urban life and migration, a focus on conversion also helps us to understand and explain the general negotiation of social, cultural, and economic questions (Schnitzler, 2016). Conversion infrastructures exemplify exercises of power that not only constitute infrastructures, but that are also a response to developments in society. They illustrate attempts at place making and claims to the city, because in our examples, they emerged as a reaction to the lack of economic and cultural opportunities for Vietnamese Berliners and the absence of valuable forms of housing for forced migrants. Their conversion reveals the infrastructures' attempts to maintain and expand their positions in the urban realm, but also shows the pressures and rationalities they are confronted with to do so. The practice of conversion exemplifies the negotiations about the sovereignty of the two infrastructures and the constant struggle about who and what decides their functions and future directions. Their conversion has resulted in both infrastructures becoming central players in the representation of migrant communities and cultures in Berlin. This position is a result of—and comes with—regulatory and economic forces and structures, but also with power.

The DXC and Refugio have become political terrains that defy normative social rules, governmental structures, and assimilatory understandings of migrant integration. Examples of this include the debate on social mixing and the problematization of the voluntary concentration of immigrants (the Refugio), and the fear of ethnic closures and closed parallel societies (the DXC). In both cases, people contest these regimes and question their purposes. Despite Lichtenberg's resistance, the DXC has begun the development of more cultural facilities. A new market hall was opened in 2018, but contrary to the requirements of the district's building regulations, it is used for cultural events. If controlled by authorities, the DXC pays the penalty charge and "continues the party" (Lichtenberg Councilwomen Birgit Monteiro, as cited in Koch-Klaucke, 2019; authors' translation). In the Refugio, we observed many concentration tendencies despite the official house rules, and some migrant residents have found ways to circumvent the top-down implemented and strict structures of participation and decision-making processes to negotiate their interests. The Refugio has also developed into a place of urban protest against racism, the restrictions of asylum laws, and the treatment of forced migrants. In both cases, people develop agency, question conditions and societal rules, and appear as political subjects. Conversion infrastructures are created through social relations and practices that have been developed in and as a result of movement. Because of their transformative power, they have the opportunity not only to quickly adapt to changing circumstances, but to also become political arenas for city making.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Between Hospitality and Inhospitality: The Janus-Faced 'Arrival Infrastructure'

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Abstract
Although 'arrival infrastructure' is central to the experience of migrants arriving in a new city, is it sufficient to form a 'hospitable *milieu*'? Our article compares newcomers' experiences with 'arrival infrastructure' in two European cities: Brussels and Geneva. Based on ethnographic research with 49 migrants who arrived a few months earlier, we show that arrival infrastructure is Janus-faced. On one hand, it welcomes newcomers and contributes to making the city hospitable. On the other hand, it rejects, deceives and disappoints them, forcing them to remain mobile—to go back home, go further afield, or just move around the city—in order to satisfy their needs and compose what we will call a 'hospitable *milieu*.' The arrival infrastructure's inhospitality is fourfold: linked firstly to its limitations and shortcomings, secondly to the trials or tests newcomers have to overcome in order to benefit from the infrastructure, thirdly to the necessary forms of closure needed to protect those who have just arrived and fourthly to those organising and managing the infrastructure, with divergent conceptions of hospitality. By using the notion of *milieu* and by embedding infrastructure into the broader question of hospitality, we open up an empirical exploration of its ambiguous role in the uncertain trajectories of newcomers.

Keywords
cities; hospitality; infrastructure; migration; *milieu*

Issue
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1. Introduction

The notion of 'arrival infrastructure' has increasingly been used over the last five years to describe the places, services, institutions, technologies and practices with which migrants are confronted in their process of arrival in a new city. The notion of infrastructure allowed scholars to see beyond the 'arrival neighbourhood' and to locate the process of arrival in a much wider context (Meeus, Arnaut, & van Heur, 2019). Although scholars acknowledge the ambivalent role of arrival infrastructure, it mostly bears positive connotations and is sometimes equated with resources. We recognise that the lack of such infrastructure is problematic for migrants, but we also warn against the idea that it is automatically hospitable to newcomers. We argue that, owing to its ambiguity, arrival infrastructure is Janus-faced. On the one hand, it welcomes newcomers and contributes to making the city hospitable. On the other hand, it rejects, deceives and disappoints them, forcing them to remain mobile—to go back home, go further afield, or just move around the city—in order to satisfy their needs and compose what we will call a 'hospitable *milieu*.' Sometimes, arrival infrastructure even leads newcomers

to reconsider their project of settling and to continue their journey.

Through ethnographic research and interviews with newcomers who arrived in Brussels and Geneva no longer than six months earlier, we analysed where they slept, but also where they spent their days and what they did. We argue that arrival infrastructure can be inhospitable in four ways which are paradoxically induced by properties and characteristics designed to stabilize the reception potential of the arrival infrastructure. Firstly, in order to secure a certain turnover and avoid appropriations, infrastructure always comes with limitations and shortcomings in terms of duration, space and amenities. For example, night shelters limit the number of consecutive overnight stays and close during the day. Secondly, the limitation of accessibility implies that benefiting from infrastructure requires overcoming certain trials or tests. These can be administrative (filling out a form) or logistical (arriving at a particular location or picking up a ticket in the morning to get a meal at noon). Thirdly, hospitality necessarily requires forms of closure to protect those who seek refuge. Low-threshold infrastructure can hardly be hospitable while being completely and permanently open and accessible to everyone (Trossat, 2019). Fourthly, social workers, activists and stakeholders organising and managing infrastructure have divergent conceptions of hospitality and aim to foster different types of relationship. Depending on who has the upper hand, infrastructure can be, to varying degrees, the centre of an inhospitable *milieu*.

What are the consequences of this ambivalent hospitality for newcomers? How do they create for themselves a 'hospitable *milieu*,' not only to meet their basic needs but also to pursue more consistent and elaborate plans or projects? The comparison of our two cases will raise questions concerning the link between the density of the arrival infrastructure and how easy it will be for newcomers to settle in. On one hand, Geneva is one of the wealthiest cities in the world, offering rather large and diverse arrival infrastructure. However, finding housing and a stable source of income there seems more complicated than in Brussels. On the other hand, some newcomers do not wish to stay in Brussels, but rather see the Belgian capital as a stopover on their way to England. Newcomers' expectations of the arrival infrastructure are therefore variable.

2. From Arrival Area to Arrival Infrastructure

Studying arrival areas has a long tradition in urban sociology. Chicago School scholars studied the 'ports of first entry' (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1984) in the largest Midwest City. Their ecological and functional model implied that immigrants concentrated in specific areas. Cities with such areas were later labelled 'gateway cities' (Burghardt, 1971). Typically, large metropolitan areas with important immigrant populations were viewed as entrance points for immigrants. Apart from some optimistic depiction of the 'arrival city' (see Saunders, 2012), where newcomers experience upward social mobility as they settle down permanently, arrival areas have also been described as places of exclusion and of fierce competition. Just like the ghetto, the 'arrival city' can be both a sword and a shield (Wacquant, 2005, 2018). It can be both a place of confinement and control, and a place of (self)protection.

The literature also raises the issue of scale: the arrival space ranges from the large metropolitan area such as Los Angeles (Benton-Short, Price, & Friedman, 2005) to a wasteland or a park turned into an ephemeral 'camp,' as we can see with the Calais 'jungle' in France (Agier, 2018; Djigo, 2016), or with Maximilian Park, a public park next to the Brussels North train station which, since 2015, has on several occasions been transformed into a camp for migrants (see Depraetere & Oosterlynck, 2017; see also Carlier & Berger, 2019; Deleixhe, 2018; Lafaut & Coene, 2019). The notion of infrastructure has allowed scholars to see beyond the 'arrival neighbourhood' and—following a post-colonial sensibility—to locate the process of arrival in a much wider context. For instance, Xiang and Lindquist defined 'migration infrastructure' as "the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility" (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014, p. 122). Hall and colleagues argued that the 'migrant infrastructure' "is subject to a multitude of interpretations and events well beyond the confines of the neighbourhood" (Hall, King, & Finlay, 2017, p. 1313). For example, they show that the 'migrant infrastructure' in Birmingham and Leicester is shaped by the reaches of the former British Empire and by a more recent phenomenon like the 2008 financial crisis. They also show that the geography of the 'migrant infrastructure' is connected with the industrial past of these cities, explaining "why certain migrants 'land' in certain parts of the city" (Hall et al., 2017, p. 1315). However, while the notion of 'migration infrastructure' (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014) focuses on what makes people move, 'migrant infrastructure' (Hall et al., 2017) refers to a long-term process of 'migrant sedimentation.' These notions do not exactly focus on the process of arrival or 'transit' (Djigo, 2016).

With the concept of 'arrival infrastructure,' scholars proposed an alternative to teleological and normative understandings of the notion of 'arrival neighbourhood' (Meeus et al., 2019). This concept "emphasizes the continuous and manifold 'infrastructuring practices' by a range of actors in urban settings, which create a multitude of 'platforms of arrival and take-off' within, against, and beyond the infrastructures of the state" (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 2). Although scholars acknowledge its ambivalent role, arrival infrastructure mostly bears positive connotations. For example, Boost and Oosterlynck (2019, p. 154) explain that "arrival infrastructures provide migrants with (in)formal job opportunities, cheap and accessible housing, supportive social networks." However, scholars also insist on the contingency of the experi-

ences of infrastructure (Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & De Decker, 2019; van Heur, 2017). As Graham and Marvin (2001, p. 11) put it: "The construction of spaces of mobility and flow for some, however, always involves the construction of barriers for others." The question of access to arrival infrastructure is often limited to legal status differences. Undocumented newcomers do not have access to infrastructure to which refugees have access, for example. However, the literature on non-take-up of social benefit shows that the mechanisms preventing people from benefiting from forms of assistance to which they are entitled are manifold, ranging from the difficulty in gathering the necessary information to the shame experienced by potential users. How these factors affect access to arrival infrastructure remains to be investigated.

Then, access is not the only issue, especially in the case of newcomers in transit. Indeed, scholars have criticised the overdetermined and unidirectional trajectory implied by the notion of arrival area: Migrants are considered as having reached their final destination and being engaged in a process of settlement (Schrooten & Meeus, 2019). There is a risk of overlooking forms of migration without settlement, such as movement of guest workers, or of migrants who have not 'arrived' but are on their way to a further and uncertain destination. How do these newcomers 'in transit' experience infrastructure meant to help them settle? In this regard, Price and Benton-Short (2008) suggest other functions to what they call 'gateway cities,' besides that of entry point. Gateway cities could also be "nodes of collection and dispersion of goods and information, highly segregated settings, sites of global cultural exchange, turnstiles for other destinations, and urban immigrant destinations and settlements" (Price & Benton-Short, 2008, p. 34). We will draw on this expanded conceptualisation, implying that such cities do not only welcome people who wish to settle there, but also people who are passing through.

In our research and in this article, we make use of the concept of 'arrival infrastructure' and introduce the idea of a 'hospitable *milieu*.' The concept of *milieu*—inherited from the schools of urban ecology, pragmatism and pragmatic sociology (Stavo-Debauge, 2020)—conveys a sense of active transaction between human behaviour and its environment. Derived from von Uexküll's notion of *Umwelt*, *milieu* designates the perceived and appropriated environment that emerges amid the attempts of an organism, whether human or non-human, to maintain and locate its form of life. As Dewey (1948) recalls, a *milieu* is "not something around and about human activities in an external sense." It is rather "*inter*mediate in the execution of carrying out all human activities, as well as being the channel *through* which they move, and the vehicle *by* which they go on" (Dewey, 1948, p. 198, emphasis in original). Von Uexküll's metaphor perhaps says it even better: "Every subject spins out, like the spider's threads, its relations to certain qualities of things, and weaves them into a solid web, which carries its existence" (von Uexküll, 2010, p. 53).

By mobilising the notion of *milieu*, we aim to emphasise that studying a network of infrastructures is not sufficient: What matters is to understand their role in the making of a 'hospitable *milieu*' that allows for each newcomer, alone or collectively, to take her place—temporarily or in the long term—in the city. We claim that such a shift towards both the question of hospitality and the processual concept of *milieu* is necessary in order to account for the Janus-faced nature of arrival infrastructure. The hospitality of a *milieu* depends on its capacity to make room for newcomers, protect them from hostility, fulfil their needs, sustain their 'engagements' (Thévenot, 2007) and help them realise their projects, which may or may not entail a desire to belong to the city. This analytical shift is similar to the one Sen proposed with his 'capability' approach where he invited us to consider not only the distribution but also the condition of appropriation of resources necessary to participate in the constitution of a life judged as 'worth living' (Sen, 1985).

3. Investigating Newcomers in Brussels and Geneva

To analyse the Janus-face of arrival infrastructure and its (in)ability to constitute relevant hospitable *milieux*, we designed an ethnographic study focusing on the newcomers and their daily activities during their first months in the city. Our research took place in two (partly) French-speaking cities—Brussels and Geneva—that we consider as 'ordinary cities' (Robinson, 2006). Both cities perform a function of regional and national centrality in a region divided by administrative borders. The Brussels Capital Region comprises 19 municipalities and two linguistic communities for 1.2 million inhabitants concentrated within 161 km^2, while the Canton of Geneva is made up of 45 communes containing 585,000 inhabitants within 285 km^2 (the city of Geneva itself forms one of the communes and has around 200,000 inhabitants). On a broader scale, Brussels metropolitan area's population is over 2.6 million, while the Grand Genève is a cross-border agglomeration encompassing 209 municipalities, some in Switzerland, others in France, with a population of 1 million. We believe it is elucidating to compare such different cases in order to develop a transversal approach to cities' hospitality towards newcomers. Both urban areas have a long history of migration and a large population of foreign origin, and both continue to receive newcomers who challenge their (in)hospitality (Necker, 1995; Rea, 2013; Remund, 2012; Wauters, 2017).

Although we also interviewed activists, social workers and stakeholders, and led observations where they work, our analysis focuses here on those who depend upon arrival infrastructure: newcomers. They are more or less welcomed by "those who were already there and who together have appropriated the environment for their use" (Stavo-Debauge, 2017, p. 23). The notion of 'newcomer' reminds us that migrants or foreigners are

not necessarily newcomers, as their arrival sometimes goes back years. Moreover, this notion allows for an investigation of the process of arrival, which for the purpose of our research we delimited to the first six months, in order to focus on the early stages of familiarisation. This concept also facilitates the comparison between Geneva and Brussels. Indeed, in Belgium, the notion of 'transmigrant' is commonly used to describe a category of newcomers in transit, as if they were categorically distinct from other kinds of migrants (see Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995, p. 48, for other contexts where the word describes migrants "whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders." For a critical perspective on the notion, see de Massol de Rebetz, 2018). Our interest lies in people who have arrived recently—irrespective of their projects, destination or legal status—and who rely on 'arrival infrastructure' and search for hospitable *milieux*, even if they might not plan on settling in the city and belonging to its political community.

We focused on newcomers who can be described as poor, not necessarily because they "suffer specific deficiencies and deprivations," as Simmel put it, but because they "receive assistance or should receive it according to social norms" (Simmel, 1965, p. 138). The newcomers we met were unfamiliar with their new environment, they lacked a stable income and faced precarious housing situations. This made them all the more dependent on the infrastructure that is supposed to facilitate their arrival and provide them with an ounce of hospitality.

In Brussels, we interviewed 24 newcomers. They were originally from Afghanistan, Algeria, Chili, Colombia, Egypt, Eritrea, Iran, Morocco, Peru, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Spain, Syria and Turkey, and aged between 18 and 42 years. They had been in Brussels an average of five months at the time of the interview. In Geneva, we interviewed 25 people, originally from Cameroon, Colombia, Ecuador, France, Gambia, Morocco, Peru, Romania, Salvador, Senegal, Syria, Turkey and the USA. They had been in Geneva an average of three months at the time of the interview. They were aged between 23 and 55.

We used several recruitment channels. We volunteered in organisations in order to get to know the population better and to get in touch with newcomers. Then, some participants introduced us to other potential participants. Finally, we met participants by chance on the street, in cafés and on trains. With most of them, we had the chance to conduct a semi-structured interview that we recorded and transcribed. With others, we had informal conversations and took notes. In each case, we made sure they understood that their involvement was voluntary, anonymous and that they could withdraw at any time.

We asked newcomers about their first weeks or months. They told us where they had been sleeping, where they had been eating, where they had sought information and advice, where they had been taking language classes and where they had killed time or kept themselves warm (most interviews took place during autumn and winter 2019). Based on their accounts, we tried to understand how they came to attend each part of the infrastructure, and what led them to stop going to such and such place. Newcomers explained how they had been received, but also how they had been rejected, deceived and disappointed, allowing us to distinguish between four dimensions on arrival infrastructure's inhospitality.

4. From 'Arrival Infrastructure' to 'Hospitable *Milieu*'

Our proposal to move from the notion of infrastructure to that of *milieu* is based on four dimensions of the Janus-faced arrival infrastructure. The first has to do with the limitations of the infrastructure itself, in terms of what it can offer to newcomers. The second has to do with the trials that condition access to the infrastructure and what it can offer. However, and this is the third point, accessibility is not necessarily enough and it may even limit hospitality. The fourth element concerns the actors involved in the arrival infrastructure and who may have conflicting understandings of what hospitality is. Lastly, we will insist on how a hospitable *milieu* lies in a transaction between the individual, with his or her characteristics and aspirations, and an environment that not only allows the newcomer to arrive, but also invites him or her to stay.

4.1. The Inevitable Limitations of Arrival Infrastructure

Firstly, institutional infrastructure always comes with limitations and shortcomings in terms of duration, space and amenities. This has to do with two typical and historical concerns of social institutions: the fear of unequal treatment and of abusive appropriation (Pattaroni, 2007). To address these concerns, various rules are set to avoid people staying too long and making themselves at home. The case of night shelters is exemplary. In Brussels and Geneva, most of them limit the number of consecutive overnight stays. For example, the Salvation Army's shelter in Geneva allows ten nights every month. After his ten nights there, Amadou—a 40-year-old Cameroonian we met one month after his arrival—went to the office where the local authorities issued a card that allowed him to stay for 30 nights in an underground shelter on the other side of the city. After a few nights, these confined housing conditions caused him to have epileptic seizures. Twice he woke up in the hospital, and some of his belongings left at the shelter were stolen. Amadou had left his public sector job in Cameroon temporarily with the hope to open an art gallery in Geneva. He never expected such a harsh living and housing experience: "There's no windows, it's a bunker. And there are some people (who) are in bad shape (and) that are very difficult to live with. I am not used to such living conditions." In Geneva, the use

of anti-atomic shelters—renamed 'bunkers'—to provide temporary housing has been denounced as a strategy to deter new arrivals or repel newcomers (Del Biaggio & Rey, 2017).

Furthermore, these places close during the day. Although he feels that Geneva is rather generous and does a lot regarding "social issues," Amadou deplores the limited hours of the shelters: "Even on Sundays, you have to wake up at seven in the morning and leave at eight….Even if we have nothing to do, even if it rains or snows." Others, however, have had positive experiences with the shelters. Mehdi is of Moroccan origin and is 50 years old. He arrived 40 days before our interview and spent 25 days in the same shelter as Amadou. By contrast, he is used to living in difficult conditions and although he also complains about the opening hours, he thinks the underground shelter is "really good. It's the best, actually. You sleep, then have a shower, a breakfast….''

These two cases illustrate the conflictual nature of these shelters that welcome newcomers and at the same time are sometimes experienced as so inhospitable that they damage their guests' health. Some staff we spoke to would like to do more to accommodate their guests' needs if they had the means to do so. Others accepted this relative inhospitality, explaining that their primary mission is to provide emergency housing, not to offer long-term solutions. As usually stated by social workers driven by ideals of autonomy and activation (Cantelli & Genard, 2007), hospitality should not lead to dependency. This dimension of an infrastructure's inhospitality is thus not necessarily due to a lack of funding or of resources. The stakeholders organising the arrival infrastructure either wanted to prevent their users from settling in, or wished to focus on one type of service, or on one group of users, and thus voluntarily limited the extent of their hospitality. Incidentally, an important part of their work was to redirect users to other organisations. As a result, newcomers who depended on them had to navigate their way between multiple infrastructures in order to meet their needs.

4.2. The Trials of Arrival Infrastructure

Secondly, to profit from infrastructure requires overcoming trials and tests. The literature on 'non-take-up' of social benefits and assistance reveals that people sometimes lack awareness of their rights, but also sometimes lack the capacity to actualise them (van Oorschot, 1991). Indeed, complex administrative procedures complicate access. Moreover, the value of individual responsibility and a moral obligation to be self-sufficient lead people to not claim benefits despite being eligible for them. The same analysis applies to arrival infrastructure. Benefiting from it requires overcoming trials or tests.

The most obvious test is getting to know what is available. In the course of newcomers' first days in the city, social and community workers as well as internet pages and information boards provide addresses where they can seek assistance, food, shelter, clothes, etc. Newcomers also usually rely on word of mouth for recommendations. Those who had met and asked well-informed people, but also those who master French and know how to read information on paper and online, knew a significant amount about the arrival infrastructure. However, even in the smaller city of Geneva, and despite various organisations' communication efforts, the newcomers we met were always unaware of important opportunities and relevant amenities.

Then, knowing about the arrival infrastructure is not enough. To newcomers unfamiliar with the city and its language, finding their way around is a real test. Yonas—from Eritrea—had arrived in Brussels two months before we met. Once, he had an appointment with a lawyer who could have helped him with his asylum application: "I was looking for the address and I was close to there, you know, and my battery went off, my phone…and I've lost the address." Navigating the city and finding addresses are a crucial part of the process of arrival. It is no surprise that many newcomers told us of having invested some of their scarce economic resources in a local SIM card and public transport pass, often right after their arrival.

John, a 24-year-old Portuguese resident born in Gambia, had arrived two months before we met in Geneva. As he intensively searched for work and tried to distribute his resume to as many companies as possible, he insisted on the importance of his phone's GPS: "People tell me 'go to this place, this street,' I would not understand [because I don't speak French]. But when I put it in my phone, I can go directly." A friend of his buys him 30 francs (about 28 EUR) credit every month. These 30 francs might seem a superfluous expense for a person who has to monitor his expenditure scrupulously. But without a smartphone, the arrival infrastructure would be partly inaccessible to newly arrived people. A migrant interviewed by the ARCH research team stated that losing his phone or having his phone stolen was the worst thing that could happen (Mannergren Selimovic, 2019).

Of course, the phone itself is part of a constellation including telecommunications providers, GPS services, apps, etc. Infrastructure can thus be virtual, as in the case of Facebook pages through which newcomers exchange advice and information. The smartphone is not only an audiovisual window and door to their former 'homes' (Guérin, 2019), it is also an essential arrival device, compensating for, as is the case for tourists but in a more vital way, the lack of 'familiarity' (Felder, 2020; Thévenot, 2007). It helps newcomers with 'spatial integration,' what Buhr defines as learning "where to find shelter, soup kitchens or to distinguish safe areas from no-go zones" (Buhr, 2018, p. 3). Importantly, as Buhr reminds us, "learning to navigate a city does not necessarily have to do with one feeling at home in that space or with feeling one belongs there. Rather than having a set of spatial coordinates, urban apprenticeship is about understanding how a city works" (Buhr, 2018, p. 3). However,

two newcomers do not have the same understanding of how the city works, as this knowledge is highly personal and localised. The concept of familiarity (Thévenot, 2007) thus better acknowledges the personal and ecological dimensions of newcomers' knowledge of how and where to find help and resources.

Finally, accessing arrival infrastructure also has a socio-psychological cost to reputation and self-worth. As suggested in the classical work of Margalit (1998) on the 'decent society,' what could be institutionally considered as 'just' and legitimate social aid could be experienced as humiliating. Exploring the experience of arrival infrastructure, we better understand how its appraisal depends on one's conception of dignity. Arman, an Iranian atheist seeking asylum in Brussels, stated that he stays away from soup kitchens and other humanitarian infrastructure as he is not at ease with heteronomous and asymmetrical relationships: "I don't like queues," he says, "I'd rather die than be like that" (he mimics begging). His case echoes the one of Diego, who arrived in Geneva from Colombia with a tourist visa and no intent to seek asylum. His uncle, who hosted him in his studio apartment, gave him one month to find a job. Diego attended free French classes but was reluctant to ask for other forms of help than that offered by his uncle: "I want to make a living on my own merit, you understand?" After having dropped dozens of resumes off to businesses, temporary staffing firms and even to passers-by, Diego resolved to leave Switzerland and try his luck in Spain, where he at least speaks the local language. His uncle bought him a plane ticket and directed him to an acquaintance in Catalonia. While unquestionably helpful to newcomers, arrival infrastructure (even the highly personal aspects) contains certain barriers to entry.

4.3. Openness and Accessibility Are Not Everything

A third way, intrinsic to hospitality, in which infrastructure can both welcome and repel (or even reject) lies in the contradictory combination of openness and protection—which implies appropriation and closure (Stavo-Debauge, 2017). The fact that shelters, soup kitchens and other low-threshold places are open to all paradoxically limits their ability to provide a peaceful and safe place. The collective shelter was not hospitable to Amadou because he did not have control over whom he had to share his room with and had no opportunity of appropriating the place in a personal and familiar manner.

As illustrated by its archetype of welcoming someone into your home, hospitality necessarily requires forms of closure to receive and protect those who seek refuge in its *milieu* (Stavo-Debauge, 2017). When Major—a young Eritrean we interviewed—first arrived in Brussels, he stayed only three days before going to the Netherlands where he remained for two months and two weeks. He came back and then went to Calais for five months in the hope of reaching the UK, before turning back and deciding to stay in Brussels. While there, Major avoided collective shelters: "[There's] too much stress…, it is too loud, there are a lot of people." He preferred to sleep by himself in what he called the 'Green Hotel' (i.e., the Maximilian Park), but soon stopped going to the park to avoid the company of its other occupants who were in a similar situation. "It's negative to see the others…if you live in the street, you cannot have dreams," he told us. Major abandoned his idea to reach the UK and resolved to seek asylum in Belgium. He was then hosted in two flats by two Belgian citizens who offered him the comfort of a room and the possibility of closing a door behind him. But being able to close a door and to rest in a safe place does not mean living in isolation, cut off from the outdoors. One of Major's hosts offered him a bicycle, which he used not only to reach his temporary home, but also, for example, to reach the language school run by the volunteers and located five kilometres south of the Northern Quarter, knowing that his belongings were stored safely at home. To compose a hospitable *milieu*, infrastructure cannot be completely and permanently open and accessible, as it shall offer protection from unwelcome social company, from public exposure and inquisitorial gazes and from other drawbacks of street life (Carlier, 2018).

4.4. The Human Dimension of Infrastructure

The fourth dimension concerns the actors involved in the arrival infrastructure. The degree to which infrastructure is welcoming and can be considered as a resource and safe, profitable place can be highly variable, as it is caught up in power struggles between parties with different conceptions of hospitality. For example, between 2014 and 2018, some material transformations occurred in and around the immediate vicinity of Maximilian Park in Brussels. If humanitarian NGOs, activists and concerned citizens, like those gathered around the Citizen's Platform (Deleixhe, 2018), tried to facilitate hospitality within the park and to foster a welcoming atmosphere, with various portable facilities and temporary arrangements, others were less inclined to do so. Public benches were displaced, CCTV cameras appeared, trees were cut down and fences were erected (as documented in Dresler, 2019). While the former had done their best to improve the experience of migrants, other actors did what they could to deter their presence.

People also intervene directly in the way infrastructure are experienced. For example, the staff at reception centres usually answer questions and inform, while some newcomers would need them not only to retrieve telephone numbers, but also to make the phone call for them. Newcomers experience this approach as a 'limited' hospitality (Thévenot & Kareva, 2018). The latter is formed and constrained by the 'liberal grammar of communality' where everybody (even unfamiliar newcomers) is treated—and is expected to act—as an 'autonomous individual.' More fundamentally, this raises the question of conflictual understandings of what a

good form of hospitality is, liberal forms being based on a non-interference principle where other 'grammars of hospitality' (Stavo-Debauge, 2017) expect more active engagement from the hosts.

People facilitating access to infrastructure (or turning a blind eye to heterodox uses of places) is therefore crucial. Be it waiters and waitresses who do not awake a newcomer sleeping at a café, park wardens who ignore or guard sleeping bags in Maximilian Park (Lempereur, 2019), citizens hosting newcomers in their houses or providing transportation with their cars, they are all temporary but essential parts of the infrastructure as they all contribute to ensuring a certain level of hospitality to newcomers. Having many 'qualities' besides a simple 'opening' (Stavo-Debauge, 2018), hospitality is duly judged by the newcomers who happen to be affected by limitations, constraints and requirements of places where they are received. In other words, people and places providing what may appear as valuable resources do not always positively affect newcomers' experience of hospitality.

Sometimes it is the whole city's potential to provide a hospitable *milieu* for the projects and aspirations of the newcomer that is questioned. Before heading to Geneva, Amadou had experienced staying in a small Swiss city in the Alpine region (population: 20,000), where he first arrived in Switzerland. While he had had the possibility of good housing conditions there, it rapidly became apparent to him that the small city was ill suited for his project to open an African art gallery. Driven by his desire to find an urban environment hospitable to—and suitable for—such a project, he quickly left the small city and went to Geneva, exchanging in the process a warm welcome at a friend's house for basic and precarious accommodation in a Salvation Army centre, before ending up in an underground shelter.

Being hosted by friends or relatives, however, is no guarantee of hospitality. In Brussels, even if he managed to obtain a place in an aunt's apartment, which would seem to offer a good level of hospitality, especially when friends of his slept in Maximilian Park, Omar still decided to leave this setting, judging that the hospitality on offer was "abusive":

> When I arrived here, the family in Senegal put me in touch with my aunt….In fact, I encountered quite a lot of difficulties. I was the one who bought the food, I helped with the electricity, the bills and everything, even the medicines, I was buying….Her home was her home, she was abusing the situation and that's why I left there.

In Omar's case, his aunt's hospitality was problematic due to being far from unconditional. However, not having to bear a financial burden is not always enough to make one appreciate the hospitality given. Migration scholarship sometimes depicts migrants' social networks only in a positive light. However, as Simone put it, people can be considered as forming part of an inhospitable infrastructure because they engage in transactions not necessarily based on solidarity (Simone, 2004, p. 419) or equity, raising the question of profit-oriented infrastructure and, too often, abusive ones as is the case with 'slumlords' or 'loan sharks.'

4.5. Looking for a Hospitable Milieu

Newcomers constantly experience the various dimensions of a Janus-faced arrival infrastructure, requiring active work to constitute a hospitable *milieu* that will allow them to find a satisfactory way to temporarily or more lastingly take their place in the city. The first side is welcoming and essential for their survival. It offers them a place to spend the night, to eat, to learn the local language, to work on a resume, etc. The other side, however, is less welcoming, as we have just shown. Even if this negative side can be experienced on the first day, it sometimes only appears once the most urgent issues are dealt with, when newcomers start to assess their new lives and try to fulfil their projects and desires. The search for a hospitable *milieu* may then involve mobility: going back home, going further afield, or just moving around the city.

The last time we met Amadou in Geneva, he was coping with life in the shelters. His plans to open an art gallery were slipping away and he was even considering returning home. One month after we met, Diego had left for Spain. He had been welcomed by his uncle who offered to let him sleep on the couch of his small studio for a month. But after this period, he was unable to find work on the informal labour market, so his uncle asked him to leave. In Brussels, Yonas applied for asylum and was subsequently forced to leave the city. The authorities sent him to an accommodation centre in Liege, where he now lives, despite coming back to Brussels regularly for interviews with migration officers. For newcomers, an obvious consequence of this Janus-faced, ambivalent welcome appears to be the obligation to be mobile. However, this mobility requires caution and risk assessment.

In Brussels, while Yonas remained very mobile, being forced to expand his 'arrival area,' other newcomers restricted their movements and made sure they did not hang around too much in open public spaces, especially at night. For them, the street is a place of 'mistrust' (Le Courant, 2016): mistrust of police control but also of ordinary civil interactions that can go wrong, and then possibly involve the police. Omar, a Senegalese man who once slept in Maximilian Park and now resides in the south of Brussels, often roams in Matongé, a neighbourhood with a large African population (Rea, 2013), but only during daylight. He told us:

> There are environments where, you see, it's a bit dangerous because often there are controls….If I'm not working, I'm at home, otherwise I'm in Matongé at my friends' house until seven, eight PM, then I go home.

> But then I have friends who go out at night. They ask me to go out and I say 'no, I don't go out at night.'

Such a fear is not equally distributed, even among the undocumented newcomers. It varies with their origins and phenotypes (are they part of a visible racialised minority or not?), their step in the migration process (are they still on the road or settling?), and their gender. In contrast to Omar's situation, Melissa—a 42-year-old Peruvian woman—had family members who hosted her and helped her with her daughter's education and finding a flat. Even if undocumented, she feels safe and she does not even mention the police among possible 'worries':

> So far we've had a lot of good experiences, we haven't had any problems at all, like racism or…no, no worries.…The most positive case is that even if we don't have proper papers, our children can study. That's the most positive.

These differences highlight the perceptual and relational dimensions of the *milieu*.

While we emphasised the experiences of inhospitality that cause newcomers to leave or consider leaving, not all of them had plans to stay. These are migrants "in transit who only stay…for the time it takes to find a way to cross the Channel to reach Great Britain," who "do not wish to apply for asylum in Belgium and are therefore neither protected by the Geneva Convention nor eligible for a place in reception centres" (Deleixhe, 2018, p. 131). Among them, some—like Major, whose case we described earlier—eventually build up a sufficiently hospitable *milieu* to decide to stay. However, others do not abandon their dream of reaching England. Sara had been in Brussels for two months when we met, but she had left Eritrea six months prior to that. She arrived in Italy, stayed there only one day before taking a bus to Brussels. She chose Brussels in order to go to England: "I knew it was good to come here to go to the UK." With a friend in the same situation, they spend, on average, one night outside attempting to travel to England and then one night in a collective shelter or in a 'family,' i.e., enjoying the private hospitality of citizen hosting set up by the Citizen's Platform. With her mind set on arriving in England, she did not care much about her living conditions in Brussels: "I don't care of cooking, of quality of food…the only thing important is 'I go UK.' When I wake up, I think 'I go UK' and that's it." To her, the park is part of a 'departure infrastructure,' a site where she can wait, protect herself from police hostility (Printz & Carlier, 2019) and 'organise' her journey to Great Britain. To people like her, infrastructure proves hospitable when it allows them to rest and sleep during daylight, as the night is a time for the 'try'—that is, when they take their chance to reach the UK.

The four dimensions of Janus-faced infrastructure make it difficult to assess beforehand how hospitable a city will be. We have seen that its ability to become a hospitable *milieu* for a newcomer depends not only on the characteristics and aspirations of the newcomers themselves, but also on the qualities of the infrastructure, the trials that limit access to it, its ability to provide protection, and finally the people who manage it. However, there are dimensions of the environment that affect all newcomers and either promote or limit their ability to weave, like von Uexküll's spider, a web to sustain their existence.

Although Geneva—one of the richest cities in the world—offers a rather large and diverse arrival infrastructure, finding housing and a stable source of income there seems more complicated than in Brussels. Geneva's saturated housing market and high cost of living can hardly be compensated for by the arrival infrastructure. While providing a more limited arrival infrastructure, Brussels seems more auspicious for the creation of hospitable *milieux*. However, some newcomers do not wish to stay there, but rather see the Belgian capital as a stopover on their way to the UK. Their expectations of the arrival infrastructure are therefore distinct. The newcomer with no intention of settling will tend to keep a very instrumental relation to infrastructure while this changes when someone starts familiarising themselves with a broader *milieu*.

5. Conclusion

This article tackled the Janus-face of arrival infrastructure. Although a lack of such infrastructure is problematic for newcomers, we showed that infrastructure does not automatically prove hospitable. On one hand, it welcomes newcomers and contributes to making the city hospitable. On the other hand, it *rejects*, *deceives* and *disappoints* them, forcing them to navigate between multiple parts of the infrastructure in order to satisfy their needs and compose a hospitable *milieu*. Indeed, as we have shown, infrastructure offers limited and often conditional resources. Moreover, accessing these resources involves overcoming trials (finding information, locating places, overcoming a sense of stigma, etc.). We have also shown that hospitality is not just a question of access, and that infrastructures that are open to everyone sometimes fail to provide the protective shield that some newcomers need. Finally, we discussed the sometimes conflicting positions of those who manage the infrastructures. Different 'grammars of hospitality' (Stavo-Debauge, 2017) coexist, ranging from a non-interference principle to more active engagement from the hosts.

This analysis casts the arrival infrastructure back into the broader and more ambiguous history of the management of poor and mobile populations. In his history of poverty, Geremek shows that the poor have almost always sparked both compassion and repression. In the Middle Ages, he wrote, "the gallows and the alms house have stood side by side" (Geremek, 1994, p. 8). Today,

this tension is particularly salient in the case of the mobile poor who face "compassionate repression" (Fassin, 2005, p. 362). Although migrants face increasing restrictions on their social and legal rights, they are nevertheless offered various forms of assistance by the state, NGOs or private citizens. The motives behind this assistance are de facto much more complex than the simple opposition of compassion and repression as they entail considerations of legal duty, moral responsibility, political solidarity and so on.

To better reflect this complexity, we have proposed the notion of 'hospitable *milieu*.' This notion of milieu challenges the idea that the hospitality of an environment towards a newcomer can be assessed beforehand as a function of its arrival infrastructure. The *milieu*, as we have shown, is shaped by a dynamic relationship between the individual and the environment. It emerges in the transaction between the potentialities of an environment and an individual with specific characteristics, aspirations, cognitive and practical skills, resources, and moral and political convictions. Such transaction and the specific role of the different characteristics of newcomers deserve further research. Of special interest is the question of the moral conceptions of what it means to be welcomed and helped in relation to different ideas of dignity and 'good' ways of life.

Notwithstanding those further developments, the notion of *milieu* appears essential as it reflects, on one hand, what the environment has to offer the newcomer: This includes the arrival infrastructure as understood by Meeus et al. (2019), but also the qualities of the social and built environment which, beyond the moment of arrival, will or will not allow the newcomer to take her place in the broader urban order. These include, for example, the general level of prices, which is much higher in Geneva than in Brussels, or the degree of openness in the labour and housing markets, which seems to be greater in Brussels than in Geneva.

On the other hand, the notion of *milieu* takes into account the different ways in which newcomers experience this environment and realise their projects in it. Importantly, we pointed out in the case of the 'transmigrants' in Brussels that this project does not always involve settling in. Importantly, the constitution of a milieu does not only depend on infrastructure and resources. For example, we have shown that the public space can be more or less hospitable depending on the gender, race, appearance, and legal status of the newcomer. Finally, hospitality cannot be limited to providing access and enabling survival. A hospitable *milieu* is one that invites the newcomer to stay.

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Article

Urban Arrival Infrastructures between Political and Humanitarian Support: The 'Refugee Welcome' Mo(ve)ment Revisited

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Abstract
Maximilian Park in Brussels was the site of a makeshift refugee camp for three months in 2015 when the institutional reception system was unable to provide shelter for newly arriving asylum seekers. Local volunteers stepped in, formed a civic initiative and organized a space of arrival under the banner 'Refugees Welcome!' The civic platform which emerged claimed and asserted (existing) rights for one specific group, asylum seekers, exclusively, and thus did not challenge the exclusive migration regime nor demand transformation. While such a humanitarian approach risks reproducing the exclusive border regime and the inequalities it engenders, political support is a disturbing rupture in the name of equality that resists normative classifications and inaugurates transformation. This article maps out the complex dialectical interrelation between political and humanitarian support and argues that political implications can only be understood through longer-term research, emphasizing processes of transformation that have resulted from these moments of disruption. Therefore, the article revisits Maximilian Park two and four years after the camp and reveals how the humanitarian approach chosen in the camp sustainably transformed the park, adding arrival infrastructures beyond the institutional, and had an impact on how refugees were dealt with and represented. Concluding, the article suggests the notion of 'solidary humanitarianism' that providing supplies, meeting acute existential needs and simultaneously articulating political claims that demand structural transformation: the right to shelter, basic supply, presence, and movement for all in the city.

Keywords
arrival policies; Belgium; Brussels; humanitarianism; irregular migration; solidarity; space of arrival; transmigrants

Issue
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1. Introduction

> A young man approaches us, asking us in English if we could help him. This question irritates me, as does his demanding approach. I reply, asking him how could I help him? Now it seems that I have irritated him. In poor English, he again asks me, if I could help him. Not knowing how to respond and without any clue of his expectations, I again ask, how could I help him. After this question was exchanged again and again Thomas intervenes asking if they'd need any support when the police come in the evening as announced to 'clear up the park.' He turned down this offer and we continue the question-game and eventually after I reformulate the question explicitly asking what he wants or needs, he points to my jacket. It's the end of September in Brussels, the evenings are chilly and the nights are cold. I explain that I only brought one jacket with me to Brussels so I can't give it away. He lists other things: food, drinks, a sleeping bag.
>
> I try to direct the discussion again in a *political* direction, asking whether we should organize with other local activists to impede the police's entry to the park. Rejecting this, he explains that any contact with the police is to be avoided and when informed,

> they leave the park and return several hours later, once the police have left. (author's research diary, 21 September 2017)

The man I met in Maximilian Park in the center of Brussels, departed from Eritrea passing through Brussels on his way to his chosen terminus of Great Britain. Approaching me, a female middle-class student from Austria entering the park with a (also western European male) friend, he expected material donations—essentials for survival. He did not want to address the constant threat of police violence, detention centers or deportation—the structural mechanisms and inequalities that caused his precarious situation in the first place. This encounter illustrates the main arguments of this article. First, the question "How can you help me?" and the subsequent dialogue point to the ambiguity of support—both humanitarian and political. Second, it indicates a transformation of Maximilian Park, its meaning, its use, and the expectation attached to one's presence there, since the events of 2015, when the public park was the site of a makeshift refugee camp.

After an interruption of the governmental reception procedure in August 2015, local volunteers (citizens as well as registered and undocumented 'non-citizens') came to support the newcomers building and organizing an informal refugee-camp in Maximilian Park. In the making of the camp, the civic initiative *Plateforme Citoyenne de soutien aux Réfugiés* (Citizens' Platform in Support of Refugees; henceforth referred to as Platform) was formed and it took the lead in organizing the whole camp. Hosting up to 1,000 refugees, the camp lasted for three months. Only once the federal government again guaranteed shelter for all asylum seekers did the Platform withdraw from the park, after which the camp was dismantled.

In the 'long summer of migration' (Kasparek & Speer, 2015), institutional infrastructures failed to accommodate the high number of arriving refugees not only in Belgium but throughout Europe. This period of disruption lead in many cities (and borderlands) to arrival spaces where refugees were left without any institutional support. Under the motto 'Refugees Welcome' a manifold of civic initiatives emerged to fill the gaps, supporting the newcomers, and some might say supporting the state too (see van Dyk & Misbach, 2016, for critical discussion on the governmental instrumentalization of community resources and unpaid labor legitimized by the 'state of emergency'). These diverse activities included, amongst others, organizing arrival spaces, hosting refugees in private homes, organizing language courses, and creating buddy systems.

A growing body of (predominantly German) scholarly discussion has emerged in recent years reflecting on the summer of 2015, the motives of the volunteers to engage (Frykman & Mäkelä, 2019; Hamann & Karakayali, 2016; Karakayali & Kleist, 2015, 2016), the structure and the mode of organization of the initiatives that emerged (Karakayali & Kleist, 2015, 2016), as well as the use of ICT and social media to communicate, organize and create networks (Koca, 2016; Sutkutė, 2019). Furthermore, scholars have elaborated on the chances and possibilities these spaces and moments opened up to enact alternatives to the usual procedure of institutionalized professional asylum reception. They argue that these new spaces of encounter provide chances for the creation of relationships and friendships between locals and newcomers that facilitate processes of 'integration' (Aumüller, Daphi, & Biesenkamp, 2015; Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; Hamann & Karakayali, 2016; Heins & Unrau, 2018).

While in Germany, chancellor Angela Merkel called on German society for support in filling the emerging gaps in the institutional refugee supply, claiming 'We can do it!' (*Wir schaffen das!*), the sociopolitical climate in Belgium was different and, as in many other European countries, governmental authorities took an anti-refugee stance. Attempting to dissuade asylum seekers from applying to stay in the country, Theo Francken the state secretary for asylum and migration (from the right-wing Flemish Nationalist Party) sent out semi-official letters stating the government's inability to provide housing and assistance for newcomers (Vandevoordt & De Praetere, 2016). Further, the government decided to limit the asylum-registrations to a maximum of 250 per day, leaving hundreds of asylum seekers with no institutional supply. Under these circumstances, civic welcoming initiatives were subverting the government's approach "not so much through the form in which they manifest themselves, but through their implicit opposition to the ruling sociopolitical climate" (Vandevoordt & De Praetere, 2016, p. 17).

Moreover, emphasizing the disruptive and potentially transformative effects on migrant discourses and representations (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017), the widespread engagement of local people in welcoming refugees demonstrates an endorsement of the newcomers and a statement against rising xenophobic and racist inclinations (Benček & Strasheim, 2016; Vandevoordt & De Praetere, 2016). Welcoming refugees disrupts discourses of migrants as a threat to culture and/or security (Darling, 2014; Hermann & Neumann, 2018; Walters, 2004). However, the humanitarian logic substituted these imaginaries by its representation of dependent poor victims in need of care and support (Darling, 2013; Pupavac, 2008; Ticktin, 2006; Walters, 2006). Thus, migrants find themselves reduced to being mere objects of either pity or hatred (Rancière, 1998, pp. 31–32), in either case, excluded from political partaking and deprived their political subjectivity (Isin & Rygiel, 2007).

Consequently, the transformative potential of 'Refugees Welcome' is limited, since it identifies the 'poorest,' choosing asylum seekers (preferably Syrian women and children) as worthy of support, while other immigrants are often not welcomed and are again excluded (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; Pupavac, 2008;

Saltiel, in press; Ticktin, 2006). 'Refugees Welcome' claims compliance with rights, as guaranteed by national and international law for one specific group. Such a humanitarian approach, even if subversive and disruptive to some extent, does risk reproducing the exclusive border regime and the inequalities it engenders. Therein lies the difference between the humanitarian moral and the ‚political' in Rancière's (1992, 1998, 2001, 2016) understanding, that is a radical disturbing rupture, an intervention into the visible and sayable in the name of equality which resists normative classifications.

This article maps out the complex dialectical interrelation between political and humanitarian support. I argue, that political implications can only be understood through longer-term research, with an emphasis on processes of transformation (spatial and temporal) that have (or have not) resulted from these moments of disruption (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017; Kaika & Karaliotas, 2014; Swyngedouw, 2014). The article aims to add to the discussion on the disruptive, transformative potential of civic 'Refugees Welcome' initiatives by adding a longer-term perspective, which has remained absent from the debate until now. It revisits the site of the refugee camp, as well as the civic initiative that emerged, two (2017) and four years (2019) later revealing how the humanitarian approach chosen in the Camp Maximillian sustainably transformed the park, adding arrival infrastructures beyond the institutional, and had an impact on how refugees (not merely asylum seekers) were dealt with and represented in Brussels.

I suggest an understanding of 'solidary humanitarianism' that, next to providing humanitarian services reacting to acute existential needs, articulates political claims and inaugurates transformation. A 'solidary humanitarian' approach demands the right to existential supply, the right to housing, the right to movement and presence—the right to the city for all. Not dwelling on socio-legal subject positionalities, it does not reproduce the exclusive border regime nor the classifications it engenders—neither in uncritically supporting governmental 'crisis responses' (in the case of Germany) nor in merely opposing them/the lack thereof (in Belgium).

This article starts with revisiting Rancière's (1992, 1998, 2001, 2016) political–police dialectic, to understand how the border regime and the humanitarian moral act within the logic of the 'police.' This is followed by an examination of the perspective of 'Autonomy of Migration,' that emphasizes migrants as powerful political agents, framing their movement as a mode of interruption. Autonomy of Migration provides an alternative to the dominant discourses of victimhood and criminalization, stressing the political autonomy and agency of migrants, opening up possibilities for solidarity. Drawing on Dikeç and Swyngedouw's (2017) differentiation between political and social movements, the subsequent section analyzes two movements that address issues of migration movements ('No Borders' and 'Refugees Welcome') that took two different approaches and alter regarding their political potential. This analysis not only illustrates what separates a humanitarian moral from a political claim but also points to the limits of Rancière's conceptualization in activist practice regarding the dilemma of classification and identification. Once the methodological approach is presented, the processes in and around Maximilian Park are discussed with respect to the interplay between humanitarian aid and political support. Emphasizing transformations implied by the events of 2015, it starts with the emergence of the refugee camp in 2015, followed by an exploration of the park and the Platform four years later in 2019. The article concludes with a discussion on the Platform's strategy and its limitations, eventually proposing the notion of 'solidary humanitarianism.'

2. Police vs. Political: The Antagonistic Notion and Its Transformative Implications

Rancière (2016) defines the 'police' regime as a highly exclusive force instituted by the post-political consensus arrangement. This hegemonic order divides societies into groups "dedicated to specific modes of action and legitimizes forms of domination and hierarchies of places and people" (Rancière, 2001, Thesis 7). Instituting "regimes of sensibility," the 'police' symbolically and materially define what makes sense; what is visible, sayable, audible, and thinkable; it defines what is and excludes what is not (Rancière, 2001, Thesis 7). Those who are positioned outside of the consensus are radically excluded and literally placed outside the law, treated as criminals, extremists, or terrorists. Their voices are muted to prevent the politicization (and subjectivation) of their particulars (Miessen & Mouffe, 2012, pp. 19–21; see also Rancière, 2016; Swyngedouw, 2007, 2011).

The antagonist of the 'police' is the 'political.' It is the moment when the 'police' are challenged, disturbed, and interrupted (Rancière, 2001). In the name of equality, it performatively makes visible the "wrong of the given situation" (Swyngedouw, 2011, p. 374; see also Dikeç, 2017). The 'political' is not conceived around already given identities (Rancière, 2001), rather it is the "rejection of an identity established by another" (Rancière, 1998, p. 29) and thus it "entails an impossible identification" (Rancière, 1992, p. 62).

Rancière's conceptualization provides an apt framework to discern political moments (from the post-political condition; the 'police' regime). However, his momentous notion, with no concerns about its implications, falls short in understanding disruptive moments in their full iterations. In line with Swyngedouw (2011) and Dikeç (2012), I am concerned with lasting transitions, a new mode of organizing society, which was initiated by these events and their (cl)aim to universalize egalitarian presumptions (see also Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017; Kaika & Karaliotas, 2014). Concentrating on their transformative capacities, I consider these disruptive moments rather as momentum, as impulses. Moreover, emphasizing the

aspect of spatial transformation that results from political moments. Swyngedouw (2011, p. 376) stresses that the political is inherently spatial, "[it] unfolds in and through the transformation of space, both materially and symbolically, redefining what constitutes public or private space and its boundaries and re-choreographs socio-spatial relations.''

3. The Border Regime and the (Impossible) Identification

The (inter)national border regime divides people into citizens and non-citizens. It further divides non-citizens into desired tourists or ex-pats, selects refugees eligible of humanitarian protection and excludes those who are not entitled to the rights of asylum, tourist or work-visa/permits. The latter are pushed into a life of illegality, losing their right to societal and political involvement. Creating hierarchical categories, identifying, allocating and excluding individuals, the border regime is considered as a manifestation of the 'police.' Through measures of securitization, individuals are represented (and maintained) as a threat or as patients, either way, they are externalized, objectified, and de-politicized (Nyers, 2010; Swyngedouw, 2007).

But "being political does not stop at the border" (Rygiel, 2012, p. 814). Scholars of the activist-research nexus Autonomy of Migration offer an alternative approach to frame migrant experiences and subjectivities in relation to the dominant discourses of security or victimhood. This theoretical approach is considered as an antidote to Giorgio Agamben's (2012) theory, that dominates discourses on refugees and camps, of the 'state of exception' that forces refugees into a bare, naked life. Agamben's account is criticized for ignoring the agonistic account of power-relations and disregarding migrants as political activists (Nyers, 2015; Walters, 2004). Rather than solely objects of exclusion or pity, Autonomy of Migration renders migrants as political agents (see also Isin, 2005, 2009; Nyers, 2015; Rygiel, 2011, 2012; Walters, 2006). Migration has the capacity to develop its own logics, motivations, and trajectories, which are countered by control, rather than the other way around (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013). Therefore, migration and movement are itself disruptive, resisting the post-political regime ('police') and thus, sites of migration are powerful political spaces that open up the potential for support, solidarity, and agency.

However, many forms of solidarity and agency (see Section 4) lead to greater visibility and increased attention that often comes with the downside of greater police presence (police here being the institutionalized state apparatus), and violence towards migrants (Rygiel, 2011, p. 13). Thus, caution is required not to overstate migrants' agency or to ignore (or even romanticize) migrant realities and experiences and downplay the "repression and violence involved in border controls" (Nyers, 2015, p. 30). (Undocumented) Migrants' strategies to avoiding any attention from either the police or through solidarity, which might eventually lead to capture and deportation, need to be acknowledged (Tyler & Marciniak, 2013, p. 148).

4. Political and Social Movements? The Dilemma of Classification

As outlined above, the "rupture of the 'normal' distribution of position" (Rancière, 2001, Thesis 3) is the very essence of the 'political.' A truly political mo(ve)ment resists the classifications of the 'police.' However, in practice, the revocation of categories, often involves—or even requires?—their reproduction. In this section two movements are discussed: 'No Borders' and 'Refugees Welcome.' Both resulted as reactions to moments of disruption when excluded individuals claimed their right to movement and presence. Although both entail the distribution of donations, they took different approaches.

In their analysis of urban insurgencies, Dikeç and Swyngedouw (2017) identify a shift from social to political movements. While the former base their claims on particular social positionalities and identitarian positions, the latter formulate universal demands for democracy, freedom, and solidarity. Conceptualized as a chronological sequence, this distinction proves equally conducive in the context of movements addressing issues of migration that exist simultaneously but differ in regard to their political potential.

'No Borders' aims for the abolishment of borders and the categories of inclusion and exclusion they produce but is confronted with quandaries in this endeavor. In establishing protest camps, they enact and dramatize the border as a site of power. By staging a different possible world, protest camps are effective instruments for political demonstration and political spaces of solidarity (Walters, 2006; see also Cantat, 2015; Darling, 2014; Nyers, 2015; Rygiel, 2011, 2012; Tyler & Marciniak, 2013). 'No Borders' aim to interrupt a public discourse which casts migrants as speechless and invisible (Walters, 2006, p. 26). However, Kim Rygiel (2011) and William Walters (2006) both reported from the 'Jungle' in Calais of the difficulties on the part of the activists to include migrants in the coordination of the camp. Such statements impose the question of whether the citizen/non-citizen divide (be it strategically or in terms of the desired participation) can be completely abolished within its endeavors. Paradoxically, fighting national borders disallows an utter overruling (or negation) of the nation-state concept. What claim then is truly 'political' in disrupting hierarchical relationships, the concept of nation-state borders and/or the law? I tentatively put up for discussion: 'Whoever Welcome' that again risks dividing its actors between 'generous hosts' and 'guests,' or 'Free Movement for All' which problematically suggests temporary stays, as opposed to settling.

'Refugees Welcome' is a trans-European movement that emerged as a response to the influx of (predomi-

nantly) Syrian refugees in 2015. While Koca (2016) argues that this movement arose as a reaction to global inequalities and against the border regimes (of the global North) that produce refugees, I argue that 'Refugees Welcome' is a status-/identity-based struggle that fails to challenge the 'police' since it reproduces the (categorization of the) border regime by definition ('Refugees Welcome!' vs. 'Whoever Welcome!'). It is not a fight for the political involvement of whoever (Rancière, 1998, 2001, 2016), rather it is a demonstration of a generous attitude of members of a society towards certain Others, more precisely Syrian war refugees who are most likely to receive asylum. Therefore, it acts within an exclusive humanitarian discourse reducing (and representing) people as suffering victims worthy of humanitarian protection.

5. Political Claim vs. Humanitarian Moral? Unravelling a Dialectical Relationship

While a political claim is a claim of rights for those who have none through the demonstration of equality, humanitarian ethics are fundamentally unequal. It creates categories and readily defines 'poor suffering victims' (Ticktin, 2006). Thereby 'they' are being reduced to having only the identity of 'the Other' and the appearance of the excluded, losing political subjectivity and finding themselves being "mere object[s] of pity or, more commonly, hatred" (Rancière, 1998, pp. 31–32). Humanitarianism acts within the logic of the 'police' and reinforces state sovereignty since it "produce[s] (and depend[s] on) a particular form of subject: one that is excluded from politics" (Edkins, 2003, p. 256; see also Pupavac, 2008; Ticktin, 2006):

> Humanitarianism…is defined as the cause of a naked humanity, as the defense of human rights that are identified solely with the rights of the victim, with the rights of those who do not have the means to assert their rights to use them to argue, a politics; in a word, a 'cause' of the 'other' that retreats from politics to ethics, and is then completely absorbed into duties towards the suffering. (Rancière, 1998, p. 31)

Edkins (2003), drawing on Campbell (1998), provides egalitarian prospects by suggesting a relational view on subjectivity; a recognition of the power-relations that every human is subjected to as the universal factor, rather than the Agamben's (2012) "naked humanity." She further argues with Foucault (1984) that we are all in solidarity because we are all governed. This cognition opens up the possibility for solidarity as a "protest against citizenship, a protest against membership of a political configuration as such" (Campbell, 1998, pp. 511–512). Being in solidarity, in turn, challenges structural mechanisms that construct power-asymmetries. It is then that humanitarian practice becomes 'political'; when and where identity-positions are resisted and equality is demonstrated (Rancière, 1998, 1992).

The section concludes with an ideal-typical dialectical juxtaposition of political claims and the humanitarian moral (see Table 1), that further provides the analytical framework to discuss the case of Maximilian Park.

6. Maximilian Park: From Site of 'Crisis' to an Established Space of Arrival

After a brief discussion of methodological considerations, this section provides insight in the empirical findings, first by elaborating on the formation of a structure and the emergence of an exclusive space of humanitarian aid in 2015, followed by a discussion on the development and transformation which occurred following the events at the park and the creation of the citizens' platform there.

The so-called refugee crisis dominated medial, political, and societal discourses in the second half of 2015. I followed the re-action of city and state authorities as well as the emerging initiatives supporting the newcomers during that time. In September 2015, my Facebook News Feed was full of calls to engage in supporting the newcomers or pictures of people welcoming refugees. Most of my peers became active in one way or another, donating money, food, clothing, time, and labor, or by hosting migrants. Given my activist engagement in Right-to-the-City movements and my academic curiosity, it was inevitable that the sudden appearance in central public spaces of people who are usually marginalized would catch my attention.

However, my own mobility—I have moved three times to different European cities between September 2015 and January 2016—made engaging in refugee support difficult, and as such, I aim(ed) to contribute to the sociopolitical debate through academic positioning. Thus, I have retrospectively conducted research as of 2016 on spaces of arrival organized by civic 'Refugees Welcome' initiatives in Vienna (my country of origin, Austria) and in Brussels, where I lived as a student.

My 'non-presence' during 2015 provided a certain (emotional) distance to the subject under study and I first came to know Maximilian Park through narra-

Table 1. Political claim vs. humanitarian moral.

Political Claim	Humanitarian Moral
Claiming the rights of those who have no rights	Looking for the poorest
Challenging normative categories through performance of universal equality	(Re)producing hierarchical categories
'Free Movement for All!'	'Refugees Welcome!'

tives (gathered in interviews, conversations, and publications) about the camp. Since my focus lies on the citizens' platform that emerged there (one of several organizations, collectives, associations, and individuals present—many of whom were pursuing very different, diverging, and sometimes conflictual objectives in the camp), semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the Platform (from volunteers who came once in a while, to members of the strategy group who dedicated their lives to the camp for the period of its existence). However, to obtain a broader picture and to understand the Platform's position and relevance within the camp, other actors were asked about their perspectives as well (employees of the humanitarian NGOs Médicins Du Monde and Vluchtelingenwerk), a member of CollectActif (a collective of Sans-Papiers that built a kitchen in the Park and provided the food for the camp), and an anarchist activist. Moreover, I discussed my empirical findings with fellow researchers who have written about Maximilian Park (see Action Research Collective for Hospitality, 2019; De Praetere & Oosterlynck, 2017; Deleixhe, 2019; Vandevoordt & De Praetere, 2016; Vertongen, 2018).

Additionally, in 2017 and 2019, insights were gained through participatory and non-participatory observation in the park and with the Platform. To convey the wide-ranging experiences in the field, I have chosen to formulate two passages as vignettes. Vignettes are conceived "as the written output of thick description" (Militz & Schurr, 2016, p. 57). Such over-all situational descriptions allow for a framing that consists of more than words, including the researcher's body, her/his sensation, and affect (Creutziger, 2018, p. 141; Militz & Schurr, 2016, p. 57).

The opening vignette stems from my very first in-person visit to Maximilian Park (in September 2017). My experiences and the encounter with the man, who had departed from Eritrea, surprised me, since (from what I had come to know) I considered the camp as a singular event, leaving no further traces in the Park, and it again fueled my interest in Maximilian Park, urging me to continue the research and to discuss the phenomenon's spatiality and temporality.

6.1. The Refugee Camp in Maximilian Park: An Exclusive Space of Resolving a 'Crisis'?

Maximilian Park lies in a central multi-ethnic neighborhood in Brussels, located next to the North Train Station, with social housing blocks to its north and office towers to its south. It is defined as a 'Priority Intervention Zone' and is undergoing vigorous building activities. Due to the arrival of many asylum seekers in the summer of 2015, the Office of Immigration, facing the park, determined a limit of a maximum of 250 registrations per workday. This caused an accumulation of asylum seekers, not yet included in the reception-system, waiting day and night in the park to register. Locals gathered in support, bringing clothing donations, distributing food and pitching tents. In the first days, the camp was rather chaotic and seemingly anarchic, but soon hierarchical structures evolved. What had started as a Facebook group (named Plateforme Citoyenne de soutien aux Réfugiés), coordinated the volunteers, appealed for donations, eventually became a legal organization and the main actor in the Park. The exclusive core group of the Platform (strategy group) consisted of four 'white,' Belgian students. They held the decision-making power in the camp, they negotiated with politicians, cooperated (to varying degrees) with NGOs and other organizations, eventually even determining where to put what and who had access to the park and the services provided: in effect, they had power over who was included or excluded.

At the very beginning of the camp, autonomous left activists and Sans-Papiers activists were present in Maximilian Park, aiming to "politicize the camp" (Lukas, anarchist activist, Interview, June 19th, 2016; for Sans-Papiers in the Park, see De Praetere & Oosterlynck, 2017). The Sans-Papiers performed equality in a two-fold manner: First, as volunteers building a kitchen to provide food for the camp, they acted as citizens. Second, together with autonomous left activists, they performatively destabilized the differentiation between immigrants, making banners stating: 'The Refugees of today are the Sans-Papiers of tomorrow. All together the same battle!' They sought to combine the struggle of Sans-Papiers for papers with the 'refugee-crisis' and addressed the exclusionary dimensions of the migration regime making visible the wrong of the given situation (Swyngedouw, 2011, 2014). However, their political interventions did not fit with the Platform's idea of the camp, consequently, they were not acknowledged by it, sparked conflict and were (violently) excluded from the park.

The Platform's consensus was 'resolving the crisis' (Sofia, Strategy Group and Spokesperson of the Platform during the camp, interviewed 20 October 2016). They filled the gaps in the national reception system, reproducing its exclusivity by only providing care facilities for asylum seekers (not for any other people in need). Even though often portrayed as horizontally organized, the Platform quickly instituted an exclusive hierarchic mode of organization, establishing an internal 'police' system, preventing politicization and excluding those, who formulated political claims. Despite resistance, Maximilian Park turned into an exclusive space of humanitarian aid. The makeshift tent city went on to last for three months until the national infrastructure resumed the care provision and opened a shelter for all arriving refugees, and yet the events had a lasting impact on the park, its meaning, its use and the expectations attached to it.

6.2. After the Camp: Maximilian Park and the Platform Revisited in 2019

> Passing by the park in the late afternoon I see hundreds of men and few women sitting, lying and/or

> sleeping on splayed cardboard boxes talking to each other or listening to music. The stench of urine is hardly bearable. There are no sanitary facilities—only one fountain. Wet clothes are hanging on the climbing scaffold and on the fences to dry. A young man, Zaid, approaches me. He wants to go to Great Britain 'to take the chance.' He moves between Brussels, Paris, and Calais repeatedly attempting the passage. Knowing his way around Brussels, Zaid prefers this city to others since he does not fear the police as much as in neighboring towns and because of its support infrastructure and networks. Sometimes he would also find shelter with a family or in a shelter of the Platform but he 'doesn't mind' sleeping in the Park—it is summer, as long as he can take a daily shower and wear fresh clothing. (author's research diary, 18 June 2019)

In 2019, four years after the camp, Maximilian Park is the address for immigrants arriving in Brussels. It is a space of arrival, for transit and rest, for establishing networks, for meeting traffickers, a space that allows for a brief pause on their journey. Identified as so-called 'transmigrants,' the people now present in the park do not seek asylum in Belgium (different to 2015), they are not officially registered and thus purported undocumented (or irregular) immigrants passing through Belgium on their way to the desired destination of Great Britain via Calais. Their layover is on average between six and twelve weeks (M. Kassou, employee Platform, interviewed 19 June 2019).

The Platform is still active, centering their activities around the park, providing food, water, or other donations. However, while in 2015 the Platform filled the gap in the governmental supply system for asylum seekers, they now build arrival infrastructures beyond the institutional for 'transmigrants' (again exclusively for this one specific group, others in need are sent forward to different organizations in the city). After personnel replacements in the core group (due to internal conflicts, new professional obligations and other reasons) and an intense process of restructuring between December 2015 and December 2017, the Platform reinvented itself and professionalized. With 36 employees, thousands of volunteers and more than 55,000 Facebook followers, it became one of the biggest actors in Brussels and Belgium supporting irregular immigrants. Within a range of initiatives, together with established NGOs (Médecins du Monde, Médecins sans Frontières and the Red Cross), they created the 'Humanitarian Hub,' providing "all activities that respond to the needs of the migrants that are not taken care of by the government" (Médecins du Monde, 2019). These include psychological support, medical care, socio-legal advice, clothing, hygiene product distribution, and space to recharge batteries (both metaphysical and technological). The Platform also runs shelters hosting more than 460 individuals per night. Equally, a program of private harborage was set up, where about 250 people find shelter each night with one of several thousand families throughout Belgium.

A temporary police-free zone (state apparatus) is negotiated with the City of Brussels for times when members of the Platform are present in the park. Even though not constantly exposed to the threat of police raids and arrest, the Park is not a 'safe space.' Complex power-structures have emerged internally, including Mafia structures, which demand protection payments as well as payment for access to water at the fountain. Women (which represent 15%–20% of the individuals in the park; see Médecins du Monde, 2019) are particularly unsafe; since there is no sanitary infrastructure in the park, they need to undress in order to urinate or defecate. An employee of the Platform (interviewed 22 June 2019) explained, that there is a high rate of rape in the Park and that many women engaged in sex work to finance the onward journey, to pay traffickers, or for (male) protection. All these circumstances do often lead to a high number of pregnancies among the women who seek support in the Humanitarian Hub.

7. Between Political and Humanitarian? A Strategic Differentiation

Despite the migrants' irregular status, the Platform formulated a claim of access to care, however, it did not formulate a claim to political participation. The identification of people as 'transmigrants' eliminates political claims as it suggests their stay is temporary. The term was coined by Theo Francken (State Secretary for Asylum and Migration, from the right-wing Nationalist Flemish Party) to identify the people visible in the park as not entitled to receive services from the federal government. The Platform—aware of its origin—knowingly took up this fraught terminology (as did other NGOs and the media). The 'transmigrants' thus, formed a new category, even though they had no legal status, no papers and hence, no legal right to shelter, they were differentiated from the Sans-Papiers and positioned above them in the imagined ideological hierarchy of migrants. While Sans-Papiers are criminalized and illegalized, 'transmigrants' are selected to be worthy of care and humanitarian services.

The Platform regulates the presence of irregular immigrants. Their 'proper places' are redefined and restricted to the passage between the park and the Hub, private homes and shelters (Swyngedouw, 2014). The tension between the political and humanitarian realm also came to the fore in the self-awareness and subsequently in the communication strategies of the Platform. A strategic rhetorical differentiation of the political and the humanitarian realm can be discerned. In their communications, the Platform emphasized that they were not 'political' nor 'activists.' M. Kassou (interviewed 19 June 2019), formerly a businessman in a transnational electronic corporation, now an employee of the Platform, responsible for communication affairs, explains: "By telling the people: This is a political fight

when they come to give food and their things to people you just scare them. They leave!"

The Platform's strategy (and aim) is to slowly generate a political movement from below and to eventually politicize their approach—which is now rather humanitarian (see Section 5)—through raising awareness about day-to-day realities of migrants: "And even if you know that it's a different fight, [a] political fight, that you're asking for different results. Knowing it doesn't mean that you have to say it like that. Don't do that! Be smart!" (M. Kassou, interview 19 June 2019).

The Platform acts within the logic of the 'police' in a manner that pleases thousands of volunteers and supporters as well as the local authorities. It is financed by the city of Brussels and the Brussels Capital Region. Hence, processes of downscaling responsibilities have taken place. While on the federal scale the right-wing parties withdrew from the situation, the center-left coalition that governs at the regional and city level in Brussels, act against their political opponents. The (due to the large contribution of free labor by volunteers, relatively cheap) care-provision of the Platform contributes to a certain level of control that acts in favor of the governing authorities. It prevents a feared re-establishment of the camp and reduces the visibility of homeless migrants in the urban public space and thus averts attention, politicization and/or disruption of the public life in the city.

Therefore, the Platform encounters a high degree of acceptance from a broad range of political parties on the regional and city level, from the left and the liberals. Mimicking the politicians, the political scientist Youri Vertongen (interviewed 23 June 2019), cynically states: "It's easier for us to get with the Platform because it is not a regularization issue, it's just helping and hosting people for some weeks. And we have money for it and the public opinion is great with it." This demonstrates the post-political logic of the establishment, the convergence of the positions of the right and the left, with the emergence of a common economic and political doxa and a managerial dispositive (Rancière, 2016; Swyngedouw, 2011).

8. Towards 'Solidary Humanitarianism?'

The initial question 'how can you help me?' and the subsequent dialogue pointed to the ambiguity of support—the dialectic relationship between the political and the humanitarian realm. While theoretical debates insinuate that humanitarian and political support are mutually exclusive, the occurrences in and around Maximilian Park suggest a more complex relationship that is dynamic and context-specific. It is constantly re-negotiated in different moments, with different actors engaging and different institutional circumstances. The disruptive moments that occurred, were countered with humanitarian support and mechanisms of 'policing,' but nonetheless instigated lasting change in how irregular migrants are dealt with in Brussels. They triggered awareness and vast support in the Brussel's society and improved day-to-day realities for those who pass through (and temporarily stay in) Brussels.

The moment of disruption in the summer months of 2015 turned Maximilian Park into a refugee camp, a space of humanitarian care. Civic volunteers as opposed to 'experts' took the lead in organizing the space, thereby "perform[ed] the capacity to govern" (Swyngedouw, 2014, p. 128). However, the citizens' platform did not enact an alternative to the governmental mode of reception, neither did they demand its transformation, but rather reproduced the usual procedure. In selecting asylum seekers exclusively as those worthy of the provided services, the civic initiative with its humanitarian approach reenacted the exclusive migration regime as well as the inequalities it engenders. Asserting the consensus of 'solving a crisis,' the Platform instituted a regime of sensibility, allocating things and people (Rancière, 2001), averting political subjectivation and excluding those who antagonistically articulated political claims. Thus, first conclusions suggested that the establishment of the camp and the humanitarian stance taken did not have any political impact, did not lead to any transformation in the city of Brussels, once the asylum procedure was back in place.

Nevertheless, my visit two years later (2017, introductory vignette) proved, that the camp and the vast humanitarian support of autumn 2015 did entail long(er) lasting transformative impulses, shifting Maximilian Park and the expectations attached to it. Although, the Platform withdrew from the park, following the camp's closure and the reinstatement of institutional reception of all asylum seekers, the park substantially transformed into a space of arrival, of self-organization, as well as a point of reference for humanitarian activities. Dikeç (2012, p. 670) states that "politics inaugurates space, and spatialization is central to politics as a constitutive part of it." Therefore, space is conceived not only metaphorically, but as a mode of political thinking. At this time, however, the few people present in the park were not asylum seekers, but undocumented migrants with little chance of receiving asylum in Belgium and hence on transit to Great Britain. Their presence is criminalized. In seeking nonetheless presence in this public space, they are claiming their part in—and their right to—the city and refuse "to be restricted to the places distributed to them by the 'police' order [emphasis added]" (Swyngedouw, 2011, p. 387), that would be outside the nation-state borders. Thus, their being in the park "disrupt[s] normative accounts of forced migration" (Darling, 2017, p. 180). The young man addressed me with very specific expectations: Humanitarian (material) support to ensure his survival. He would not risk attention (that might possibly lead to arrest) through political support or acts of solidarity that aim to fight the structural mechanisms that caused his precarious situation. Different logics of perception, questioning the post-political established status quo, arose from localized demands (Darling, 2013, p. 76) and the Platform reorganized and re-acted. After

a period of restructuring, it still centers its activities around Maximilian Park, providing arrival infrastructures and humanitarian support, but addressing a different target group.

At my visit in 2019, I was again confronted with a completely different situation, when I saw hundreds of men and few women in the Park, spending their days and nights there. The professionalized Platform allocated all of their services in or within walking distance from the park. As opposed to 2015, they do now challenge the migration regime, claiming rights for those who do not hold rights to shelter, presence, or movement—they articulate demands for an alternative. The activities of the Platform with its thousands of volunteers and its cooperation with the city and the region of Brussels did transform how migrants are dealt with in this European Capital City. However, their engagement is again restricted to one specific group. Identifying, labelling, and choosing 'transmigrants' as worthy of support, while others in need are excluded, is clearly to be considered as a depoliticizing means within the logic of the 'police' regime. Furthermore, their demands have been—so far—chiefly to address the right to humanitarian support—not to political subjectivation, part-taking, or citizenship-rights.

The discussion of the development of Maximilian Park and the citizens' platform has demonstrated that humanitarian and political support are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Therefore, I propose the notion of 'solidary humanitarianism,' that does not choose between political or humanitarian support, rather it provides resources, meets acute existential needs, and simultaneously articulates political claims demanding structural transformation; a right to the city, right to shelter, and the supply of life's basics for all in the city. 'Solidary humanitarianism' is 'political' and radically inclusive. Rather than excluding the 'political' (to avoid conflict, scandal, and displeasing the establishment), humanitarian initiatives need to emphasize on and form alliances with—give a voice to—the excluded (both those who are denied access to shelter and care and/or those who fight for [radical] structural transformation). In order to create an alternative to existing infrastructures, a 'solidary humanitarian' approach democratizes the decision-making-processes. It is transparent and deals with the question of representation, even brings it to the fore and thereby challenges the dominant discourses of depoliticized migrant subjectivities and disrupts the dependency of individuals (and state authorities) towards charitable citizens and initiatives. Instead, it challenges the structural mechanisms that construct power-asymmetries legitimating exclusion, in the first place, entailing a protest against citizenship (Campbell, 1998). 'Solidary humanitarianism' claims the right to the city for everyone, for whoever takes (a) part in the city.

The Platform has an intention to gradually change the institutional frameworks from within, eventually formulating a universal claim for political involvement and against exclusionary nation-state regimes, à la 'No Borders, No Nations!' Whether or not this intention will succeed, remains an open question. The public Maximilian Park, however, transformed after the events of 2015. By 2019, it had become a space for immigrants arriving, staying, and transiting: a place of self-organization as well as a reference point for those in providing support, both humanitarian and political.

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Article

Accessing Resources in Arrival Neighbourhoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Offer Resources to Newcomers

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Abstract
Numerous studies have stressed the importance of social networks for the transfer of resources. This article focuses on recently arrived immigrants with few locally embedded network contacts, analysing how they draw on arrival-specific resources in their daily routines. The qualitative research in an arrival neighbourhood in a German city illustrates that routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters in semi-public spaces play an important role for newcomers in providing access to arrival-specific knowledge. The article draws on the concept of 'micro publics,' highlighting different settings facilitating interactions and resource transfers. Based on our research we developed a classification of different types of encounter that enable resource transfer. The article specifically focuses on foci-aided encounters, as these appear to have a great impact on newcomers' access to resources. Institutionalised to varying degrees, these settings, ranging from local mosques to football grounds, facilitate interaction between 'old' and 'new' immigrants. Interviews reveal forms of solidarity between immigrants and how arrival-specific information relevant to 'navigating the system' gets transferred. Interestingly, reciprocity plays a role in resource transfers also via routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters.

Keywords
arrival infrastructures; micro-publics; migrations; neighbourhoods; public space

Issue
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1. Introduction

> There's that football pitch…where I went to play. That's where I met him. I told him my problem [finding affordable accommodation] and he replied: "Okay, I can help you: You can stay in my apartment"….So then we shared flat for almost a month, during which time he helped me find a flat for myself. (Samuel, 34, Cameroon)

Samuel is a 34-year-old immigrant from Cameroon who moved to Dortmund four years ago to start studying there. Upon arrival, he had difficulties finding an apartment, as he neither spoke German nor had any friends to help him 'navigate the system.' Samuel's story illustrates how he gained access to resources by moving around in his neighbourhood and 'bumping into' people. He met the person who helped him find this flat "by chance," as he says, on a football pitch in the Nordstadt.

The example shows that spontaneous foci-aided encounters seem to play a vital role when it comes to sharing arrival-specific knowledge. Practical help (sharing a flat for a month) and information (on how to find accommodation) were provided by a previously arrived immigrant—a person outside Samuel's network and whom he met for the first time on the football

pitch. Crucial for access to resources via such encounters are specific (neighbourhood) settings acting as common meeting grounds (Allport, 1954; Small, 2009). Research refers to certain (semi-)public, more or less institutionalised places enabling interactions with other people, thereby facilitating access to resources outside an individual's immediate network (Nast & Blokland, 2014, p. 494; Small, 2009, p. 85; Wessendorf, 2014). Feld (1981) uses the term 'foci' to describe these settings where interactions occur as a result of common activities. Importantly, Small (2017) directs our attention to more spontaneous forms of resource transfers: "In the everyday flow of interaction, people often find themselves relying on those who happen to be before them…the neighbour at the social club…the clients at the barbershop" (Small, 2017, p. 157). This calls for a more nuanced reflection of peoples' daily practices and of the potential of shared interaction spaces in promoting resource transfer via such encounters.

These thoughts are taken up in the following discussion, examining how people with a recent migration experience gain access to resources in their arrival context. Newcomers constitute a particularly interesting group, as many of them cannot yet rely on locally embedded social networks for information on, for example, schools or housing. Our discussion focuses on the (very diverse) group of recently arrived immigrants and their experiences in an arrival neighbourhood in Germany. We show how they gain access to resources supporting them in their individual arrival processes—here understood as access to functional, social and symbolic resources (such as finding accommodation or feeling at home in the new neighbourhood). Although newcomers also often draw on digital networks in both their origin and arrival contexts (Schrooten, 2012), our focus in this article is on physical resources in the neighbourhood.

Arrival neighbourhoods are highly dynamic spaces, characterised by (sometimes temporary) immigration, a fluctuating population and a concentration of arrival-specific infrastructures. More often than not, these are highly diversified spaces from a social and ethnic perspective with a heterogeneous population, transnational lifestyles and income poverty (Hans, Hanhörster, Polívka, & Beißwenger, 2019, p. 515). Research on arrival areas has a long history. The Chicago School (e.g., Park & Burgess, 1925) had already described the 'urban transition zone' as a district where newcomers arrive and from where social mobility begins. Described among others as an 'immigrant enclave' (Portes & Manning, 1986), this type of neighbourhood has fostered discussions on the advantages and disadvantages of living in such neighbourhoods. The journalist Doug Saunders (2011) recently took up these thoughts in his research on *Arrival Cities*. Analysing the dynamics and functions of different urban arrival spaces worldwide, he focuses on local factors influencing newcomers' access to resources for their arrival process. The concept of 'arrival infrastructures' (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2018) is closely linked to the debate on urban arrival contexts: it analyses newcomers' access to resources through institutionalised arrival infrastructures (e.g., camps, reception centres, NGOs) as well as through informal practices.

Various studies point to the growing challenges for coexistence in urban areas with increasing social and ethnic diversity and high population dynamics ("new complexities," Vertovec, 2015, p. 2). For example, reference is made to increasing spatial, social and symbolic demarcations between groups along ethnic and social boundaries (Albeda, Oosterlynck, Tersteeg, & Verschraegen, 2017, p. 2; Blokland, 2017, p. 88). It is thus particularly interesting to analyse how newcomers gain access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods, as they are strongly dependent on arrival-specific knowledge such as local information on job vacancies or available and affordable housing. For newcomers not (yet) part of locally embedded social networks, local infrastructures and more fluid forms of resource transfer gain importance. Indeed, such 'absent ties' (Granovetter, 1973) can play an important role in accessing resources.

Against this background, research emphasises the relevance of encounters in public spaces for the transfer of resources. Research on arrival neighbourhoods illustrates that a concentration of arrival-specific infrastructures can promote foci-aided encounters and serve as starting points for interaction and resource transfers, thus supporting newcomers in their individual arrival process (Hall, King, & Finlay, 2017; Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & de Decker, 2018). As we will argue in this article, the role of local settings in facilitating interaction and resource transfer is strongly shaped by their respective structures (Amin, 2002, p. 969; Valentine, 2008, p. 330). Of further interest in this context is the role of previous immigrants acting as 'pioneers' and brokers for arrival-specific knowledge (Wessendorf, 2018).

Focusing on newcomers, this article describes how they gain access to resources in their daily arrival routines. We propose a classification of different contact types and their respective role in facilitating resource transfer, analysing the importance of (semi-)public spaces and institutional settings for resource transfer and seeking to answer the following questions:

> What is the significance of encounters for newcomers' access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods?
>
> Which (semi-)public spaces emerge in the context of arrival neighbourhoods as resource transfer settings?

Section 2 provides a short literature review on the relevance of encounters and (semi-)public spaces for resource transfer, while our case study area and the research design are presented in Section 3. Section 4 highlights empirical findings on how newly arrived immigrants gain access to resources via routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters.

2. Resource Transfer and (Semi-)Public Spaces in Arrival Neighbourhoods

2.1. The Role of Encounters for Resource Transfer

Numerous scholars have stressed the importance of social contacts and interactions for access to social capital (Bourdieu, 1983; Coleman, 1990). Granovetter (1973) argues that resource transfer takes place not only in networks with 'strong ties' (for example family and close friends), but that 'weak ties' in particular allow information to flow across distinct social networks—thus potentially facilitating social mobility. But how do population groups like newcomers, with few locally embedded networks, gain access to resources supporting them in their individual arrival process? Ryan (2011, p. 709) points out that the above-mentioned network studies pay little attention to migration processes, arguing that it is important to analyse "how migrants engage in network formation in the destination society and how social ties with different types of people provide access to different kinds of resources."

Research has demonstrated that new media and transnational resources play an important role in the arrival process of recently arrived immigrants as they can provide access to arrival-specific knowledge without having to rely on distinct locally based network relationships (Schrooten, 2012). However, despite increased mobility, digital communication technologies and peoples' embeddedness in transnational networks, physical proximity is still considered to be of particular importance for accessing certain resources (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017, p. 242). Against a background of increasing ethnic and social diversity, everyday encounters and interactions between people or groups in public spaces gain particular importance:

> With the gradual or implicit 'normalisation' of diversity, public space has become increasingly defined as a space of encounter, where as a consequence of living among others, we must all habitually negotiate 'difference' as part of our everyday social routines. (Valentine & Harris, 2016, p. 3)

Depending on the circumstances, encounters can have ambivalent effects, reducing or possibly even reinforcing existing prejudices. As spatial proximity does not necessarily lead to meaningful social interaction and resource transfer, the role and structure of public spaces for these processes are stressed (Valentine, 2008, p. 330). Studies underline the importance of encounters in semi-public spaces, places ascribed the potential of enabling encounters and the development of meaningful interactions (Hoekstra & Pinkster, 2018).

In order to analyse how newcomers access resources, we shift the focus to encounters and their relevance for resource transfer. The term 'encounters' refers to unexpected and spontaneous social interactions in (semi-)public spaces. Various studies point to the important role of encounters for the negotiation of coexistence in diverse urban societies (Darling & Wilson, 2016; Leitner, 2012). The effects of different forms of encounter are controversially discussed in the literature. Research illustrates that fleeting encounters between strangers in public spaces do not necessarily lead to 'meaningful contact' and can even, under certain circumstances, reinforce prejudices in multi-ethnic societies (Valentine, 2008; Wilson, 2011).

While Granovetter (1973, p. 1361) calls these encounters 'absent ties,' understanding them as "ties without substantial significance," more recent studies attribute importance to spontaneous types of encounters for accessing resources. Arguing that people ask for emotional support and confide in "whomever is around," Small (2017, p. 147) thus draws our attention to everyday settings. Although Small's research focuses on emotional support for graduate students at university, his results are also enlightening with respect to other contexts. He emphasises for example that interactions are more likely to happen when there are sufficient opportunities to meet: "The more such opportunities individuals have, the more likely they should be to have been motivated by availability—and the more likely they should be to confide in people they are not close to" (Small, 2017, p. 148). According to Small (2009, p. 85), such casual encounters have specific potential for people (such as newly arrived immigrants) not able to "dock onto" already existing physically embedded communities on arrival (Wessendorf, 2018, p. 271). He describes how people might get help or exchange information even without originally intending to do so—simply by being somewhere, for example when waiting in a queue (Small, 2009, p. 12).

While several scholars analyse encounters in (semi-)public spaces and how they facilitate resource transfer, they focus on different settings. Blokland (2017, p. 70) points to a wide range of 'fluid encounters,' including "all the interactions that are unplanned and happen as a result of people's doing something else…they may be completely accidental, superficial and very brief….They may also occur repeatedly and more regularly." More narrowly focused, Wessendorf and Phillimore (2018, p. 8) describe how 'serendipitous encounters' with strangers in (semi-)public spaces are able to help newcomers in their arrival process. But which settings initiate or facilitate such routinised or spontaneous foci-aided encounters? We now turn to settings providing opportunities to gain access to resources in (arrival) neighbourhoods.

2.2. The Relevance of (Semi-)Public Spaces for Encounters and Resource Transfer

In order to investigate the role of encounters for resource transfer, we need to differentiate forms of contacts. Related to the above-mentioned literature and

based on the classification of different types of contacts and relationships by Lofland (1998), Figure 1 presents a systematisation of five different contact types.

Figure 1 illustrates exemplarily which types of contact (network relationships or encounters) can lead to access to resources—and in which settings these interactions can occur. The range of contact types extends from strong primary relationships in social networks to fleeting encounters, defining the two poles. The form of each type of contact may be dynamic, changing from one mode to another. In this article we focus on routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters, as these play out as important starting points for newcomers' resource access. The term 'focus' refers to a "social, psychological, legal or physical entity around which joint activities are organised (e.g., workplaces, voluntary organisations, hangouts, families etc.)" (Feld, 1981, p. 1016).

While fleeting encounters describe very brief and often trivial contacts in public spaces, the term 'spontaneous foci-aided encounters' describes chance meetings of strangers whose connection results from the common 'focus' (e.g., the playground where their children are playing). So-called 'routinised foci-aided encounters' can also be spontaneous and result from the common 'focus' (e.g., a bar visited regularly), but they differ from 'spontaneous foci-aided encounters' in that they are recurring. Unlike 'routinised foci-aided network relationships' (e.g., with work colleagues) or 'primary network relationships' (with family or friends), 'routinised foci-aided encounters' are not classified as network relationships but as interactions between loose acquaintances.

For a long time, urban research has been looking at how such 'zones of encounter' (Wood & Landry, 2008, p. 105) are structured. Complementing the research of Feld (1981), Oldenburg (1989) describes how social barriers are reduced in so-called 'third places,' settings where group boundaries become permeable and interaction between different people can unfold. Amin describes these settings as "local micro-publics of everyday interaction" (Amin, 2002, p. 960) in which people from different social and cultural backgrounds come together: "Settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments" (Amin, 2002, p. 696). Micro-publics are semi-public, partly institutionalised spaces with (informal) rules that bring people together and offer potential for bridging group-related boundaries (Nast & Blokland, 2014, p. 494; Small, 2009, p. 85). While Amin's research focus is on the role of micro-publics for intergroup communication and the reduction of prejudices, we explicitly consider the role of these spaces for resource transfer.

The concept of 'arrival infrastructures' (Meeus et al., 2018) links Amin's thoughts to the debate on urban arrival contexts, as it understands arrival infrastructures not just as support structures provided by the government. The concept also includes infrastructuring processes by a range of non-state stakeholders (e.g., NGOs) in urban settings which often emerge as a response or in opposition to state policies (Schrooten & Meeus, 2019, p. 6). It also discusses the relative importance of semi-public places and informal practices as key parts of the arrival infrastructure, referring to "local places that facilitate sociability and informal knowledge exchange such as bars, restaurants, hairdressers and ethnic shops" (Schrooten & Meeus, 2019, p. 2). Such arrival-related infrastructures, often located in arrival neighbourhoods, support newcomers in maintaining their transnational lifestyles (e.g., migrant eating places, shops, services or places of worship) and offer access to informal opportunities for exchange (Hall et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2018). Thus, the sharing of (arrival-specific) information takes place predominantly in neighbourhoods where certain arrival infrastructures are con-

	Types of contacts	Examples of resource forms	Where do interactions primarily take place?
Social networks	Primary network relationships	Emotional support from family or friends	Private spaces
	Routinised foci-aided network relationships	Information on a vacant apartment from a work colleague	Semi-public spaces
Encounters	Routinised foci-aided encounters	Information on vacant jobs between regular visitors of a bar	Public spaces and semi-public spaces
	Spontaneous foci-aided encounters	Information on school choice between parents on a playground	Public spaces and semi-public spaces
	Fleeting encounters	Overhearing of helpful informaion in other peoples' conversation	Public spaces

Figure 1. Types of contacts and resource access. Source: Own classification, based on Lofland (1998).

centrated and where 'old' and 'new' immigrants meet (Vertovec, 2015). These settings can serve as starting points for encounters, low-threshold interaction and resource transfer (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). In this sense, micro-publics are to be understood as more or less institutionally embedded settings providing the structure for interactions and influencing the emergence of social networks facilitating resource transfer (Nast & Blokland, 2014, p. 494; Small, 2009, p. 85).

3. Research Area and Methodology

3.1. Dortmund's Nordstadt as an Arrival Neighbourhood

The selected case study is Nordstadt, an inner-city working-class district belonging to the city of Dortmund. Built in the 19th century to the north of the main railway station, Nordstadt has always been characterised by migration. Initially populated by coal and steel industry workers mainly from rural areas, from the 1960s onwards it became home to large numbers of so-called guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) from southern Europe and Turkey. To this day, Nordstadt's retail infrastructure is shaped by (former) Turkish guest workers and their descendants. The district also became home to later inflows of immigrants, in many cases EU immigrants from Eastern Europe (especially Bulgaria and Romania since the expansions in the 2000s). Recent years have seen an influx of refugees (especially from Syria) to Dortmund (City of Dortmund, 2018, p. 25). With about 305 moves per 1,000 inhabitants per year, the district is characterised by a strong fluctuation, almost twice as high as for the city as a whole. About 75% of the population today have a migration background, among whom 52.2% have foreign nationality. Every year between 2013 and 2017, 46.3% (on average) of those arriving in Dortmund from abroad found their first home in Nordstadt. This is reflected in the availability of various arrival-related infrastructures, including small (migrant) businesses and shops as well as NGOs. Other institutions such as mosque associations operating city-wide are also located in Nordstadt.

3.2. Methodology

Our study is based on 18 interviews with recent immigrants to Dortmund (see Table 1). The sample broadly represents the general sociodemographic composition of recent immigrants in Dortmund's Nordstadt. However, as we were not able to reach EU immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria, respondents from these countries are not included in the sample. The sample is made up mainly of young adults aged between 18 and 34, most of whom are just starting their working careers. All interviewees enjoy secured residence status in Germany (e.g., due to education visas, refugee status or family-related visas) and are thus free to choose their place of residence. Interviews were conducted by the authors as part of two consecutive projects with partly overlapping research questions. While the first focused on a wider range of people (with or without a recent migration background) living in the area, the second focused explicitly on newcomers. We define newcomers as people who have arrived in Germany within the last five years (at the time the interview was conducted). For the present article we draw solely on interviews with newcomers not following established chain migrations, i.e., potentially less able to initially draw on locally established networks. The interviewees were recruited via an intense process of introducing the project and its aims in a variety of local institutions such as childcare facilities, advisory institutions, migrant organisations and language schools. As the interviews were conducted in German, English,

Table 1. Characteristics of the interviewees.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Country of origin	Duration of residence in Germany (approx.)
Abdul	m	32	Syria	3 years
Yasser	m	32	Syria	4 years
Yara	f	28	Syria	3 years
Issam	m	34	Syria	2 years
Anas	m	21	Syria	5 years
Farida	f	34	Syria	1 year
Samuel	m	34	Cameroon	4 years
Janet	f	25	Uganda	2 years
Diana	f	18	Uganda	1 year
Mahsum	f	26	Syria	3 years
Adar	m	28	Syria	3 years
Dilan	f	28	Syria	3 years
Moussa	m	25	Morocco	1 year
Merita	f	29	Kosovo	3 years
Fernanda	f	n.a.	Spain	1 year
Yasemin	f	n.a.	n.a.	5 years
Selma	f	n.a.	n.a.	2 years
Yousef	m	18	Palestine	2 years

Spanish or Arabic, the sample does not include persons not speaking any of these languages. While the interviews in German, English and Spanish were conducted by our multilingual project team, the interviews in Arabic were conducted and translated by an Arabic-speaking person previously trained in conducting interviews.

In both projects, interviewees were asked about their access to resources in their arrival process. Even though there are numerous NGOs in Nordstadt providing social support and access to information and support for newcomers, such formal access was not the focus of this study. Rather, we were interested in whether and how newcomers accessed resources in more informal ways, complementing institutionalised channels. For this purpose, the semi-structured interviews contained qualitative, mostly open questions on access to different forms of support in different fields (e.g., education, housing or work).

To facilitate our interviewees' reflections on routinised and spontaneous encounters, we focused our questions on their daily lives and their experiences in gaining a foothold in different fields. In order not only to extract information about potentially available support, but to trace concretely received resources, we explicitly asked for received support in different fields such as education, housing and leisure time (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014). For example, interviewees were asked how they got the apartment they were currently living in or how they found the school their child was attending. Encounters, as understood in this article, involve different forms of contacts. We included in our research a range of contacts, from recurring and routinised encounters, for example in local organisations such as schools or clubs, to spontaneous one-time encounters in public spaces. As opposed to 'weak ties,' our explicit focus was on interviewees' interactions with people not belonging to their social networks. Special attention was paid to encounter settings facilitating interaction and resource transfer. To stimulate reflections on these settings, additional go-alongs (Kusenbach, 2018) were conducted. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed by interpretative coding using the software MAXQDA.

4. Empirical Findings

The focus of this analysis is on the extent to which routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters with strangers in (semi-)public spaces can act as starting points for forming social relations and gaining access to resources. We studied in which settings and under which conditions routinised and spontaneous encounters between strangers occur and lead to further interaction.

4.1. Gaining Access to Arrival-Specific Knowledge: The Role of Routinised and Spontaneous Encounters

Overall, our interviewees felt quite comfortable living in the Nordstadt and being out and about in its public spaces. Many of them mentioned how much they appreciated the neighbourhood's diversity and openness to different lifestyles or cultural expressions:

> Living in Nordstadt makes me feel like I'm really at home, because there are a lot of different cultures. (Janet, 25, Uganda)

> The beautiful thing is the familiarity. You won't find that in any other part of the town. Here there are many women with headscarves in the streets and I feel a little more comfortable. (Farida, 34, Syria)

These quotes demonstrate that, in arrival neighbourhoods, there is a shared feeling of "being together of strangers" (Young, 1990, p. 240) "where those with 'visible' differences can blend in" (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2018, p. 733). Also, several women belonging to traditional religious milieus stated that they felt comfortable in public spaces in Nordstadt (Hall, 2015, p. 864). Such feelings of 'familiarity' contribute to the fact that people spend (more) time in (semi-)public spaces, a precondition for encounters and the possibility to receive arrival-specific resources.

The interviews with all 18 newcomers revealed their initial lack of arrival-specific knowledge on how to 'navigate the system,' for example on how to register their children at one of the local childcare centres or how to find affordable housing. While there are several institutions in Nordstadt providing formal information for example on housing, newcomers still have to gain information on waiting lists for educational institutions or vacant flats. While previous immigrants, for example from Turkey or Spain, often have distinct family or friendship networks with strong ties at their places of residence through which they can receive necessary information (Farwick, Hanhörster, Ramos Lobato, & Striemer, 2019), our interviewees had only a very limited network of acquaintances available on arrival: "Many people here need help. I am one of them. I need someone to talk to. There are many things I often cannot describe in German. It has to be someone who listens to me and helps me" (Issam, 34, Syria).

Access to information on jobs, education, housing or health issues was a challenge not only for refugees like Issam who was desperately looking for a flat when he had to move out of his collective accommodation. The interviews revealed that all interviewees were in need of support to come to grips with their new circumstances. While transnational networks of friends and family—accessible via communication technology—can give emotional support, arrival-specific knowledge is necessary for gaining one's bearings in the new place of residence. As we will see in the following, this 'migrant social capital' is available in arrival neighbourhoods, where previous immigrants act as brokers (Wessendorf & Phillimore, 2018, p. 2).

An interesting aspect inductively derived from our empirical findings is that reciprocity plays an impor-

tant role in the transfer of arrival-specific knowledge. Generally speaking, reciprocity is to be understood as "doing for others what they have done for you" (Plickert, Côté, & Wellman, 2007, p. 406). Being part of a social network involves having reciprocal relationships. Though providing support, these may also include the obligation to give something back (Bailey, Besemer, Bramley, & Livingston, 2015). Reciprocity is understood as a universal norm (a 'golden rule'), whereby the form it takes is variable. While in the common understanding of 'reciprocity' a given resource is returned to the same person or passed on to another person within the network, reciprocity may also be expressed in a wider and—as we will show—more spontaneous social context (Plickert et al., 2007). This process is described by Phillimore, Humphris, and Khan (2017, p. 224) as 'informal reciprocity,' meaning that immigrants routinely share their arrival-specific knowledge with newcomers once they have become established.

Interestingly, the newcomers we interviewed in order to gain a better understanding of how they received resources also mentioned how they shared their experiences with others. The finding that reciprocity also plays a role in resource transfers via spontaneous foci-aided encounters not embedded in network structures was unexpected. Schillebeeckx et al. (2018, p. 149) call this process of passing on resources—such as information, practical or emotional help received on one's own arrival—to other newcomers as 'reciprocity within communities.' The following examples illustrate how different forms of contacts can lead to resource transfers and also initiate some kind of reciprocity at a later point of time when received resources are then shared among other newcomers.

But how can newcomers gain access to this arrival-specific knowledge without having distinct social networks? In the following section, we show that routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters with strangers in semi-public spaces can lead to further interaction, enabling different pathways into societal systems (Bloch & McKay, 2015). Our interviews show that newcomers' fleeting encounters with strangers in public spaces did not initially go beyond small-talk or greetings:

> I say hello to many people; some I see again and again. But these are not people who visit me or whom I visit….We have no contacts like that. For me, contact means having to do with someone, seeing each other often, visiting each other regularly. But such street contacts—'Hello, how are you, what's new?'—happen every day, with many people. But nothing more. (Issam, 34, Syria)

This quote of Issam underlines that social interactions and resource transfers do not easily occur in public spaces (Valentine, 2008) and that certain settings are necessary to enable social interaction between strangers (Amin, 2002; Small, 2009), as illustrated in the following subsection.

4.2. Local Settings Facilitating Encounters and Resource Transfers

On the basis of a variety of situations described in the interviews, we identified different kinds of settings where routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters had led to resource transfers and sometimes even to further contacts. All described settings share characteristics of 'micro-publics' as described by Ash Amin (2002), i.e., connecting people in their everyday lives through common interests and activities. Yet, as described above, there are distinct modes of contacts and resource transfer. The following examples and narratives of recent immigrants reveal how newcomers may gain access to arrival-specific knowledge through recurring and routinised, and sometimes spontaneous encounters. The examples underline the relevance of specific settings facilitating social interaction and resource transfer.

The first example characterises an institutionally embedded resource transfer and thus stands for a routinised foci-aided encounter: support structures in a mosque frequented by Muslims of different nationalities, ethnic backgrounds and social status. Yousef, an 18-year-old immigrant from Palestine, describes how recurring and routinised encounters with different people at the mosque helped him gain his bearings in the new community, for example when he was looking for a flat: "What helped me were the people in the mosque, because I asked everywhere, all the people I know: 'I need a flat now'….They helped me a lot and that was very nice" (Yousef, 18, Palestine).

In this case, the arrival-specific knowledge was very much institutionalised and its provision closely linked to community 'membership.' Even though worship was the main purpose of his visiting the mosque, Yousef's example shows that recurring and routinised encounters with other Muslims at the mosque led to a transfer of resources by people who were not yet part of his networks.

The interview with Yousef also provides interesting insights into how reciprocity works inside such highly institutionalised settings. We see that reciprocity in the case of the mosque was not a mutual exchange of resources between two people, but instead a case of newcomers first receiving information and support and later passing them on to (new) members of the community: "I got a lot of support from them when I arrived. And now, I'm the one in touch with refugees who need help. Yes, I'm now involved in an Islamic foundation that organises camps for children, for the refugees" (Yousef, 18, Palestine).

The example of the mosque shows how reciprocity within communities can work. It illustrates that religion can be a decisive reason for mutual support and the passing on of resources (Hirschman, 2004).

The second story features Moussa, a 25-year-old immigrant from Morocco who, in the course of the interview, described his regular visits to an Arabian café where he could have a drink and chat with other Arabic-

speaking people. Moussa stressed that he generally got in touch with other people while sitting in the café: "I sit in a café and there are people looking around and sometimes other people smile at me and then we say 'hello' and the contact comes about. It's easy" (Moussa, 25, Morocco).

Being with other Arabic-speaking people gave Moussa the feeling of being at home. He described the situation in the café as an informal atmosphere facilitating spontaneous interaction with strangers. Whenever he needed help or information, he visited the café without knowing whom he would run into. He had trust in the solidarity of the other visitors to the café:

> You just meet in a café. The Arabic-speaking people are always in contact. As we all live in a foreign country, we have to stick together. If you need something or you're looking for a job, someone can help or show you. (Moussa, 25, Morocco)

The Arabian café is an example of a setting in which people with a similar background (in this case the same language and cultural background) meet to socialise. In our interviews we found similar situations in Turkish tea houses or cultural clubs where newcomers can meet up with previous immigrants and where arrival-specific knowledge is transferred. Even though Moussa is still in the process of arrival, he mentioned that he was already trying to help others whenever possible. This example thus illustrates that resource transfer is not dependent on the amount of capital a person has, but on whether there is a link (in the form of solidarity) between resource giver and taker (Farwick et al., 2019). In contrast to the mosque, the café's prime purpose is to provide an informal platform for communicating and sharing information among Arabic-speakers. Visitors do not need any 'membership' to receive support. Nevertheless, sitting in the café seems to imply a rule of communication and mutual support, based on a shared knowledge of arrival and difficulties faced in the new environment, for example to overcome barriers posed by limited language proficiency.

The third example describes how spontaneous encounters in less institutionalised semi-public spaces led to deeper contacts and resource transfer between newcomers and previous immigrants. Samuel—whose story was portrayed at the beginning of this article—received support from another football player who helped him a lot in finding a flat. Samuel plays football every week on a public football pitch in Dortmund's Nordstadt. Every Sunday, immigrants from different countries meet here to play football. According to Samuel, matches also involve informal conversations where players talk about their everyday problems. As players often change, Samuel gets into contact with many different people. As mentioned above, he received support from a teammate he did not know before. Again, also this example illustrates some form of reciprocity in support. In the interview, he expressed his wish to share his knowledge and experiences with other newcomers:

> We met quite by chance. He [another newcomer] came from Italy. His wife was pregnant at the time and he didn't know anyone here. He was looking for an apartment and then we looked around a bit. I helped him. He found a flat over there. (Samuel, 34, Cameroon)

In the football example, a very informal "common activity" (Amin, 2002, p. 696) is the starting point for further interactions and resource transfers in the sense of sharing arrival-specific knowledge. Like several of our interviewees, Samuel is a good example of a person experiencing a common activity or shared interest in a little-institutionalised setting, resulting in further interactions and sometimes in concrete resource transfers. A further example is Diana, an 18-year-old immigrant from Uganda. Already in Germany for one year, she met another woman from Uganda while shopping in a so called 'Afro-shop,' a shop selling products from across Africa. In this case, the Afro-shop constituted an arrival-specific infrastructure, where products and services known to Diana from her home country were on offer. This setting again resulted in previously unknown people meeting up. Even though socialising was not the women's main purpose for visiting the Afro-shop, the setting was conducive to an informal opportunity for spontaneous interaction, leading to a low-threshold connection between the two women. The example shows that such shops can play an important role in the socialisation of recently arrived women, as they can act as platforms of interaction and information exchange (Jenkins, 2019). As Diana mentioned in the interview, she was able to benefit from the arrival-specific knowledge of the other woman: "[I got help] when I met her. That's how she helped me. Of course, she has lived here a lot longer" (Diana, 18, Uganda).

All these examples demonstrate that newcomers are significantly supported in their arrival processes by routinised and spontaneous encounters in different semi-public spaces. In all described settings and encounter situations, a common interest or an informal "common activity" (Amin, 2002, p. 696) was the starting point for further interaction with people who had experienced similar problems on arrival. Often serving as hubs for the transfer of arrival-specific knowledge (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018), such arrival-specific infrastructures can be understood as settings where 'old' and 'new' immigrants meet and mutually support each other. While the chosen examples like mosques, Arabian cafés and football pitches are mainly frequented by men, the interviewed women in charge of household routines and child-related activities seem to use (semi-)public spaces in a different way. Our female interviewees were greatly involved in daily (family) routines such as shopping at the local grocery store or dropping children off at school. As a consequence, their social interactions in (semi-)public spaces

tended to be more in the waiting room of the local general practitioner, the hairdresser or Afro-shop (as illustrated above), and less in explicitly leisure time settings such as a sports ground. In other words, the described settings in our examples are all quite gendered spaces (see also Hall, 2015, p. 859).

As illustrated above, most of our interviewees expressed the wish to support other newcomers after having received help from others. This reflects the important role played by reciprocity in the system of support between people with (migration) backgrounds—even if the resource transfer takes place outside their distinct network structures. We thus argue that "ties without substantial significance" ('absent ties,' Granovetter, 1973, p. 1361) are indeed significant for gaining access to arrival-specific knowledge. Even though one would not expect reciprocity to be of relevance in such contacts, our interviews illustrate that 'giving back' often characterises such spontaneous encounters.

5. Conclusion

The aim of our empirical analysis was to reveal how recently arrived immigrants draw on resources facilitating their individual arrival processes. The analysis shows that, alongside information and social support provided by NGOs and other formal institutions, newcomers can rely on more 'informal' ways of gaining access to arrival-specific knowledge, for example information on a vacant apartment or a job vacancy. As the interviewed newcomers had no distinct locally embedded social networks upon their arrival, encounters in semi-public spaces played an important role for them to come into contact and interact with other residents. Our research underlines that arrival neighbourhoods like Dortmund–Nordstadt offer many settings helping newcomers to 'navigate the system.' Arrival-specific infrastructures can trigger interactions and thereby offer access to different kinds of resources, ranging from emotional and practical support to resources supporting upward social mobility (Hall et al., 2017; Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). Drawing on the concept of micro-publics (Amin, 2002), we identified a variety of settings linking the everyday lives of people from different (migration) backgrounds. These settings feature different levels of institutionalisation, from formal mosques to informal football pitches.

Our interviews have shown that it is important to differentiate between different types of encounters: While fleeting encounters in public spaces were not mentioned (or remembered) by our interview partners as leading to resource transfer, encounters facilitating resource transfer took place in semi-public spaces, ranging from spontaneous foci-aided encounters to recurring and routinised foci-aided encounters. Even though these two types of contact do not differ in the form of resources they may provide, it is analytically helpful to differentiate them. While spontaneous foci-aided encounters enable resource transfer between strangers, routinised foci-aided encounters provide access to resources of loose acquaintances—people not yet belonging to a person's social networks. Both types of contact can thus support newcomers with few locally embedded networks in their arrival processes.

What conclusions can be drawn for urban planning? First of all, arrival-specific infrastructures are important settings where immigrants spend time, come into contact with each other and exchange resources. These settings, often concentrated in arrival areas, play an important role citywide. Planners should aim not to counteract these structures, for example by strategies promoting a social and ethnic residential mix, but to strengthen the local negotiation processes and—also temporary—appropriation processes of different groups. Nevertheless—and this needs to be highlighted—these settings allowing more 'informal' forms of resource access are no replacement for the formal support structures provided by the public sector.

The structuring of public spaces for encounters is considered as one of the major interventions in superdiverse urban neighbourhoods (Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014). However, Wilson (2017, p. 616) refers to the "unmanageable nature of encounter" and the difficulties related to such interventions. The shared migration background between 'old' and 'new' immigrants seems to form an important link, facilitating interactions and resource transfer. Newcomers can draw on the arrival experiences of other (more established) immigrants. Feelings of solidarity seem to be an underlying factor and individual motivation to pass on arrival-specific knowledge (Bynner, 2019, p. 347). Interestingly, our analysis shows that even spontaneous foci-aided encounters can provide a basis for reciprocity, whereby a given resource is not necessarily returned to the same person, but shared within a wider community whose members are not part of a distinct network (Schillebeeckx et al., 2018). The research reveals that in addition to immigrant's agency, the very existence of arrival infrastructures, resulting from the over-layering of 'old' and 'new' migration, plays an important role in gaining access to arrival-specific resources. Thus, arrival neighbourhoods provide newcomers with important resources not available in neighbourhoods dominated by national majorities (Wessendorf & Phillimore, 2018).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Leipzig's Inner East as an Arrival Space? Exploring the Trajectory of a Diversifying Neighbourhood

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Abstract
The article analyses and discusses the development of Leipzig and especially its inner east as an 'urban space of arrival' since 1990. It represents a study about arrival in the post-socialist context that is fairly rare in the international debate so far, since most of the arrival debate builds on western European evidence. Leipzig's inner east was characterised by shrinkage until the end of the 1990s and by new growth, especially after 2010, as the whole city grew. Since the second half of the 1990s the inner east has developed into a migrant area, referred to here as an 'arrival space.' Today, in 2020, it represents the most heterogeneous part of the city in terms of population structure and is one of the most dynamic areas in terms of in- and out-migration. At the same time, it represents an area where large amounts of the population face different types of disadvantage. Set against this context, the article embeds the story of Leipzig's inner east into the arrival debate and investigates the area's development according to the characteristics discussed by the debate. Our results reveal that Leipzig's inner east represents a meaningful example of an arrival space in a specific (post-socialist, shrinkage followed by regrowth) context and that arrival and its spatial allocation strongly depend on factors like population, housing, and real estate market development, as well as policymaking and, significantly, recognition.

Keywords
arrival spaces; Leipzig; migration; neighbourhood; regrowth; shrinkage

Issue
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1. Introduction

Like other cities in the socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR), the city of Leipzig had a population that was highly homogenous in terms of social and national backgrounds. Until 1989, the proportion of migrants was very low due to restrictive immigration rules. This only changed with the peaceful revolution in 1989/90, when the borders were opened and the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) became one state with more liberal immigration rules.

After 1989–1990, the city of Leipzig experienced profound demographic, social, and economic changes: a specific post-socialist transformation. This encompasses population shrinkage and economic decline in the 1990s, stabilisation, moderate growth and reurbanisation in the following decade of the 2000s, and dynamic regrowth and economic recovery since 2010.

While in-migration of migrants and/or people with a migration background (i.e., persons who were born without German citizenship or have at least one parent who was born without German citizenship) did take place over

the last three decades, it intensified during more recent years and concentrated in particular districts. Leipzig's inner east became one of the areas with a concentration of migrant households. This is all the more astonishing because the economic and social situation in Leipzig at that time was rather unattractive for in-migration, due to deindustrialisation and high rates of unemployment (> 20%) until the early 2000s. The situation thus majorly differed from western German cities, which are much more prominent in the discourse on immigration and arrival. Embedded in this specific Leipzig context, however, the inner east attracted low-income households, the majority of which were migrant households. Today, the area is well-known and celebrated as a migrant area but is increasingly endangered by rising rents and incipient upgrading.

In this article, we critically reflect on the trajectory of this area as an arrival space since 1990. We analyse causes and impacts of heterogeneity and how they are interrelated with housing market and neighbourhood development. We pursue two research questions:

> RQ1: How can we outline the development of Leipzig's inner east by applying the perspective of urban arrival spaces?
>
> RQ2: What can we learn from the example of Leipzig for the general debate on urban arrival spaces?

The article is structured as follows: In Section 2, we introduce and discuss the debate on urban arrival spaces; in Section 3, we describe Leipzig as a case study as well as the materials and methods used; in Section 4, we explain the story and characteristics of Leipzig's inner east as an arrival space, before we discuss our empirical findings in light of the literature in Section 5. Section 6 provides some concluding remarks.

2. Urban Arrival Spaces: An Emerging Debate

The scientific debate on urban spaces that are characterised by the arrival of new inhabitants is not new. From a historical perspective, debates about 'urban arrival spaces' go back to the Chicago School and the 'zones of transition.' These zones were used to describe inner-city areas in the USA with a heterogeneous population and high in- and out-flows, as well as community, retail, and labour market structures that support the settlement of new inhabitants at times of dynamic immigration (Park & Burgess, 1925).

Recently, debates on "arrival spaces," "urban arrival infrastructures" (Meeus, van Heur, & Arnaut, 2019), and related "localized resources in zones of transition" (Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & de Decker, 2019) have (re-)emerged and reflected the increased level and visibility of migration in urban spaces as well as daily practices in cities. The book *Arrival City* by Doug Saunders (2010) played a significant role to push this growing discourse. The book presents insights from various arrival neighbourhoods in cities on all continents and discusses their potential to facilitate arrival and settling. In Germany, the debate about various dimensions of "arrival" and the discourse of urban arrival spaces was accelerated by the "long summer of migration" in 2015 (Kasparek & Speer, 2015) and the reception of large numbers of refugees (e.g., Kurtenbach, 2015; Werner et al., 2018).

The scientific debate around urban arrival spaces mostly revolves around heterogeneous populations in specific urban areas. Those areas are inhabited by a high proportion of people with an international biography, have a high level of in- and out-migration, thus a high fluctuation of inhabitants and a relatively high proportion of socially disadvantaged people (e.g., people with a low income and/or state welfare recipients). Furthermore, areas that are referred to as urban arrival spaces are characterised by lower rents compared to other urban areas, as well as the existence of diverse support structures, networks for newcomers such as job opportunities, assistance/social associations (Biehl, 2014; Kurtenbach, 2015; for a summary, see also Hans, Hanhörster, Polívka, & Beißwenger, 2019), and (street-level) networks and infrastructures for the exchange of goods, services, information, and care (Hall, King, & Finlay, 2017).

The debates on urban arrival spaces emerged as a 'counterpart' to the established problem-oriented perception of 'parallel societies,' 'disadvantaged' neighbourhoods, and segregated inner-city areas ("ethnic enclave" [Wilson & Martin, 1982], "immigrant enclave" [Portes & Manning, 1986]). Such delimiting terms dominated the discussion about urban areas with a high proportion of people with an international biography—even if some of the debates responded positively to the aspect of diversity (see Faist & Häußermann, 1996; Häußermann & Siebel, 2001).

The recently established debate stresses the positive and promising aspects of such areas and their potential for socio-economic (upward) mobility, housing consolidation, and the settlement of newcomers. Referring to the notion of "urban zones of transition," Schillebeeckx et al. (2019) support the perspective that a concentration of migrant newcomers in a neighbourhood leads to a "specialisation" in arrival and transition within that neighbourhood. This paradigm shift is also supported by various studies, including one by Rodatz (2012) who discusses the notion of "productive parallel societies" where migration is referred to as a "cultural resource." He observes a shift from a deficit-oriented integration policy towards an urban policy that acknowledges migration and views migrant districts as productive and resourceful sites of diversity. The perspective of arrival spaces or "migrant hubs" (Biehl, 2014) emphasises opportunities for settling, finding housing, a job, and networks for consolidation, and social upward mobility (Meeus et al., 2019). Even if the arrival spaces debate does outline the role of these structures for longer term social and economic participation, the focus lies on

the first steps after arrival and the first phases of societal integration. Conflicts are understood as a subject of negotiation rather than as a problem; they are seen as a normal part of daily life in heterogeneous environments (Blokland, 2017; Meerow, Newell, & Stults, 2016).

There is a large and rapidly increasing body of literature around debates on heterogeneous urban environments, diversity, and differences. Such debates focus on how people perceive and cope with diverse environments in their daily life and practices (e.g., Anthias, 2013; Valentine, 2013; Vertovec, 2007). Studies look at the ways in which people interact in these environments and how encounters between different social groups may decrease social distance and prejudices—although the results are quite mixed, depending on whether a more optimistic or a more pessimistic view is taken (see Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019; see Bannister & Kearns, 2013; Nast & Blokland, 2014; Valentine, 2013, for a rather pessimistic view; see Großmann et al., 2020, for a summary).

Consequently, the arrival spaces perspective focuses on the situation and circumstances of 'arrival' in heterogeneous and dynamically changing neighbourhoods. In this context, 'arrival' can be understood as the settling and improvement of living conditions in terms of social, economic, and political inclusion, for which the arrival neighbourhoods offer supportive conditions. This can have different consequences in the longer term: Either newcomers stay in the neighbourhood and improve their living conditions, or they stay there without enhanced social mobility. Moving to another neighbourhood might be difficult or impossible (e.g., due to housing costs) and such a move could mean either an increase or a decrease in social and economic opportunities. However, we would like to underline that the focus on 'arrival' itself is not without its problems, since it entails the danger of misinterpretation or can imply a blurred perspective, because it separates the arrival of so-called migrants from a much more complex constellation of urban in- and outmigration. This runs the risk of overinterpreting the presence of a migration biography and undermining an intersectional perspective of the social and economic living conditions in such areas. Critical studies speak of a "migrantisation" of social contexts (e.g., Dahinden, 2016) or look at stigmatisation by categorisation (for example, when a migration biography is viewed as a 'natural' and core feature of a person). Still, the majority of neighbourhoods described as arrival spaces show high proportions of low-income households and people who depend on state welfare and, among those groups, a high proportion of people with a migration background. Thus, in our study, we focus on the arrival of people with a migration background who face an above-average number of barriers, e.g., due to language issues, different kinds of residence permits, as well as structural and practical problems regarding access to jobs and housing. These population groups are additionally disadvantaged even if the level of disadvantage and exposure to discrimination may vary considerably. A limited, positive description of 'arrival' as an asset or potential of the related spaces at least opens a door to neoliberal thinking and the deliberate disregard of their multiple disadvantages.

Arrival spaces may emerge and develop at different places across a city; their development depends on the overall housing market conditions and might change over time (Dunkl, Moldovan, & Leibert, 2019). We can identify different constellations or pathways of arrival spaces such as: a) "established, long-term" arrival spaces; b) areas where the arrival characteristics are being endangered by upgrading, displacement, and residential change; or c) areas where people move to due to a lack of alternatives (Haase & Schmidt, 2019). Arrival spaces thus may shift in terms of place, but they may also shift in meaning for the people living there. What is more, arrival spaces do not necessarily end at the neighbourhood border: they may include the city as a whole and even exceed the city limits (Hans et al., 2019).

The current debate on arrival spaces has discussed the causes and effects of housing market development and gentrification in so-called ethnic/migrant neighbourhoods and those shaped by migrant-related business zones (Hwang, 2015; Murdie & Teixeira, 2010; van Gent & Musterd, 2016), especially in the context of tourism and consumption (Fainstein & Powers, 2007; Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004) or the stresses of increased social diversity (Budnik et al., 2016). However, the links between neighbourhood upgrading and displacement have not been intensely researched yet. Some studies refer to the challenges of rising attractiveness and upgrading, particularly for inner-city arrival spaces in cities with contested housing markets, such as Leipzig's inner east. Generally, there is a need for more research at the intersection between arrival and gentrification, from the perspective of both strands of the debate. Having provided the context of this debate, we will now look at Leipzig as an arrival space with a focus on the inner east.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1. Leipzig as a Case Study

Before characterising the migrant situation in Leipzig, it is necessary to mention some key points of its recent history that occurred during the transformation following German reunification. The specifics of the post-socialist transformation in Leipzig are embedded in the integration of the GDR into the FRG. West Germany served as a blueprint for the transformation, which followed the paradigm of 'catch-up modernisation.' It was expected that the eastern cities 'return' to the position and role within the urban hierarchy that they had held before 1945. Back then, Leipzig had been the fifth largest city in Germany. Laws and institutions were completely adapted to FRG rules. From one moment to the next, eastern Germany had become part of the capitalist world

economy, which was a shock to the system. Leipzig experienced a rapid privatisation of companies in the early 1990s. Most of the companies were closed down, which brought about widespread deindustrialisation (> 80%) and mass unemployment (> 20%) in Leipzig. In the real estate and housing sector, ownership issues and restitution remained a challenge until end of 1990s. As a result, more than 70% of the pre-1918 housing stock in Leipzig is now owned by west German capital investors, real estate funds, and investment companies.

The East German city of Leipzig has quite a specific migration history. During the GDR time and until the political change in 1989/90, the city had a very low number of migrants—they made up around 2% of the population. Nevertheless, with about 12,000 migrants, Leipzig had the second largest community of migrants in the GDR (after East Berlin) and was considered one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the country. These migrants were mainly international students and contract workers, mostly from other socialist countries, who lived in Leipzig for a restricted period of time. After the German reunification, most contract workers and students had to leave the city. Only a small number were allowed to stay. Shortly after reunification, so-called 'late repatriates' from the former Soviet Union (people of German origin) and people from western Germany with international biographies moved to Leipzig. At that time, Leipzig's housing market was still rather contested and the existing vacant apartments were uninhabitable due to disinvestment. The inner east was one of the neighbourhoods where migrants were able to find affordable apartments at that time. From the mid-1990s onwards, Leipzig's first arrival space emerged in this area. For this article, we thus focus on the city's inner east and especially the urban districts of Neustadt-Neuschönefeld (NN) and Volkmarsdorf (V) and the central retail and transport axis Eisenbahnstrasse (see Figure 1) that runs through both neighbourhoods.

At present, Leipzig has some 85,000 people with a migration background, which is 14.2% of the total population. It is on the way to becoming the eastern German city with the largest amount of inhabitants with a migration background (with the exception of Berlin). Currently, within the city one can observe the emergence of a number of neighbourhoods that can be characterised as arrival spaces (Dunkl et al., 2019).

3.2. Empirical Evidence and Methods

This article is based on long-term area observation and research results from different projects that deal with socio-spatial differentiation, poverty, segregation, inner-city residential change, reurbanisation, the governance of shrinkage, and ways of coping with rising population diversity. For the 1990s, these projects include, for example, the *Social Atlas of Leipzig* that examined the segregation of the population and highlighted the multiple disadvantages of Leipzig's inner east in the early and mid-1990s (Kabisch, Kindler, & Rink, 1997), a scientific report financed by the municipality on living circumstances that shows the accumulation of inequalities in Leipzig's inner east (Stadt Leipzig, 1999), as well as another project that identified the concentration of poverty in this area (Richter, 2000). In the 2000s, Leipzig's inner east was studied in terms of inner-city reurbanisation after decline; international migrants were identified as one of the groups driving the renewal (Haase, Herfert, Kabisch, & Steinführer, 2012). The EU project *Shrink Smart* then dealt with the urban restructuring in Leipzig's inner east at the end of the 2000s/beginning of the 2010s, and detailed the partial upgrading through greening and restructuring measures (Rink, Bernt, Großmann, & Haase, 2014). The increasing social heterogeneity in the area and issues of perception and coping with diversity were studied in another EU project titled Divercities from 2013–2017 (Budnik et al., 2016, Haase et al., 2019). Those studies are based on different data sets obtained through various qualitative and quantitative methods. The advantage of this long-term perspective is that despite the changing foci of the aforementioned projects,

Figure 1. The old built-up area of Leipzig's inner east (left) and the central axis Eisenbahnstrasse (right). Source: A. Haase and EU project Divercities.

we are still able to trace the development of this area with our own empirical material and can compare it with the development of the entire city.

For empirical illustration, we make use of local statistics related to the arrival space criteria (i.e., data on population and household development, socio-economic and income data, the housing market situation and housing conditions, funding schemes), as well as empirical evidence gathered from the above-mentioned projects (e.g., expert and household interviews, surveys, practice formats such as participatory events in green spaces, workshops, in-situ observations and mapping, as well as the assessment of municipal policy and planning documents). When referring to those results in the empirical part of our article, we will indicate the type of research and where the original results were published.

4. Story of Leipzig's Inner East as an Arrival Space

4.1. Tracing the Development of the Area

Leipzig's inner east is a former working-class area close to the city centre that emerged adjacent to the railway tracks in the second half of the 19th century. It was a densely built area characterised by the pre-1918 housing stock. Later, after some parts of the railway tracks were removed, the Eisenbahnstrasse (which literally translates as 'railway street') formed a central transport and retail axis. Already at this time, the area was a kind of transition zone, with a lot of in- and out-migration and many working-class households. It was called 'the red east' due to the high numbers of residents who were members or voters of the workers' left-wing parties. Some parts of the area had a bad reputation due to crime.

During the GDR, the area suffered from neglect, long-term disinvestment, decay, and both residential and commercial vacancies, which led to a massive rent gap. After 1990 the area experienced enormous population shrinkage, but at the same time the first signs of an emerging arrival space appeared. In the 1990s, nearly two thirds of the pre-war housing stock had been refurbished, leading to a consolidation of the residential function. This specific combination of population decline and structural upgrading prevented the closure of the rent gap and there was a lack of solvent demand for housing. In the 2000s, Leipzig's east experienced reurbanisation that was particularly driven by migrants. Since 2010, the area has faced dynamic population growth and upgrading. In the course of this process, the character of the area as an arrival space has become increasingly contested (Haase & Rink, 2015), the growth of the 2010s was mainly driven by migrants. Nowadays, Leipzig's inner east represents one of the most dynamically growing neighbourhoods in a growing city. The area can be seen as an established urban arrival area facing very heterogeneous in-migration in relation to age, income status, household status, and nationality. Table 1 provides a more detailed overview of the phases of development.

4.2. Socio-Demographic and Socio-Economic Structures

The municipal statistics provide evidence that the NN and V districts, which encompass the arrival area, have an above-average proportion of people with a migration background and people with a non-German nationality compared with Leipzig as a whole (see Table 2). Among the inhabitants with a migration background and without German citizenship, we find a large number of nationalities; the largest groups are people from Russia, Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Romania, which indicates the diversity of countries. In contrast to many western German cities, there are many first-generation migrants and a considerable share of late repatriates from the former Soviet Union. Since 2000, NN and V are the only districts (apart from the city centre) with a constant share of migrant population that is more than double the city average (Schmidt, 2016, p. 40). The average age of the population is lower than in other districts, especially due to the migrant population and the comparably high proportion of children among migrant households (Martin, 2018, p. 14). In both districts, the youth rate is higher and the rate of elderly people is considerably lower compared to the city average (see Table 2).

As for the migration balance, after the out-migration that occurred until the late 1990s, both districts saw a constant positive migration balance from 2000 onwards. After 2010, they were among the districts in Leipzig's inner city with the highest yearly growth rates—this was also due to the fact that, back then, they still had higher vacancy rates and could absorb more people. At the time of the 2011 census, NN had a vacancy rate of 25.3% and V of 34.7%, which are extremely high values (for comparison, the city average was 12.1%; Statistisches Landesamt Sachsen, 2014, p. 16). The vacancy rate across the city as a whole has meanwhile fallen to approximately 4% (2018), while in NN it is probably twice as high and in V three times as high (our estimations are based on information from local housing market experts as well as a mapping of vacancies in the area in early 2020). This is shown by a mapping of a part of Leipzig's inner east in March 2020 that revealed a vacancy rate of 17.3% in non-renovated, pre-war housing stock.

Values for in- and out-migration are more than double the city average (see Table 2) and the same holds true for total migration compared to number of inhabitants. Subsequently, we observe a high fluctuation of inhabitants in Leipzig's inner east as is typical for arrival spaces. High fluctuation does not just refer to migrant households but to other households as well.

Both areas also show an above-average proportion of low-income households and welfare recipients. In NN, these figures are double the city average and they are even triple in V (2017, see Table 2). Looking at income apart from welfare, we see a noticeable difference be-

Table 1. Development of Leipzig's inner east since 1990.

Phase	Description
Decay, out-migration, and renewal First half of the 1990s	The area experienced large-scale population losses that had already started before the peaceful revolution. It suffered from the decay of old built-up stock due to long-term disinvestment prior to 1990. A considerable proportion of the apartments was vacant and uninhabitable (1995 vacancy rate in NN: 28.8%, in V: 15.5%; Stadt Leipzig, 1995). The demolition of old building stock and its replacement with GDR-style prefabricated concrete buildings had stopped. Eisenbahnstrasse lost its importance as a retail hub and commercial vacancies appeared. The renovation of building stock started (Doehler & Rink, 1996).
Emergence of a space of arrival Second half of the 1990s	Population losses continued while more and more old buildings were renovated. Vacancies also emerged in renovated housing. By the end of the 1990s, the population losses slowed down and new in-migration started due to the availability of renovated housing in central locations and low housing costs caused by significant oversupply (Großmann, Arndt, Haase, Rink, & Steinführer, 2015). Among the new in-migrants, there were particularly increasing numbers of migrant households. Migrant-owned retail emerged while rates of commercial vacancies remained high.
Consolidation of neighbourhood and arrival space 2000s	The area experienced a period of moderate inner-city reurbanisation, mainly driven by young(er) one-person households, cohabiting households, shared apartments, among them increasingly migrants, students, and low-income families. The percentage of migrants reached figures considerably exceeding the city average (Haase et al., 2012). A smaller part of the dilapidated housing was demolished and further renovation took place, forming the basis for further in-migration. Additionally, the area saw the restructuring and greening of streets and the enlargement of Rabet Park through public funds. Support infrastructure for the inhabitants was created through publicly funded programmes, partly addressing migrants' needs. The support infrastructure mainly helped to prevent the further decline of the area; it also backed and fostered civil society engagement.
Dynamic growth and insipient upgrading; arrival space endangered? 2010s	Set against the context of dynamic regrowth in Leipzig as a whole, the city's inner east neighbourhoods experienced in this decade new growth rates of 20–30%. In-migration included students, early-stage professionals, artists, lower-income families, and single parents; people with a migration background were increasingly well represented among in-migrants. The majority of building stock is renovated, there are also some examples of upmarket renovation. Vacancies are vanishing, housing costs are increasing, and a debate about gentrification, displacement, and the protection of residents has started (Haase et al., 2019; Haase & Rink, 2015). Despite cuts in funding, support infrastructure continues to exist; migrant self-organisation has become more important.

tween the districts: In NN, 70% of all household income stems from employment, in V it's only 52%; in V, both individual and household income are considerably below the city's average (Stadt Leipzig & Amt für Statistik und Wahlen, 2018, pp. 75, 79). In both areas, there is a low percentage of employed people, which is due to a higher percentage of welfare recipients and unemployed people (this applies more to V than to NN; see Table 2). In addition, the area also became attractive for student households (shared apartments), which are part of the low(er) income population. The share of students is higher in these neighbourhoods compared to the city average (e.g., Haase et al., 2012).

These features coincide with the rent level, which is still low in both areas meaning that affordable housing is available. But, here too, we see a difference between V and NN (Stadt Leipzig, 2018, pp. 76, 80): in V, rents are today (in April of 2020) lower than in NN. This fact is in line with the lower employment rate and lower income in V. Over the past few years, NN saw a certain degree of 'consolidation' in terms of its residents' socio-economic situation. Still, it can be seen as an arrival space in relation to population composition, proportion of migrants, and fluctuation, although less so with regard to income and housing.

The arrival of migrants in the second half of the 1990s stopped further decline, decreased vacancies in the housing stock, and led to the re-use of retail space, thus keeping the area liveable and vibrant. Support structures and funding spent on newcomers helped to make the area more attractive (establishment of two parks, renovation of streetscapes, planting of street trees, etc.). Moreover, these structures formed an environment where newcomers could get advice and help to

Table 2. Selected socio-demographic and socio-economic data for Leipzig and the districts NN and V for the period 2000–2017.

	2001			2005			2011			2017		
	Leipzig	NN	V	Leipzig	NN	V	Leipzig	NN	V	Leipzig	NN	V
Inhabitants	519420	9272	8069	528156	9969	8315	517838	9408	7952	590337	12687	12676
Population with migration background (%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	8.6	29.4	28.1	14.1	36.2	42.1
of these: Foreigners (%)	4.7	10.8	10.0	5.1	16.4	14.8	5.2	20.4	19.0	9.5	25.7	32.7
Welfare recipients * (%)	5.5	13.3	15.2	15.2	31.3	37.3	14.3	32.1	31.9	10.8	22.4	31.3
Unemployment (%)	12.9	18.2	20.1	14.0	22.6	25.3	8.8	14.6	19.5	5.4	7.8	10.8
Employment (%)	48.7	45.3	43.1	43.7	33.8	31.6	52.8	38.5	35.0	58.2	44.5	37.9
Students (%)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	6.0	15.0	10.0	11.0	19.0	22.0
Average age **	+42.7	−11.8	−10.3	+43.1	−6.0	−5.2	+43.8	−6.5	−4.3	+42.4	−7.6	−7.9
Youth rate **	14.4	8.0	17.5	13.3	2.0	3.4	18.2	0.1	0.9	20.6	4.3	1.8
Migration balance per 1000 inhabitants	+5.8	+17.4	−36.1	+5.4	+16.6	−16.4	+18.9	+30.2	+42.5	+17.4	+28.4	+89.8
Rent load quota (% of income)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	34.0	37.0	36.0	30.0	30.0	38.0

Notes: * until 2004 recipients of *Sozialhilfe* (welfare benefits) and, from 2005 onwards, recipients of benefits according to SozialGesetzBuchII (Social Act II); ** V and NN difference to city average. Source: Based on municipal data from Stadt Leipzig & Amt für Statistik und Wahlen (2002, 2006, 2012, 2018).

cope with the demands of daily life. Importantly, the support structures helped to set up the basic conditions for keeping the area attractive, so that it could become a new hub for arrival.

As a consequence of rising rents in Leipzig's inner east, the neighbouring districts face international in-migration where people just move in, but still use the support infrastructure in the area around Eisenbahnstrasse. Since 2015, 'new' spaces of arrival have emerged in other districts of Leipzig, in particular during the massive in-migration streams of 2015/16. The large housing estates at the eastern and western fringes of the city are among the last districts that offer low-cost housing. In this context, we are tempted to speak of 'forced' arrival spaces, as these areas are among the only ones still affordable for low-income households. However, these areas currently do not offer the kind of opportunity and support structures that we find in Leipzig's inner east. Therefore, many migrants travel from their residential locations to the inner east to go shopping and foster contacts.

By and large, one can summarise that arrival in Leipzig's inner east became increasingly 'migration-based' over the last two decades; migrants arriving here are very heterogeneous with respect to national, professional, and educational background. Migration-based arrival intertwines with non-migrants coming to the area.

4.3. Policy, Planning, Networks, and Recognition

As mentioned in Table 1, the area has developed dynamically since 1990. At the beginning of 1990s, three large-scale redevelopment areas were established in Leipzig's inner east and renovations were supported by federal urban renewal programmes. At the end of the 1990s, due to the concentration of poor people with and without a migration background, a high crime rate, and the emergence of a drug scene, Leipzig's inner east was declared a 'social hotspot.' Basing on that in the early 2000s, a federal programme to support social cohesion and reduce disadvantage was implemented. The new growth after 2010 made all those developments largely obsolete. Since then, private capital has once again been invested in the renewal of residential buildings and new housing construction. This has caused an increase in rent and property prices. The city council is seeking to define protected areas or milieu conservation areas for Leipzig's inner east (a milieu conservation area is

based on an instrument called *Erhaltungssatzung* [maintenance/preservation statute] which is a juridical instrument designed to protect/preserve the built stock/fabric of an area and the composition of its residential population). The aim is to prevent expensive renewal or modernisation of the residential buildings and the subsequent displacement of poorer households including migrant households.

Since 2000, a network of support infrastructure for low-income and other disadvantaged households has been developed around Eisenbahnstrasse, subsidised by funds from the federal government, the state government, and the EU. Parts of this infrastructure specifically address the needs of migrants, e.g., services that help them navigate the bureaucracy, fill out forms, search for a job, etc. Recently, migrant self-organisation has become more important, as has the role of migrants as shop owners and house owners. A study on local businesses clearly indicated how local retail has adapted to clients with a migration background (Kullmann, Großmann, Haase, Haid, & Budnik, 2018).

In daily life, the heterogeneity of the population in the neighbourhood is largely accepted and people have, in a superficial way, become familiar with it. However, as an interview study revealed in the early 2010s, there is much distance and othering between people, as well as avoidance when it comes to speaking about conflicts (Haase et al., 2019). In recent years, local stakeholders reported a growing level of racism and discrimination, especially after 2015.

In order to fight (drug and other) crime, Eisenbahnstrasse was declared a 'weapon ban zone' in late 2018—one of very few such zones in all of Germany. This status permits police to conduct random checks and there is much debate about whether migrants are checked more often than other people. The local discourse on the area is highly controversial: for instance, Wiest and Kirndörfer (2019) uncover paradoxical negotiations and discursive logics as well as othering processes within local media debates and urban development policies related to the issue of migration and the area around Eisenbahnstrasse. They identify a discursive construction of the "productive deviance" of migrants, when analysing seemingly positive media notions of migrant entrepreneurs and businesses in Leipzig's inner east (Wiest & Kirndörfer, 2019, p. 12). At the same time, they find a discursive construction of the "migrant criminal," framed as an unproductive deviant within media reports, especially around Eisenbahnstrasse in the years 2014–2015. The overall municipal discourse of the 'city of diversity' remains diffuse and largely anonymous. At the same time, civic society in Leipzig's inner east has started to make the area's heterogeneity and arrival status the subject for debate and celebration; for instance, in 2018, a festival and series of events were organised using the motto "harbour of the city" (Pöge-Haus e.V., 2018).

5. Discussion

5.1. How Can We Outline the Development of Leipzig's Inner East from the Perspective of Urban Arrival Spaces?

When we look at the development of Leipzig's inner east as an urban space of arrival, we can confirm that the area displays most of the characteristics that are described as typical for such areas in the literature, e.g., in studies by Biehl (2014), Kurtenbach (2015), Hall et al. (2017), and Hans et al. (2019). The area has a high proportion of people with a migration background and households with low income, including those receiving unemployment and other welfare benefits. Fluctuation is considerably higher than the city average. Thus, we can summarise:

a) The area still offers affordable housing for households that depend on low rents, although the amount of affordable housing is decreasing. There is a broad range of support infrastructure including some that specifically addresses the needs of migrants. Migrant self-organisation and migrant-based retail have become important. Apart from the arrival of migrants, which is the dominant form of in-migration, Leipzig's inner east also experiences in-migration by non-migrant households. These vary in terms of type, income, and lifestyle. By and large, 'arrival' has become an important feature of the area and, although it was long ignored, this fact has now been acknowledged by policymakers and local civic society. But still, policymakers do not treat arrival as an important comprehensive issue, perhaps with the exception of the management of refugee arrivals in 2015/16 (Werner et al., 2018). Nowadays, the city tries to protect the area's low-income population from becoming displaced: The area was given a protected status designed to maintain the affordability of its housing. Consequently, it is necessary to emphasise the central role of the housing market and the availability of affordable housing for arrival—affordable housing is possibly the most important precondition for settling. Thus, the close intersection between arrival and affordability or arrival and precariousness becomes all the more obvious. This has been acknowledged by recent research on Leipzig's inner east, but also on arrival spaces in other cities (Großmann et al., 2020).

b) Internationality has also become more and more normal in terms of daily life and practices. However, since 2015, the level of racism and discrimination against migrants has increased as well, ranging from institutional discrimination, e.g., by landlords or authorities, to verbal and physical attacks. As such, arrival and 'migration' have also become synonyms for conflicts and crime in public discourse. Here our findings are in line with

Wiest and Kirndörfer (2019), who describe local discourse on the inner east as polarised and contradictory. On the one hand, the city labels itself as cosmopolitan and welcoming. On the other hand, a 'weapon ban zone' was established to counteract crime in Leipzig's inner east in 2018. Criminality is especially assigned to groups of (perceived) migrants and police practices surrounding the enforcement of the zone prompted debates about racial profiling, which opened up questions about how city officials and society perceive and cope with internationalisation. Furthermore, current municipal actions are marked by contradictions and a lack of consistency (see Bernt, 2019).

c) We can identify facts and processes which demonstrate what Schillebeeckx et al. (2019) call the "specialisation" of the arrival area. But we can also see that the 'arrival character' does not remain unchanged over time, an argument that has not yet been greatly debated. The probability of a neighbourhood functioning as an urban space of arrival depends on many factors. Add to this the fact that opportunity structures might decrease or even vanish in the future. Such processes relate to the increased impact of upgrading that endangers households with limited income or which depend on affordable rent. On the one hand, the recent development and increased in-migration made the area more attractive for a large range of people; on the other hand, there are many different and also opposing interests (such as those of housing market actors, the municipality, organised civic society, and groups of residents) regarding how the area should develop in the future and what it should ultimately become. As a consequence, further displacement of low-income households might take place. Thus, Leipzig's arrival spaces might 'move' in the next years and 'evolve' in other areas. This once again highlights the central importance of housing market developments for the existence and decline/emergence of arrival spaces.

5.2. What Can We Learn from the Example of Leipzig for the General Debate on Urban Arrival Spaces?

In the following, we summarise some issues that show how our case study contributes to the general debate on arrival spaces:

a) Context of transformation, shrinkage, and regrowth. Applying the arrival perspective to Leipzig's inner east shows how closely intertwined it is with the specifics of the district and its history of shrinkage and regrowth. While the establishment of an arrival space was made possible by the peaceful revolution and the legal situation following German reunification, it was also decisively facilitated by the shrinkage context (vacancies, low housing costs, proximity to city centre). This context even outweighed the area's poor employment prospects. In retrospect, migrants who moved into vacant apartments and opened their businesses in vacant shops during the second half of the 1990s and the early 2000s can be regarded as the pioneers of reurbanisation in Leipzig's inner east. In the context of regrowth that is still ongoing at the time of writing (April of 2020), the new growth that began in 2010 endangers the arrival characteristics as it is leading to increasing housing costs, displacement, and higher barriers for low-income households that wish to access the area. Thus, the hallmarks of incipient gentrification can be observed. The area's vacancies are vanishing, its function as an arrival space is endangered, and new arrivals are increasingly forced to move to areas on the fringes of the city. Housing market developments and housing availability—or rather, a lack of affordable housing—represents one of the most decisive factors governing the existence of arrival spaces, especially in cities that are characterised by contradictory dynamics like shrinkage and new growth in a comparably short time.

b) Arrival as a constellation of multiple favourable factors. The case of Leipzig's inner east shows that arrival can be described as a constellation where a number of favourable factors and enabling conditions come together. These constellations make it easier for newcomers to settle in a certain urban space, but might be dynamically changing (Biehl, 2014, p. 16). Arrival spaces may shift across the urban territory as we have seen in Leipzig in the second half of 2010s. The spatial allocation and duration of arrival constellations thus depends on many factors such as population development, housing and real estate market development, and the city's economic performance, but also on local policymaking, decision-making, and informal practices (Hall et al., 2017; Meeus et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019).

c) Arrival between acknowledgement and challenge. Arrival has been increasingly acknowledged as a central characteristic of Leipzig's inner east by policymakers and city planners, but also by people, entrepreneurs, and stakeholders who live and work in the area. The area is addressed as an arrival space in public and policy discourse, and the protection of the current inhabitants has become a priority of the city's strategic policymaking, not despising existing problems. However, arrival is being perceived and treated as an issue that represents both a promise and a challenge; the discourse and policymaking are full of contradictions and paradoxes (Wiest & Kirndörfer, 2019). For a long time

there has been a lack of acknowledgement that arrival spaces are spaces where low-income households concentrate and that those areas need protection when housing markets become more contested (Haase et al., 2019). Leipzig's case clearly shows that arrival has to be looked at across different levels, from individual neighbourhoods to the entire city (see also Bernt, 2019, p. 65; Werner et al., 2018, p. 122).

d) The importance of bringing arrival into other debates (racism, othering, and discrimination). The Leipzig example demonstrates that it is necessary to combine the perspective of arrival spaces with other perspectives on neighbourhood development and ways of dealing with a multicultural and diversifying urban society. The arrival approach is sensitive to the specific situation of migrants and the many additional barriers they face when settling in a place. Approaches such as intersectionality could help to provide a more complex view on these multiple disadvantages (Großmann et al., 2020). Furthermore, the arrival debate should not undermine the prevailing problems of racism, othering, and discrimination by 'reinterpreting' arrival as a story of challenges that may transform into opportunities. Social conflict theory has always suggested that social conflicts are triggers for change, and explicitly dealing with these conflicts can help to overcome a dichotomist view of 'positive' and 'negative' development. If nothing else, we see an overlap between the arrival debate and the gentrification debate.

e) Overlap between arrival, gentrification, and displacement. The Leipzig case points to some crossover between the debate on arrival spaces and gentrification that have so far been rarely addressed. As we briefly outlined in Section 2, the two debates do not communicate much with each other yet, except for some studies that address those links more or less explicitly. The majority of studies on gentrification do not specifically look at the arrival context, and studies on arrival spaces only occasionally refer to the danger of upgrading and displacement. Due to the housing supply surplus, displacement was not a relevant issue in Leipzig's inner east for a long time. The situation changed when Leipzig started to face dynamic population growth after 2010. To date cases of direct displacement are still rare in Leipzig's inner east, but there is increasing displacement pressure that specifically threatens low-income households, many of which are migrant households. These developments can also be observed in the arrival spaces of other German and European cities.

6. Conclusion

Our study revealed that Leipzig's inner east can be defined as an arrival space but with certain specific attributes. Firstly, it is a case of arrival in a post-socialist city that has seen fundamental transformation since 1990. Secondly, arrival in Leipzig and especially the inner east has been strongly impacted and shaped by the overall conditions of extreme shrinkage and, after a short interim of stabilisation, dynamic new growth. The public, the city, and policymakers all recognise that the arrival function is a central characteristic of Leipzig's inner east, which shows a certain degree of normalisation, but this perspective remains ambivalent and contradictory. Since the late 2010s, upgrading, displacement pressure, and increasing housing costs have endangered the area's arrival character, i.e., the many low-income households living there. At the same time, new spaces of arrival are emerging at the fringes of the city. If nothing else, the topic of arrival challenges the way Leipzig's urban society understands itself, as well as broader issues of inclusion, recognition, and citizenship. Thus, the character of a neighbourhood as an urban arrival space has to be addressed as an issue that operates across policy levels and which is dependent on a constellation of favourable conditions that may be short-lived or long-lasting. The case study also showed that there is great potential for cross-fertilisation between the arrival spaces debate and other debates about diversifying urban societies and neighbourhood change. Such exchange would help to provide a comprehensive picture and meaningful assessments.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Peripheral Estates as Arrival Spaces? Conceptualising Research on Arrival Functions of New Immigrant Destinations

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Abstract
In recent years, the question of how urban spaces support the arrival of immigrants has found increased attention among scholars. The emerging discussion uses terms like arrival cities, arrival neighbourhoods, arrival spaces, arrival contexts, or arrival infrastructures to refer to local conditions which support immigrant inclusion. This discussion, however, tends to focus empirically and conceptually on neighbourhoods or cities with long-standing migration histories. Connected to this, arrival spaces are often conceptualised as spaces with strong migrant support networks and economies, as well as with high levels of functional diversity and a high fluctuation of residents. Less focus is placed on the question of if and how destinations that lack these characteristics support the arrival of new immigrants. This contribution focuses on this by discussing existent conceptualisations of arrival spaces and contrasting them with empirical illustrations of peripheral estate neighbourhoods in east German cities that have experienced a substantial population loss since the 1990s, resulting in the partial demolition of housing and infrastructure. Since the refugee migration to Germany starting in 2015, the population dynamic in these neighbourhoods has changed substantially. We contrast these developments with the literature on arrival contexts in order to reflect the strengths and weaknesses of the concept, specifically regarding the conditions in new destinations where migrant networks and economies are still emerging, functional diversity is low, and the role of residential fluctuation is unclear. While this article draws on empirical material, its major objective is to point out the blind spots in the current discussion around arrival spaces. It develops questions and offers a research agenda that introduces a wider and more varied set of neighbourhoods into the evolving research agenda on arrival spaces.

Keywords
arrival spaces; housing; immigrant destinations; immigrant neighbourhoods; peripheral estates; refugee migration

Issue
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1. Introduction

In recent years, terms like arrival cities, neighbourhoods, contexts, spaces, or infrastructures have become increasingly popular among planners and scholars. They are often employed to introduce a perspective on immigrant segregation that is different from discourses that see immigrant neighbourhoods as endangering immigrant integration. Instead, the discussion on 'arrival spaces', or 'arrival neighbourhoods' emphasises that immigrant neighbourhoods offer crucial resources to newcomers. While this has proven productive in framing a new perspective

on immigrant neighbourhoods, it also involves specific empirical and conceptual weaknesses.

Many of the characteristics commonly seen as central attributes of arrival neighbourhoods are deducted from empirical studies on neighbourhoods that have long been immigrant destinations. Consequently, the conceptualisation of arrival neighbourhoods relates mainly to inner-city neighbourhoods with a long-standing migration history, a high number of immigrant residents, and a dense and diverse local infrastructure. Yet, due to increasing housing costs and gentrification, new immigrants are more and more pushed into peripheral neighbourhoods and cities that lack many of the characteristics of these long-term immigrant destinations. We argue, therefore, that there is a strong need to extend the empirical research around arrival neighbourhoods beyond established immigrant neighbourhoods, and to introduce a wider set of contexts into the debate.

In this article, we discuss the concept of arrival neighbourhoods by looking at three cases of peripheral housing estates in East Germany that have become major destinations for immigrants only recently, during the course of the recent refugee migration to Germany that started in 2015. While we use these neighbourhoods as illustrations, the article's aim is a conceptual one. We develop a set of conceptual and research questions to refocus the current scope of research in order to widen the range of contextual conditions taken into account.

We proceed in two steps. First, we carve out central characteristics of arrival neighbourhoods as they are discussed in the literature. As a second step, we compare these with the situations in three housing estates in Schwerin, Halle (Saale), and Cottbus, which we use as empirical illustrations for our argument. All three areas were built in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and were popular residential neighbourhoods during that time. In the 1990s, however, they experienced severe population losses that were accompanied by a downsizing (and often the demolition) of central pieces of infrastructure such as shops, cinemas, schools, and kindergartens. Since around 2015, these neighbourhoods have seen an increasing number of new immigrant residents. The foundation for this discussion is in a broader joint research project in which we observe the ongoing dynamics in these neighbourhoods (the "From Demolitions to Immigration? New Perspectives for Peripheral Estates" project at Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space in Erkner and HU Berlin, funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research).

2. The Discussion on Arrival Spaces and Its Blind Spots

The role of neighbourhoods in immigrant integration is a well-established topic in urban and migration studies (Bolt, Özüekren, & Philips, 2010; Burgess, 1928; McKenzie, 1924). While there is a common argument that immigrant enclaves are beneficial for immigrants' access to resources (Portes & Bach, 1985; Zhou, 2009), theses which doubt this claim are often more dominant in policy formulation and in research. In particular, research on neighbourhood effects frequently starts from the question of if immigrant neighbourhoods trap immigrants in so-called 'parallel societies' and endanger their social integration (Bolt et al., 2010; Breton, 1964; Hans, Hanhörster, Polívka, & Beißwenger, 2019).

A rather new debate—originating from the book *Arrival City* written by Canadian journalist Doug Saunders (2011)—uses terms like arrival city, arrival neighbourhood, arrival spaces, and arrival infrastructure to counter this view. It starts out by asking how localities provide newcomers with crucial resources and builds on positions that have been developed in past debates about immigrant neighbourhoods. The overall question put forward in this discussion, which sometimes focuses on cities and sometimes on neighbourhoods, is which structures of local life support new immigrants and provide them with information, social support, (informal) job opportunities, housing, etc. (Hans et al., 2019, p. 4).

For example, Meeus, van Heur, and Arnaut (2019, p. 1) define arrival infrastructures as the "parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled upon arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated," and where they "find the stability to move on." Starting from such definitions of arrival contexts, the literature so far provides a number of characteristics that are seen as typical for arrival neighbourhoods. The most discussed characteristics are expanded upon below.

First, arrival spaces are often characterised as places with a high share of migrant residents and networks that are shaped by a long-standing migration history. These already existing networks are especially important as they provide new migrants access to resources such as information, job opportunities, housing options, etc. upon their arrival (Hans et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck, & de Decker, 2019). This argument of the neighbourhood as a nexus for the provision of resources was also established in the ethnic enclave debate of the 1980s, which posited that immigrant neighbourhoods are places where crucial institutions and networks are located that help people, for example, to enter the job market (Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Manning, 1986). In this vein, Schillebeeckx et al. (2019, p. 148) show inter alia how recent migrants to an immigrant neighbourhood compensate for their lack of access to formal employment by relying "on social networks which are often forged in local community centres or local squares."

Second, arrival neighbourhoods are often characterised in terms of the density of the residential population, the built environment, and infrastructure. Dense and functionally diverse neighbourhoods that combine residential, commercial, and civic uses can offer a range of opportunity structures to help migrants make connections and access support, information, and other services. This may include shops, agencies, groceries, and

banking services, as well as migrant established organisations and NGOs that provide legal and/or social aid (Hans et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019; Sidney, 2019). Neighbourhoods that are dense with this kind of infrastructure of shops and civic or social organisations are often important platforms for the dissemination of information and support, as previous research has shown (Elwert, 1982; Small, 2009; Zhou, 2009).

Third, another core characteristic of arrival spaces that is mentioned in the literature is a high rate of residential fluctuation. Kurtenbach (2015, p. 309) postulates, e.g., that arrival neighbourhoods work as catalysts for immigrant integration, as a significant part of migrants do not settle there long-term, but instead move on to other neighbourhoods or cities. Thus, literature on arrival neighbourhoods often includes the question of immigrants moving on (Meeus et al., 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019) and sometimes uses residential fluctuation as a criterion to identify arrival neighbourhoods (Dunkl, Moldovan, & Leibert, 2019; Kurtenbach, 2015). A common reference for this assumed relationship between residential and social mobility is the Chicago School's concept of the 'zone in transition,' a term meant to characterise the areas of a city where immigrants arrive and establish themselves before they move on to neighbourhoods outside the city centre (Burgess, 1928; Kurtenbach, 2015; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019). This assumption of a close association of residential and social mobility is also akin to the basic assumption in residential assimilation approaches, which state that immigrants or minority members move to higher status neighbourhoods when they achieve a higher socio-economic position (Massey & Denton, 1985). However, this simple association of social and residential mobility tends to overlook structural constraints, such as housing discrimination (Auspurg, Schneck, & Hinz, 2019), that can decrease an immigrant's ability to move to higher status neighbourhoods. Furthermore, once established, the infrastructure in immigrant neighbourhoods and/or fear of discrimination in non-immigrant neighbourhoods can also affect whether immigrant residents prefer to move or stay. These and other factors complicate the simple relationship between social and residential mobility that is assumed in some of the arrival contexts literature.

Connected to this, arrival neighbourhoods are, fourthly, often conceptualised as offering affordable housing for immigrant populations and are, thus, marked by a concurrence of so-called ethnic and social segregation (Kurtenbach, 2015). This, in connection with the close association between residential and social mobility, partly echoes Loic Wacquant's (2004) argument that European immigrant neighbourhoods are 'anti-ghettos,' as they are segregated along class, not race lines. However, this argument tends to overlook that immigrants in European cities are also sorted into specific neighbourhoods and housing segments. This is, for example, due to legal regulations and housing market mechanisms, which include language barriers and discrimination in housing access and rental prices (El-Kayed & Hamann, 2018; Nicholls, 2009; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019; Winke, 2016).

In the past, immigrants were often sorted into stigmatised, less desired neighbourhoods that tended to be in the inner city. These typical arrival spaces have shifted with the increasing gentrification of inner-city neighbourhoods: Contrary to the past, many recent immigrants, therefore, tend to arrive to peripheral estates or suburbs (in North America), rather than in the densely built inner-city 'Little Italys' or 'Berlin Neuköllns' of this world (Massey, 2008; Saunders, 2018). These new arrival contexts, however, are—so far—characterised by a low prevalence of migrant residents and networks, and lack functional diversity, as they are mainly residential areas. Thus, they do not offer the same opportunities that are often discussed as serving a crucial supportive function in more traditional immigrant neighbourhoods, such as a range of immigrant small businesses, associations, and networks.

However, taking the question of what constitutes a successful arrival context as a starting point, most studies on arrival spaces are so far situated in the context of long-standing immigrant neighbourhoods or cities (see, e.g., Böckler, Gestmann, & Handke, 2018; Kurtenbach, 2015; Nikolaeva, 2019; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019). Rarely is the concept used to look at neighbourhoods that have not yet been significantly shaped by migration but are rather new arrival destinations for immigrants (but see Dunkl et al., 2019; Steigemann, 2019). This leads to a situation where the research seldomly looks beyond established immigrant neighbourhoods and does not systematically compare these established immigrant neighbourhoods to other types of neighbourhoods.

Conceptualising characteristics and mechanisms of arrival neighbourhoods mostly on the basis of dense inner-city immigrant neighbourhoods might, therefore, lead to overlooking if and how other peripheral arrival contexts work. These contexts, however, become more and more relevant because of increasing inner-city gentrification. Looking at new, peripheral destination neighbourhoods might be especially beneficial in helping researchers evaluate more clearly which characteristics of urban space are constitutive for successful arrival spaces. Much of the current literature shows how a specific type of neighbourhood hosts structures that support immigrant newcomers but does not compare it systematically with other kinds of neighbourhoods to explore how arrival in these other neighbourhoods does (or does not) work. Thus, it is in the end difficult to say which of the above-mentioned characteristics are necessary or more helpful in supporting immigrants when they arrive. In order to know more about the quality and variations of the processes of arrival, we argue that we need to take other contexts into account and compare them with these already studied neighbourhoods. This includes researching non-supportive elements of de-facto arrival contexts, such as a lack of helpful resources.

Despite these concerns, we find the current debate on arrival contexts helpful because it shifts the focus of the discussion that generally starts from the assumption that a concentration of immigrants hinders their integration towards supportive aspects of immigrant neighbourhoods, and offers a range of fruitful theoretical links (for an expansive discussion see Hans et al., 2019; Meeus et al., 2019). We argue that including new, peripheral destination neighbourhoods into the discussion on arrival spaces can sharpen our understanding of how and which localities (best) support the arrival of new immigrants.

We base the following on three empirical examples of East German peripheral prefabricated estates (*Plattenbau*, or 'prefab estates') which have only recently seen a more significant influx of immigrant residents: Mueßer Holz and Neu Zippendorf in Schwerin, Südliche Neustadt in Halle, and Sandow in Cottbus. We use these three examples not as extensive case studies that can already inform us about their potential to help migrant newcomers arrive, but rather as a foil for contrasting commonly discussed traits of arrival neighbourhoods with the contexts of these neighbourhoods. We would like to highlight that there is, first, a theoretical and empirical relevance to looking beyond typical immigrant neighbourhoods and that this, second, evokes a different set of questions than those currently posed in research on arrival neighbourhoods. With this, we would like to contribute to widening the research agenda on arrival contexts.

3. Three East German Peripheral Prefab Estates, Seen through the Lens of the Arrival Spaces Concept

3.1. Migration History, Residents, and Networks

The difficulty of applying conceptualisations of arrival neighbourhoods that have been developed in specific contexts becomes evident when the current development of large housing estates in East Germany is studied. Prefab estates make up about one fifth of the housing stock in East Germany and have experienced dramatic changes throughout the last three decades. They were built in large numbers under socialism to provide housing for a wide mix of social groups and were characterised by a high standardisation of housing types, centralised infrastructure provision, and an abundance of green space. Most prefab neighbourhoods were, at that time, rather homogenous in ethnic terms. Some prefab estates accommodated dormitories for so-called 'contract workers' (*Vertragsarbeiter/innen*) during the GDR times, mostly from Vietnam and Mozambique (but also from Angola, Cuba, Hungary, and other Eastern Bloc countries), but in terms of numbers, this type of immigration was rather marginal (Bade & Oltmer, 2011, p. 77) and everyday contact between Germans and immigrants was an exception rather than the rule. In 1990, the year of German unification, two thirds of these contract worker labour migrants left Germany (Weiss, 2018, p. 128).

A new influx of immigrants occurred in the 1990s through the immigration of refugees, as well as ethnic Germans and Jewish quota refugees from the former Soviet Union (Panagiotidis, 2017; Salentin, 2007). Obtaining exact statistics about the housing locations of these immigrant groups is difficult, as statistics for smaller geographic units like cities and neighbourhoods are often only available on the basis of citizenship and do not allow for the identification of first- and second-generation immigrants that hold German citizenship. This is especially difficult when assessing the share of ethnic German immigrants, so-called (*Spät-)Aussiedler/innen*, who received German citizenship immediately after migrating to Germany (Haug & Sauer, 2007; Salentin, 2007). It is, however, widely reported that many of these households settled in prefab areas (Fuchs, 1999, p. 91; Vogel, 2011, p. 19). Nevertheless, the overall share of first- and second-generation immigrants (with or without German citizenship, including ethnic German immigrants) is much lower in East Germany than in West Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2019). In Halle-Südliche Neustadt, e.g., the share of residents without German citizenship was only 5.8% in 2000 and 9.5% in 2010 (population registry data provided by the City of Halle), which is rather low compared to immigrant neighbourhoods in West Germany.

Moreover, this international immigration into these neighbourhoods took place at a time when almost all East German cities experienced dramatic population losses (Bernt, 2009; Häußermann & Glock, 2004). These losses were particularly pronounced in large housing estates. The population of Halle-Neustadt, to give one example, went from 89,512 down to 44,666 between 1991 and 2011 (population registry data provided by the City of Halle). Across East Germany, population decline gave rise to urban regeneration programs that aimed at 'rightsizing' cities and neighbourhoods to the size of the reduced population. As a consequence, most estates experienced the demolition of residential buildings, as well as social and technical infrastructure in the 2000s. Population shrinkage and large-scale restructuring plans were, furthermore, accompanied by a take-over of large parts of the housing stock by new financial investors. As the business strategy of these investors is often based on letting flats for very competitive prices to welfare recipients (Bernt, Colini, & Förste, 2017), urban shrinkage and the takeover of large stocks by private investors resulted in a massive influx of low-income households. Moreover, contrary to other landlords, these investors seem to be less discriminatory in their letting practices, with refugees (especially from the Middle East) having often found it easier to rent a flat in these stocks. We can assume that the major reason for this is that private companies have usually purchased low-quality residential blocks in peripheral locations, often with high vacancy-rates. As their business model is based on achieving full occupancy and minimising rental losses (Bernt et al., 2017), they are more likely to not discriminate between

different types of residents than investors with longer-term orientations. As a consequence, these investors not only accepted more migrant housing applications, but proactively targeted the immigrant market, at least in some cases. This facilitated a rapid increase of the concentration of immigrants in the neighbourhoods where private investors held substantial parts of the stocks.

Figures 1 and 2 show the share of non-German citizens in the neighbourhoods. Again, we face the problem that the data shown here does not include first- and second-generation immigrants with German citizenship and, therefore, underestimates the migrant population. However, we can still see that it is only after 2015 that East German prefab neighbourhoods faced a quickly increasing share of migrant households, the main part consisting of refugee immigrants from Syria. This is not only a rise in relative share, as Figure 1 shows, but also a rise in absolute numbers; in Schwerin-Mueßer Holz/Neu Zippendorf, the total number of residents with foreign citizenship in the year 2010 was 1,804, compared to 4,363 in 2019. In Halle-Südliche Neustadt, this number rose from 1,435 in 2010 to 4,682 in 2018, and in Cottbus-Sandow from 508 in 2010 to 1,532 in 2018.

The main part of this increase consists of Syrian refugees (see Figure 2). Their share of the local population was close to zero in 2010, while they now form the largest group of non-German citizens in all three neighbourhoods. In Schwerin-Mueßer Holz/Neu Zippendorf there was only one resident with Syrian nationality in 2010, while there were 1,544 in 2019. In Halle-Südliche Neustadt, the number of Syrian nationals rose from 66 in 2010 to 2,253 in 2018 and in Cottbus-Sandow from 39 in 2015 to 702 in 2018. Thus, in a relatively short time, Syrians became the prevalent immigrant group in neighbourhoods previously characterised by having only a moderate share of migrant groups, mostly coming from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Additionally, all three neighbourhoods saw increases, albeit much smaller, in migrants from different origins (e.g., from Afghanistan, Romania, and Eritrea), which have added to the increasing share of immigrants in the neighbourhoods.

The increased number of refugee residents is also an effect of a residential constraint (*Wohnsitzauflage*) that has been in effect since 2016. This constraint prescribes that refugees who have acquired an asylum status have to take up residency for at least three years in the regional state (*Bundesland*) where their asylum application was processed (El-Kayed & Hamann, 2018).

This situation raises a number of questions regarding the role of existing migrant networks in arrival neighbourhoods, as new immigrants cannot easily connect to long-established networks and newly built networks might not be as efficient in providing access to information and resources (e.g., job opportunities). Connected questions include, for example, if and how new immigrants find ways to access such resources via other channels (e.g., via state programs or non-migrant networks); if and how immigrants are able to connect to pre-existing, smaller immigrant communities with a different migration history and language (immigrants from the former Soviet Union in this case); how new immigrant networks establish themselves and start to build support structures; and if and how immigrants living in these new arrival places might be able to substitute needed support by accessing networks located elsewhere.

3.2. Density and Diversity of the Built Environment and Other Infrastructure

The three discussed neighbourhoods are marked by a low degree of functional diversity and a strong depen-

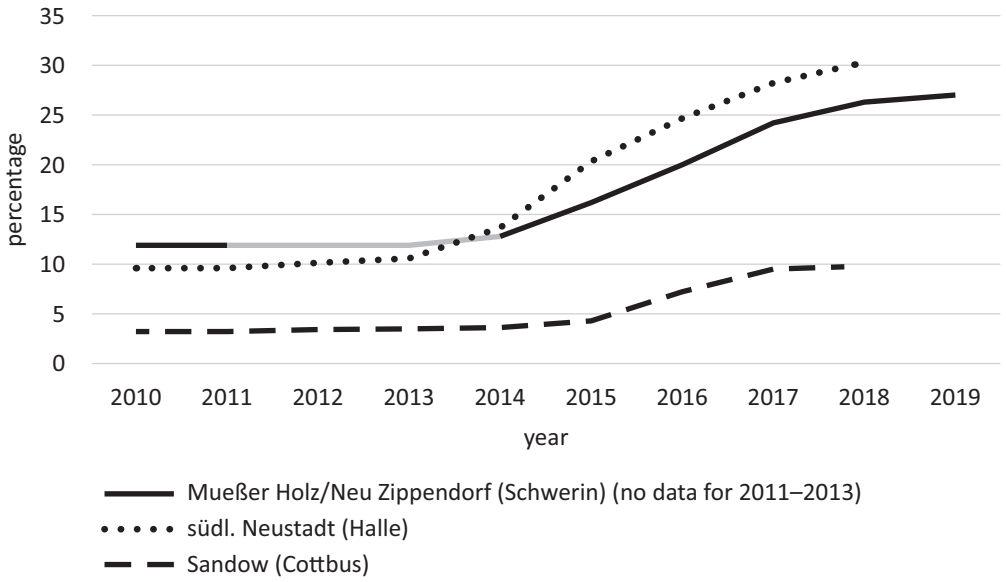

Figure 1. Percentage of the population that are not German citizens. Source: Own compilation of population registry data.

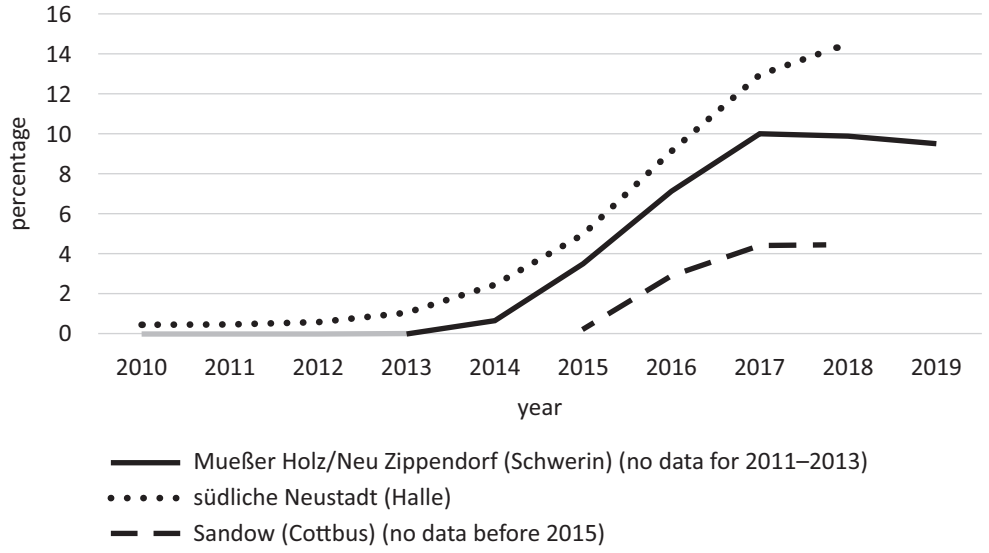

Figure 2. Percentage of the population that are Syrian nationals. Source: Own compilation of population registry data.

dency of much of the infrastructure on state-based policies, while parts of the arrival cities literature puts a strong focus on migrant resident's entrepreneurial agency (Saunders, 2011).

In the arrival spaces literature, strong immigrant entrepreneurial infrastructures are described as opportunity structures where people can meet others and access support, information, and services. Such entrepreneurial structures are, however, not very strong in the three neighbourhoods, as they were built as residential estates and only allow for a limited level of functional diversity. Existing shopping facilities are concentrated in a handful of shopping centres that are usually dominated by chain stores. Connected to this, and the rather small-scale migration history so far, the neighbourhoods offer few migrant-run small businesses like groceries, repair shops, or restaurants. The existence of the few local immigrant businesses can, therefore, hardly be seen as a pull factor for locally concentrated immigration. The reality is rather the opposite: Migrants have been pushed into the prefab estates and once they have arrived there, they started to build some initial businesses (see Figure 3).

In contrast to this very low density of migrant entrepreneurial activity, there are different social and civic organisations located in the neighbourhoods that offer cultural and sports activities, language and other courses, counselling, and other kinds of support (e.g., support for those facing difficult familial circumstances). Among them are examples of migrant established organisations that are connected to the migration of the 1990s (e.g., German Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Schwerin) or founded by recent immigrants (Maan e.V. in Schwerin). Other organisations are not limited to, but include, immigrants in their target group (e.g., the Die Platte lebt Association in Schwerin).

The municipalities support different projects of these associations temporarily, whether on the basis of the national program *Soziale Stadt*, which specifically targets poor neighbourhoods, or on the basis of integration funds provided by the federal states. Therefore, and according to an interview with the Coordinator of Integration Policies in Schwerin (30 January 2020) such publicly funded social infrastructure is more prevalent in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods we look at than in other parts of the city.

This raises the question of which role public funding from different scales and institutional actors (municipalities, regional states, etc.) play in the development of local civil society structures (see also Meeus et al., 2019; Sidney, 2019). Against the background of our illustrative cases, several questions come to mind that should be considered regarding the density, the organisation, and the functionality of infrastructure in new arrival contexts: How dense do entrepreneurial or civic infrastructures need to be in order to fulfil arrival functions for a wider immigrant population? Which functions of migrant organisations, small-scale businesses, and other forms of self-organised infrastructures can be substituted via publicly funded programs, and how efficient are they at fulfilling migrant's needs? What role do state activities play in setting the framework for the entrepreneurial and civic society agency of immigrants?

This also touches upon the role that state conceptualisations of integration play in the provision of local arrival infrastructure (see also Steigemann, 2019). The relatively new migration of refugees into East German prefab estates is accompanied by a strong interest of the local state in managing the process of their arrival, which can be analysed by looking at municipal concepts of integration. For our argument, we want to highlight some contradictory aspects within the local states' concepts of integration in the context of our three illustrative cases.

On the one hand, all three cities have a progressive understanding of integration that considers it as a multidirectional process of change that includes all groups of society (Stadt Halle, 2017, p. 84), emphasises the ne-

Figure 3. The job centre sign in Halle, Südliche Neustadt, and an Arabic supermarket in Mueßer Holz/Neu Zippendorf (Schwerin).

cessity of creating equal opportunities for social and political participation, and provides an acknowledgement of difference without a demand for assimilation (Ruhl, 2018, p. 6). On the other hand, the cities have a problematising perspective of migration in relation to urban space. In these cities, the spatial concentration of migrants in certain neighbourhoods has become a target issue for state policies; For example, the city of Schwerin has reached the "limit of its ability to integrate" incoming refugees after 2015, as noted in its integration policy paper (Ruhl, 2018, p. 14, authors' translation), and the city of Cottbus applied for a halt to further influxes of refugees to the city (Bundesregierung, 2018, p. 2; Jedicke, 2018). Additionally, the cities are now alarmed by a recent study that found high levels of social segregation in all three of them (Helbig & Jähnen, 2019) exactly in the neighbourhoods where the number of new refugee residents is high. In these cities, we can see different reaction strategies to the alarm about ethnic segregation. On the one hand, Cottbus tries to prevent refugees from taking up residence in the city (for a discussion of the questionable effects of this kind of zoning regulations, see Çağlar, 2001). In Halle, an understanding of certain neighbourhoods such as Halle-Neustadt as 'arrival neighbourhoods' or *Ankunftsquartiere* (Stadt Halle, 2019, p. 60) has started to form; this is, however, controversial and debated (as shown in a workshop on Halle, Südliche Neustadt, organised by the Urban Planning Department of the City of Halle in November 2019). If and how these kinds of policy discussions result in different infrastructures on the ground remains to be seen. Furthermore, it needs to be analysed if policies that try to constrain refugee settlement will have the intended effects. Other studies imply that such measures to stop immigration in specific urban areas often fail to bring about their stated objective (Lanz, 2015).

In short, all three cities of our case study register a recent growth in immigration in specific urban areas, mainly prefab neighbourhoods, and are working to respond to the fear of increasing social segregation. When discussing arrival spaces in the contexts of these neighbourhoods, this development evokes the question of what local narratives around migration and segregation lead to which local policies, and if the policies will support or hinder the arrival of new immigrant residents. In connection to the entrepreneurial and organisational structures in the neighbourhoods discussed above, a relevant question is if state-organised local infrastructure is able to substitute for the functions of what we might call classical arrival infrastructure, such as migrant enterprises and organisations. This includes asking which policies produce sufficient levels of the dense and functionally diverse arrival infrastructure needed to build successful arrival neighbourhoods and which do not.

3.3. Spatial and Social Mobility

In some of the arrival neighbourhoods literature, a high level of residential mobility is regarded as a criterion typical for arrival neighbourhoods, as these areas are seen as places to move on from, as catalysts for social and spatial mobility (Kurtenbach, 2015; Meeus et al., 2019). Based on this, immigrants are seen not as contained, but rather as being pushed through these neighbourhoods in the process of their social mobility.

Again, East German estates offer a puzzling picture when compared to this view: Residential mobility has in fact been very high in the subsequent decades, but this

has been more the result of a "housing market of extremes" (Expertenkommission, 2000) caused by the combination of the population decline and an oversupply of housing typical for East Germany through the 1990s and 2000s. Consequently, drivers and patterns of segregation and residential mobility tended to be determined by a broad mix of factors, with international migration being of minor importance—until very recently.

In a nutshell, the segregation history of East German estates since the reunification of Germany can be described as follows: While these neighbourhoods were characterised by a broad social mix (yet ethnically very homogenous) under socialism, this picture changed dramatically in the 1990s (Harth, Scheller, & Herlyn, 1998). Two factors were crucial for this change. The first is that the deindustrialisation of East Germany caused a massive outmigration of residents, mostly to more prosperous regions in West Germany. Due to the demographic composition of most estates (with a higher share of younger people), this disproportionately affected large housing estates. The second factor is that the suburbanisation experienced in East Germany in the 1990s provided new housing choices for middle-class inhabitants, with many leaving the cities for the suburbs. The outcome of these developments were massive population losses in the East German prefab estates (Expertenkommission, 2000; Hannemann, 2003; Oswalt, 2004, 2005).

As described above, international immigration into these prefab estate areas only developed slowly, mostly in the shadows of the dominating process of population losses and 'urban shrinkage.' Population fluctuation was, therefore, very high for a long period but mostly not in connection with international immigration. Thus, it is much too early to tell whether recent immigrants are likely to stay or move on to other neighbourhoods, cities, or countries. In sum, in-migration of foreign households is a very recent phenomenon here, and it is happening against a fairly peculiar mix of circumstances. As a consequence, it is difficult to tell if prefab estates will become new arrival neighbourhoods, in the sense that they work as steppingstones for social and spatial mobility, or not.

As discussed above, the influx of refugee immigrant populations into these prefab estates is mostly being driven by a combination of high welfare dependency, a lack of affordable alternatives (together with the fact that rents are only paid up to an administratively defined level; see Bernt et al., 2017), and the residential constraint (*Wohnsitzauflage*) that limits the residential mobility of immigrants with an asylum status. This creates "internal border regimes" (El-Kayed & Hamann, 2018) that push immigrants into the least desired neighbourhoods in urban areas. While such institutional pressures are not a novel phenomenon, they lead us to ask whether the term arrival neighbourhoods actually refers to places with specific qualities that attract immigrants in order to find the resources to move on, or if the term might in some instances provide cover for discriminatory practices.

The potential for immigrant social mobility in new immigrant destination neighbourhoods might depend on how successful the establishment of migrant infrastructures and networks are or how alternatives such as state-organised structures might be able to act as a substitute for them. The question of spatial mobility is, furthermore, a crucial question for the planning of social infrastructure, which is vital for social mobility (e.g., schools). This includes the question of if new immigrant residents see these peripheral neighbourhoods as desirable residential locations or if they want to move to other neighbourhoods, e.g., to neighbourhoods with longer-standing migration histories in West Germany, as quickly as they can. City administrations often voice the fear that these neighbourhoods might stop being immigration destinations as new immigrant residents might move on as soon as the residential constraint no longer applies. Then, the city administrations would again be confronted with the problem of a shrinking population. A population dynamic that results in fast-changing population sizes and compositions might, therefore, pose a huge challenge for cities to be able to react in time to provide crucial social infrastructure like schools and kindergartens.

Finally, the idea of residential fluctuation in the discussion of arrival neighbourhoods seems to assume a close relationship between spatial and social mobility. However, there is a wide range of research that calls this assumption into question. Research on the effects of the residential neighbourhood on different dimensions of social inequality and integration often does not find any, small, or mixed effects (Bolt et al., 2010; van Ham, Maney, Bailey, Simpson, & Maclennan, 2012). Other research has shown that people also access resources located in neighbourhoods outside their residential ones (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016; Zhou, 2009). Thus, it might not be the residential neighbourhood that needs to provide certain functions, but another arrival neighbourhood close by. Based upon this, the importance of residential location for social mobility is called into question. The question then is: What kinds of arrival infrastructures need to be located in the residential neighbourhood and which can be located further away? This includes asking if and how people build social ties in urban contexts (Nast & Blokland, 2014; Small, 2009). With its focus on residential fluctuation, the arrival contexts literature offers an interesting link to discuss such aspects beyond what is normally considered in the standard neighbourhood effects literature (Hans et al., 2019, pp. 5–7); However, there is a need to develop more explicit and refined theses about the relationship between social and spatial mobility.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Looking at peripheral estates in East German cities, which are only now becoming destinations for a larger number of immigrants, invites questions that are often out of the focus of research on traditional immigrant gateways. As discussed, the (still developing) literature

on arrival neighbourhoods describes them as places with (a) a significant share of immigrant residents and networks, due to a long-standing migration history, that are (b) dense in terms of their built environment and functional diversity, are (c) marked by a high degree of spatial mobility and that (d) often have a more affordable housing market and a concentration of socio-economically disadvantaged households.

Recently, however, more and more new immigrants are being pushed to locate in peripheral cities and neighbourhoods that have not been major immigrant destinations so far. In this article we contrasted this predominant characterisation of arrival neighbourhoods with the emerging situation in three East German peripheral neighbourhoods, which were used as illustrative empirical examples. These new arrival contexts often (a) lack a long-standing migration history and a significant share of immigrant residents and networks, (b) are less densely built environments without significant functional diversity, and (c) are contexts where the role it plays in the spatial and social mobility of new immigrants is far from clear. This, we argue, raises new questions for the debate on the arrival functions of local contexts and shows a need to expand the research agenda currently connected to terms like arrival neighbourhoods, arrival spaces, arrival infrastructure, or arrival contexts.

First, in classic arrival neighbourhoods, prior migration offers points of entry and resource access; earlier migrants might help successive migrants find housing, jobs, information, and a sense of home. We know less about if and how new immigrants find access to such resources in contexts that have not, thus far, been shaped by prior migration. Connected questions worth exploring in future research are if and in what way immigrant networks can be substituted by non-immigrant networks and organisations, and how local immigrant networks emerge, or if immigrant residents connect to non-local networks instead.

Second, immigrant neighbourhoods are often understood as dense, inner-city areas that offer varied infrastructure, including a high concentration of immigrant organisations, businesses, and more. However, in the three neighbourhoods we looked at, the situation is different. The built environment is less dense and offers fewer possibilities for functional diversity. Furthermore, the existing civic and social service infrastructures are characterised by a stronger state influence than is often imagined in more entrepreneurial accounts of immigrants' self-organisation efforts. This poses the question of if neighbourhoods can develop effective arrival support functions under conditions of less dense and less functionally diverse infrastructure. Regarding the role of the state, a crucial aspect is how narratives around migration, integration, and segregation shape local policies and infrastructure on the ground. This is specifically important for understanding neighbourhood contexts—as the ones discussed here—where the state might have a stronger role in providing civic and social infrastructures on the ground.

Third, some of the arrival contexts literature includes the question of how and why migrants move on from arrival spaces. However, in the three neighbourhoods we looked at, it is too early to assess patterns of residential mobility for the new immigrant residents. This uncertainty also affects the planning of social infrastructure, such as schools and social service programmes that might be crucial for the social mobility of immigrants. Furthermore, this raises questions like: Can neighbourhoods only be regarded as arrival spaces when a significant proportion of their population has moved on? Can social mobility go hand in hand with spatial immobility? These questions demonstrate that the relationship between residential and social mobility is a complex topic that needs to be studied in varying contexts.

In summary, the concept of arrival contexts offers a much-needed emphasis on the supportive functions of immigrant neighbourhoods and offers an alternative framing for discourses on immigrant segregation. However, we argue that more systematic comparative work is needed in order to answer questions about the directionality of the effects and the existence of specific support mechanisms that neighbourhoods with different levels and compositions of migrant populations, different densities and mixtures in terms of the built environment and infrastructures, and differences in population fluctuation, offer immigrant populations or do not.

Based on our discussion of the concept of arrival spaces in the context of East German peripheral housing estates, we see the following issues as points of departure for further research. First, will the development of typical arrival structures catch on or stall in these peripheral housing estates? Second, are these neighbourhoods able to offer substitutions for arrival infrastructure identified in previous research (e.g., can state-provided social organisations substitute functions of migrant organisations)? Third, if arrival infrastructures are not present in the residential neighbourhood, are residents able to access them outside of their neighbourhood (Hanhörster & Weck, 2016; Zhou, 2009)? Fourth, how do these developments affect the relationship between residential and social mobility? All these aspects will affect if the neighbourhoods we looked at will develop structures that support the arrival of new immigrant residents or not.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Ordinary Places of Postmigrant Societies: Dealing with Difference in West and East German Neighbourhoods

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Abstract
The starting point of the contribution is the question of how the dynamics of social encounters in the city are shaped by specific migration histories, local discourses, economies and policies. Against this background, the article analyses the perceptions and localised practices in dealing with social difference and diversity in a comparison of East and West German neighbourhoods. However, this is not about a hierarchizing evaluation, but about understanding urban encounters in the migration society as contestations of social and class recognition, which are played out at different levels and in specific urban places. Based on narrative interviews and field observations, it is shown how urban coexistence is experienced and negotiated in everyday settings between routines and new conflicts. A postmigrant perspective—as a heuristic point of entry—aims to take hegemonic understandings of societal belonging and exclusion under migration-related conditions into question.

Keywords
diversity; East Germany; encounter; postmigration; West Germany

Issue
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1. Introduction

Referring to the many terms like 'arrival city' (Saunders, 2010) 'super-diversity' (e.g., Vertovec, 2007) or 'conviviality' (Wise & Noble, 2016) urban research has recently focused on the significance of urban contexts, neighbourhoods as well as particular settings, which are characterised by international immigration, cultural diversity and fluctuation in an increasingly globalised world (e.g., also Albeda, Teersteg, Oosterlynck, & Verschraegen, 2018; Hall, 2015; Saunders, 2010; Wessendorf, 2013). At the same time, these processes are accompanied by controversial everyday practices, discourses and policies in dealing with migration and diversity. Thus, new forms of comprehensive social inclusion, which are discussed and practised at different levels and which form the basis for equal participation in urban societies, are confronted with defensive reactions and new forms of exclusion, marginalization and discrimination (e.g., Foroutan, 2015). Against this backdrop, a growing interest is discernible in particular place-based configurations, which are shaped by different social dynamics due to their genesis, their integration into regional economies and local politics (e.g., Berg & Sigona, 2013; Schmiz & Räuchle, 2019). Correspondingly, scholars emphasize the fundamental role of specific local discourses, policies and constellations of actors, which impact the perception and handling of migration processes and the negotiation of social belonging and difference in urban contexts at different scales (e.g., Barbehön & Münch, 2016; Biehl, 2015; Hinger & Schäfer, 2019; Pott, 2018).

Against this backdrop, this contribution aims to approach interrelations between, on the one hand, local everyday practices and coexistence and on the other hand, discourses and development paths of urban migration societies. The focus was on the question of how in urban societies, that are characterized by migration and diversity, a sense of a commonplace is created, how difference is

dealt with, and to what extent togetherness in the neighbourhood is entangled with the topic of 'migration' on different scales.

These questions will be investigated using the empirical example of two districts in the cities of Leipzig and Munich, which are shaped, among other things, by the respective migration histories in East and West Germany. In order to critically question essentialist, ethnically fixed research perspectives and a methodological nationalism (e.g., Glick-Schiller, Çağlar, & Guldbrandsen, 2006) as well as problem- and potential-oriented perspectives on urban neighbourhoods marked by diversity and immigration (e.g., Pütz & Rodatz, 2013), the article draws on a postmigrant perspective as a kind of heuristic entry point. In this respect, also the criticism of linear development concepts like integration and modernization paradigms, which impact prevailing ideas about living together in urban quarters, is an essential point. Here, the reference to 'ordinary' places and encounters also seeks to indicate a critical awareness of the reproduction of hierarchies between supposedly more highly developed and less developed urban contexts in dealing with difference, migration and diversity (e.g., Robinson, 2006). Against this backdrop, Section 2 outlines the critical-normative concern of a postmigrant perspective on society as well as the analytical consequences derived from it. In Section 3, the overall urban embedding of the two case studies investigated is introduced. This is followed by a presentation of the qualitative research approach (Section 4) and the empirical results, based on ethnographic field studies and in-depth interviews (Section 5).

2. A Postmigrant Perspective on Urban Societies?

Artists and activists, who aimed to raise critical awareness for the experiences of the descendants of 'guest-worker' immigration in (West-)Germany, initially have introduced the catchphrase 'postmigrant society' to the German-speaking sphere (Langhoff, 2012). They intended to deconstruct the label 'migration' as a kind of extraordinary and stigmatizing status ascribed over generations and thus to fight against discrimination (Espahangizi, 2016; Langhoff, 2012). Against this background, the term has increasingly found its way into sociopolitical and scientific discussions. It has to be highlighted, that the suffix 'post' is generally negotiated less as a 'chronological after' than in the sense of an epistemological turn or the overcoming of hegemonic patterns of thought in order to rethink "the entire field in which the migration discourse is embedded" (Hill & Yildiz, 2018, p. 7). In essence, it refers to a fundamental political recognition of the heterogeneous structure of society and the fact that migration fundamentally and ultimately irreversibly shapes coexistence (e.g., Bojadžijev & Römhild, 2014; Foroutan, 2015). In the sense of a social-analytical approach, a 'postmigrant' perspective is, beyond others, dealing with those social constructs and power relations that are changing in the course of international mobility and networking and that produce new realities of coexistence (Espahangizi, 2016; Römhild, 2017). Therefore, a pivotal moment of the analysis must be seen in a critical examination of the contradictions and shifts that arise in the context of the social debates on migration and integration, which are concealing more fundamental negotiations in dealing with plurality under general conditions of globalization (Foroutan, 2018, p. 21). Negotiations of minority positions, ambivalences in the positioning towards 'migration,' and antagonisms between advocates and opponents of the plurality are representing characteristic points of friction and lines of conflict of recent (postmigrant) societies (El-Mafaalani, 2018; Foroutan, 2016). In this regard:

> It is not a question of denying or discussing away the categories of migration and ethnicity, but rather of exploring how ethnicized and 'migrationalized' views of the world—of individuals, in institutions and politics—are produced, transformed and interact with other perspectives on societal 'difference.' (Dahinden, 2016, p. 8; author's translation)

Thus, the deconstruction of the social production of 'migration' as a result of historical and spatial categorizations and narratives of belonging or not belonging is central, based on which context-dependent boundaries between 'migrants' and 'non-migrants' are drawn (e.g., Amelina, 2017). Against this backdrop, in the frame of this contribution, the postmigrant approach aims to question majority social assumptions in urban and neighbourhood research from the perspective of a migration society. One task in this context is to overcome and deconstruct natio-ethno-cultural categorizations conceptually and at the same time the consideration of the societal obstacles, inclusions and exclusions associated with the attribution 'migration' in the urban everyday. In the frame of the empirical analysis, the postmigrant perspective is intended to raise awareness for a way of thinking about urban coexistence, with regard to the following aspects: In the sense of a de-marginalization of the diverse life concepts which are related to various migration biographies, the recognition of the contributions of 'newcomers' to urban coexistence, and the deconstruction of conflicts around the issue 'migration' as a proxy for disputes about social inequality, belongings and exclusions in urban societies.

The comparative case study presented in this contribution aims to trace the phenomena of postmigrant societies across sites and scales. The question of the differentiated constellations in which social coexistence in the neighbourhood can take shape is examined using the example of an East and a West German housing estate: The district Nordhaide in Munich in southwest Germany and the large housing estate Paunsdorf in the East German city of Leipzig. In this regard, both, the postmigrant and the comparative approach together form a kind of heuristic tool, to investigate the general, explorative question

of urban coexistence under the conditions of growing mobility and migration. Here an understanding of case study comparisons comes to the fore which refers to the critique on fixed research entities and which is rather oriented on the investigation of phenomena and processes that are influenced by actors and events at different places and at different scales (e.g., Barlett & Vavrus, 2017; Glick-Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). By critically questioning dichotomies, static categories and self-evident notions, this comparative approach reveals important similarities with the core ideas of a postmigrant view of society. In order to make the empirical findings on the neighbourhood level comprehensible in their overall urban embedding, central urban development and integration policy lines for both cities are first outlined in the following section.

3. The Case Study Design: Focus on East and West German Histories of Migration

Even Munich and Leipzig are recently considered to be the most dynamically growing cities in Germany, different histories of migration shape local development and urban discourses. While integration and migration issues were little in the focus of urban development strategies in East German cities due to the dominance of emigration problems, shrinkage and small proportions of city dwellers of foreign origin, West German cities, in contrast, have been characterised by robust international migration flows and associated integration policy routines, since decades (Münch, 2013). The proportion of residents with an immigration background in the two case studies reflects those different development paths (Table 1). Here, 45% of Munich residents with a so-called 'migration background' show that multiple affiliations and transnational biographies are representing more or less the social norm in the Bavarian capital. For Leipzig, on the other hand, there are signs of a process, which might be interpreted as a kind of catch-up development to internationalisation. Although the proportion of inhabitants with a migration background currently appears to be relatively low at 15% compared with other cities in Germany, international immigration has become much more important in recent years. Apparent structural differences between the two cities under investigation are evident in the length of stay and the legal residence status of immigrants. The proportion of long-term resident migrants, but also those who belong to the second and third generation of immigrants, is significantly lower in Leipzig than in the Bavarian capital. At the same time, EU citizens dominate among Munich's residents who come from abroad, at just under 50%. In Leipzig, on the other hand, temporary residence permits (38%) determine the living situations of immigrants to a much greater extent (Figure 1). Even if a wide range of individual social situations is underlying these framework conditions, they indicate different overarching challenges and routines in dealing with immigration and difference in the two cities.

3.1. Munich: A Super-Diverse Metropolis and the Importance of Immigration of 'Guest Workers'

Along with Frankfurt am Main and Stuttgart, the Bavarian state capital is one of the major cities in Germany whose inhabitants are most strongly influenced by experiences of migration. The international immigration of workers recruited from 1955 onwards made a decisive contribution to Munich's economic boom in the 1960s and 1970s. The statement of the then Lord Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel "Munich is a city of immigration!" marked as early as 1970 a paradigm shift in municipal policy recognizing the irreversible importance of migration for urban development (Hess & Moser, 2015, p. 15). The significance of international immigration for the demographic and economic growth of the entire city region continued in the following decades. Between 1996 and 2015, international immigration accounted for around two-thirds of Munich's population growth. However, the main reasons why migration and integration are hardly ever problematized in public discourse in the sense of parallel societies are to be seen above all in the interplay between economic prosperity and an integration policy that is generally regarded as routine and is based on many years of experience in civil society and administration (Aybek, 2009). In a comparison of major German cities, Munich stands out for its lowest unemployment rates and highest purchasing power ratios for many years. This economic strength is reflected in the social composition of the city's inhabitants: The share of higher earners and qualified is generally high in a German city comparison—

Table 1. Socio statistical indicators and research design.

	Leipzig-Paunsdorf	City of Leipzig	Milbertshofen/Am Hart*	City ofMunich
Inhabitants with 'immigration background' in 2019 (%)	18.2	15.4	62.0 (74.2*)	45.1
2020 City Council Election				
AfD (right-wing party; %)	26.3	14.9	5.5	4.4
Voter turnout (%)	43.1	59.7	36.3	49.0
Unemployment rate in 2019 (%)	8.9	4.7	3.2	2.8

Note: * Nordhaide belongs administratively to the District 11 Milbertshofen-Am Hart.

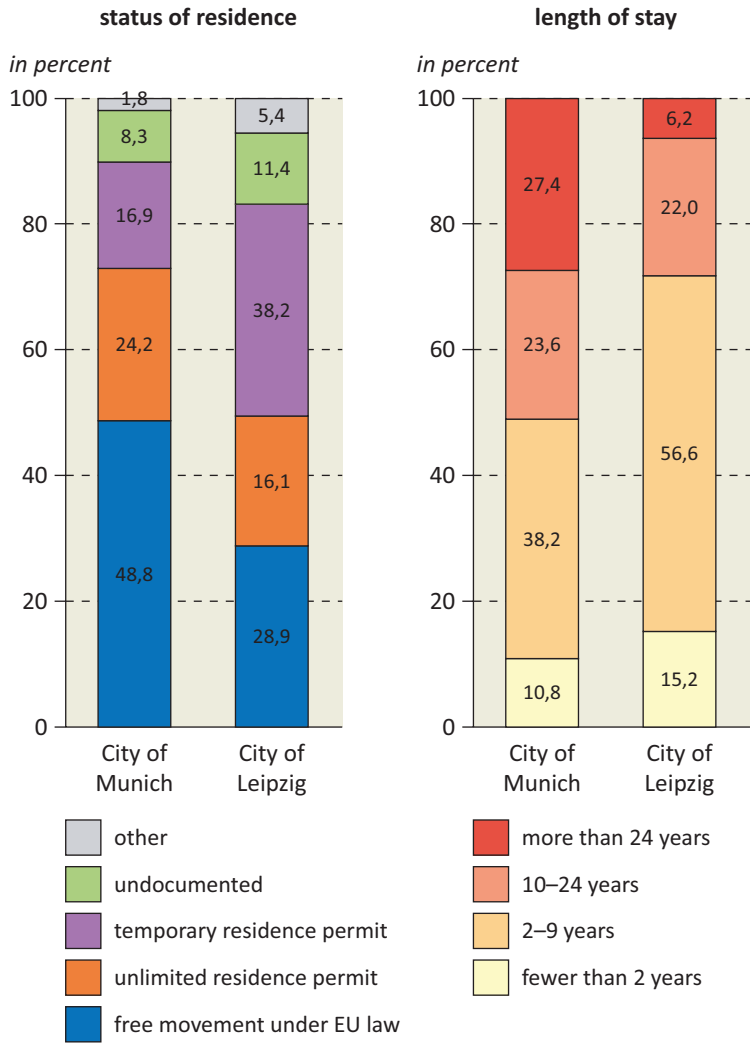

Figure 1. Residence status and length of stay of the foreign population in Munich and Leipzig (%) in 2019. Source: Wiest (2019), based on data from the Federal Statistical Office, Wiesbaden, 2019.

also among Munich's migrant population (Huss, 2010). At the same time, under the conditions of a tense housing market and corresponding living costs, even middle-income groups have difficult access to housing. Against this backdrop, the state capital has already been trying to counteract social segregation processes in the urban area with the instrument of 'socially just land readjustment' since the mid-1990s. In the planning of the study example of Nordhaide, this strategy has been fully employed (subsections 3.3 and 5.1).

3.2. Leipzig: A Demographic Exception in East Germany?

In the context of Leipzig's urban development policy, the significance of migration is being discussed primarily against the background of a long-standing negative population trend. Until the end of the 1990s, the city had to struggle with the structural problems typical of East German municipalities, like in particular substantial out-migration and ageing. International immigration was perceived above all as an opportunity in the fight against vacancies and decay (City of Leipzig, 2013, p. 29). As the city increasingly developed from a shrinking to a growing metropolis in the 2000s, the social composition of those moving in also changed. Since 2010, international immigration increasingly influenced Leipzig. Accordingly, the proportion of the population with an immigration background has risen significantly from 6% in 2000 to 15% in 2019. In the course of these processes, the issues of migration and integration have come more and more into focus, both for economic promotion and urban development planning. Leipzig's strategic orientation is centred on the image of the "cosmopolitan and tolerant city," which refers to the city's traditional trade fair and trade functions (City of Leipzig, 2018a, A-15). In these contexts, xenophobia is perceived as a particular threat to a positive image and competitiveness in interurban competition. Accordingly, the city is trying vigorously to distance itself from the image of East German xenophobia (Wiest & Kirndörfer, 2019).

At the same time, under the conditions of growing demand on the housing market, segregation of social strata,

but also ethnic affiliations, are increasingly perceived as a threat to social cohesion (City of Leipzig, 2018a, C 2.5–13). In a comparison of major German cities, socio-spatial inequality, concerning indicators such as unemployment rates and educational qualifications, but also of residents with an immigration background, is striking in East German cities such as Leipzig (Helbig & Jähnen, 2018). These patterns become particularly evident in the large housing estates on the outskirts of the city. Here, new development perspectives were emerging after a long phase of shrinkage due to the influx of refugees between 2014 and 2016. The settlement of Paunsdorf, which was the focus of the study, is an example of these processes.

3.3. Munich Nordhaide and Leipzig Paunsdorf: Two Housing Estates on the Outskirts of the City

Even the settlements of Munich Nordhaide and Leipzig Paunsdorf have been little in the focus of local public and media attention, they both represent constellations which can be regarded as typical for the migration histories and the internationalization process of the two cities studied. Between 1999 and 2011, the district Nordhaide as was newly developed as part of an urban development project in the northern outskirts of Munich (LH München, 2012). Despite the generally high proportion of international residents in Munich, this district stands out in this respect: 74% of Nordhaide's inhabitants have a so-called migration background, which representing various generations of immigrants and regions of origin (Table 1). However, the internationality of the population is not primarily because the area is the first destination for newcomers in the city. It is also related to inner-city relocation chains and the employment structures in nearby companies and the working places of the generation of 'guest workers,' such as the BMW facilities. From the very beginning, the planning concept of Nordhaide was directed towards a heterogeneous social structure, promoting encounters between different groups of residents and providing a wide range of housing for different income groups with publicly subsidised rental housing, privately financed rental housing and owner-occupied and rental housing subsidised by the City of Munich (Empirica, 2011).

The Leipzig study example, Paunsdorf, was built from 1985 onwards as one of the last large housing estates of the German Democratic Republic's industrial prefabricated concrete panel construction. From 2013, after a pronounced phase of population shrinkage, it gained in importance as a destination for international immigration—a development that was initially related to the importance of the neighbourhood for the accommodation of refugees. Although it is not one of the districts of Leipzig with the highest proportion of citizens with an immigration background, the housing estate is attributed an "increasing role in the integration/inclusion of residents with an immigration background due to the significantly increasing proportion of foreigners in the district" (City of Leipzig, 2018b, p. 2, Table 1). In particular, the coincidence of an "above-average proportion of migrants with a disadvantaged German population" with urban peaks in old age and child poverty is perceived as a challenge for social urban development policy (City of Leipzig, 2018b, p. 36, Table 1).

4. Research Design: Ethnographic Fieldwork and Narrative Interviews

For the research on urban coexistence and dealing with diversity, the study referred to an understanding of space that defines 'neighbourhood' as "a contextually embedded central location of everyday life and individual social spheres, socially constructed by external and internal actions, but blurred contoured" (Schnur, 2008, p. 40). Even more than neighbourhoods, concrete places and institutions are considered as focal points where multiple traditions, experiences and knowledge encounter. For example, kindergartens and schools, but also libraries, youth clubs and residents' centres can be cited as appropriate fields in which the negotiation of societal plurality can be explored. Accordingly, intensive phases of participatory observation took place between winter of 2017 and spring of 2019 in local youth clubs, neighbourhood houses and self-organised women's cafés. The observations were documented in detail by field notes. Beyond that, the research team regularly visited neighbourhood-related working groups, network meetings and district festivals, to some of which it actively contributed.

43 guideline-based narrative interviews respectively discussions in small groups with residents (11 in Paunsdorf and 10 in Nordhaide) and with representatives of sociocultural and educational institutions (e.g., kindergartens, day-care centres, residents' centres, local associations, social workers, politicians; 11 in both Nordhaide and Paunsdorf) provide a further empirical basis. Within the framework of already existing contacts, the interviewees were contacted via multipliers and via snowball system. In order to enable interviewees to unfold narratives about coexistence and biographical experiences from an individual perspective, without suggestively influencing them, narrative stimuli were given that were kept rather general and neutral. The questions targeted neighbourly relations, the situation of newly arriving, how encounters between people of different origins and changes of the neighbourhood were experienced, how commitment and involvement into local institutions came about and about the role of (multiple) belonging to regions of origin. The narrative interviews were conducted in German, although the language skills of the interviewees were very different. In some cases, language mediators supported communication.

The analysis of the text material—transcribed interviews and field notes—is oriented on the logic and interpretation guidelines of a Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1979; Przyborski & Wohlrab-Sahr, 2014). Thus,

a category-based interpretation scheme was developed, referring to a 'postmigrant society' as a heuristic frame. The following questions were addressed to the material: Which inclusions and exclusions are relevant or discernible? (How) is the topic of 'migration' instrumentalized? To what extent and in what contexts are national-ethnic-cultural origins addressed? Are internationality and diversity regarded as irreversible processes? Can inclusive exclusions of 'migration' be identified? What role do places of encounter play (in terms of learning, inclusion and exclusion, representation)? The intention was to trace subjective-individual insights as well as the range of subjective interpretations and explanatory patterns that reflect general site-related structures but cannot be causally derived from them and which are integrated into overarching contexts and interdependencies.

5. Dealing with Diversity in Nordhaide and Paunsdorf: Unquestioned Normality, Struggles for Recognition and Mirror of Urban Inequalities

The following consideration of everyday settings on the neighbourhood level aims to make the different perspectives and practices of actors comprehensible and to approach the structures that generate a sense of shared place or belonging in the respective local societies shaped by diversity. The consideration of an East German and a West German neighbourhood also indicates how different local framework conditions intertwine with overarching urban discourses and influence the negotiation of difference and diversity.

5.1. Munich Nordhaide: Normalcy of Otherness on the Margins of the Cosmopolitan Metropolis

When entering the local shopping centre Mira or the Metro station, the multiplicity of languages, migration biographies, educational and religions backgrounds of Nordhaide's inhabitants is striking. Older residents belonging to the first generation of immigrants are standing beside newcomers from outside Europe, while younger inhabitants of the second or third generation of immigrants, who grew up in Munich are passing in groups. Several playgrounds and arranged seating arrangements characterize the public space. Less visible to the visitor is the institutional setting of the residential area, which is characterised by numerous social and childcare facilities that provide important opportunities for the development of social networks and interaction. An important key actor in this regard is the Diakonie Hasenbergl e.V. who is running an open children's club, a kinder garden, a residents' centre and is initiating several neighbourhood projects. Although the Diakonie is representing the protestant church, the diversity of religious, cultural and national backgrounds of staff and clients shapes the everyday work in many of their projects. It may indicate, that 'diversity' stands out as a dominant categorization of the local reality in the North of Munich. Based on field notes, the following section will sketch everyday life in the residents' centre Nordhaide in order to demonstrate how different biographies and individual experiences meet in one place and how the coexistence of different groups is negotiated.

5.1.1. The Residents' Centre as an Instance of Everyday Cosmopolitanism

> M., a young German teacher originating from Uzbekistan and now the leader of the residents' centre, welcomes me and reports some news: Christmas went well, there were many children there, a volunteer played Santa Claus. Soon they also want to celebrate the Muslim breaking of the fast. Then O., a young woman from Belorussia, comes in, she is doing her internship. When discussing the different offers of the institution, it occurs to her that they do not yet have any offer for men. The bike workshop and a games evening are mentioned. W., a German pensioner, is in the house every day to check on things, which seems to be an important anchor point for her. She considers the centre to be her family, 'because her family does not care.' Much of the work is about getting the neighbours out of their apartments. For example, S., a young mother with Turkish roots, was motivated by the staff members to organize a women's breakfast. Besides possibilities of voluntary employment and to improve her German, S. is also interested in community and joy without a specific purpose. Many women participated in her breakfast due to mouth-to-mouth propaganda, and S. considered it as a great personal success. It is only one example how—besides concrete solutions to problems and opportunities to earn additional income—the different projects, above all, open up new, everyday communication spaces. An essential event in this respect is also the common lunch table of the resident's centre, where all employees, some residents and school children of different origins, language skills and backgrounds are gathered. At the table, they chat about common everyday problems like housekeeping or difficulties in school—sometimes in different languages. The atmosphere is cheerful and relaxed. (Shortened field notes of October 26, 2017, February 6, 2018, and February 15, 2019; Pilz, 2019).

The participating field observations illustrate that conviviality across ethnic and cultural differences in the resident's centre is unquestioned normality or a kind routinized coexistence (e.g., Berding, 2019; Wessendorf, 2013). Much suggests that the different biographies and origins of the actors create a space of group identification that is not based on ethnic, national or religious affiliations, but on joint work, on activities but also biographical experiences as women and mothers. Everyday life in this setting thus comes across as an instance of everyday cosmopolitanism. Conviviality refers to this particu-

lar place and shared interests rather than on ethnicity or origin. The interactions and offers enable the formation of social networks, and the transfer of everyday practical information, resources like assistance for school children as well as emotional support. An important issue for the success of the offers are the personal migration histories of key actors (see, e.g., NH_Ex4, NH_Ex5, and NH_B6 in the Supplementary File). At the same time, it became clear in various interactions in the neighbourhood that supposed cultural conditions and attributions are repeatedly used as explanations for societal questions and problems (Pilz, 2019, p. 41). One recurring, underlying motif in this context is the representation of a Munich society, which is considered to be progressive, tolerant and affluent—and which is represented by middle-class citizens, usually with German roots. This image is called into question, is controversial debated and at the same time continually being consolidated—however, it is ultimately still present in many professional positions and institutional hierarchies (see, e.g., NH_Ex3 and NH_Ex5 in the Supplementary File).

5.1.2. Who Belongs to the City?

That Munich's North or rather the Nordhaide is continuously and irreversibly shaped by a variety of origins and migration biographies is a hardly questioned issue among the inhabitants. However, while the issue 'diversity' refers in the overall urban context to a progressive, tolerant urban society, it appears in the case of Nordhaide, as the feature of a special case or deviation, instead. At the same time and despite the existing national-ethno-cultural diversity in the neighbourhood, a kind of dominant culture which is supposed to be 'German' is continuously referred to in talks and everyday encounters. This imagination seems to represent an anchor for daily work and coexistence, and its questioning is sometimes seen as a threat to the smooth functioning of everyday life. Attempts to make an effort of 'all' cultural traditions and origins was viewed critically in some of the talks (see NH_B5, NH_B2, and NH_B9 in the Supplementary File). In this regard, residents with own migration biography—in particular the generation of 'guest workers'—mentioned the impression of a devaluation of own adaptation and integration achievements (see, e.g., NH_B2, NH_B4, and NH_B5 in the Supplementary File).

That an idea of a Munich majority society of German origin is still present in people's minds is somehow reflected in the statement, that the low proportion of inhabitants with German roots in the neighbourhood is considered as unfavourably. To some extent, this finding was interpreted as a dissociation of the middle-class society from Nordhaide. Related is also the underlying assumption that Munich citizens of German origin tend to live in Nordhaide only when they are more or less in precarious situations (see, e.g., NH_B2, NH_B4, NH_B9, and NH_Ex3 in the Supplementary File). Both assumptions mirror the persistence of the traditionally rather low reputation of the north of Munich, in which the issues of social disadvantage and 'immigrants' are simultaneously entangled. This interrelation is also implicitly reflected in the following conversation with a young woman. However, she emphasizes the diversity in Nordhaide as a characteristic feature of contemporary urban societies and, at the same time, clearly insists on belonging to Munich.

> But for us, we're slowly getting used to it [internationality and diversity]. Find it's just part of the package. This is our Munich now. That's why I believe that some people say 'Yes, it was not so loud and so on.' And…it's just getting used to it. But when you've seen it, when you see it all the time in front of you, you see that it's normal. This is Munich. (NH_B8 of the Supplementary File)

Also, the following quote from a conversation with a local social worker reflects issues of belonging and recognition in urban migration societies. On the one hand, the interviewee emphasises the integration achievements of young people with a migration background, which in essence, however, are equated with efforts in the field of education. On the other hand, she has a lot of understanding for their frustration about still being supposed not to belong to Munich's society or to be treated as foreign:

> But you live there, you have a German passport, you do your technical college, and even if that is nicely meant, with those questions, e.g., 'where are you from, can we help?' and so on, it is not nice for the young people. Because we want integration and that they (the young people with migration biographies) feel German and also act as German and then they do it, so they do everything right….And then they are treated as if they came 'from the bush.' (NH_Ex3 of the Supplementary File)

The criticism of the social worker refers to the fact that other members of society do not adequately recognise precisely these 'integration' achievements of young people. At the same time, this also reflects a clear acceptance of the need for social integration into a host society in a relatively traditional way. Underlying to this argument is an understanding of modernity, in the sense of a developed, modern and progressive Munich city society, vs. supposed backwardness of other forms of societies—an aspect, which is at the heart of postcolonial critique (see, e.g., Ha & Schmiz, 2006). This perspective can preferably unfold in the consciousness of living in an urban region that is perceived as attractive, economically strong and largely cosmopolitan, and is not suspected of being affected by racism (see, e.g., NH_Ex3 and NH_Ex4 in the Supplementary File)—a situation which differs from the Paunsdorf case.

5.2. Leipzig Paunsdorf: Politicisation and Polarisation through the Lens of Migration

> We enter the family centre, and a completely different atmosphere opens up to us. It's like entering a parallel universe. We come from the Paunsdorf, with its prefabricated concrete building and its almost deserted streets, and meet lively activity in the slightly dilapidated premises. Children bustle around, you hear loud confusion and talk. In the kitchen, it is very crowded. Many women are standing in it….Everyone is talking to each other. We are noticed and curiously patterned, but the mood does not change much. After a short 'scanning,' we are treated quite commonly. We are not excluded. (Fieldnotes from March 5, 2018)

This brief field note from the family centre, where women with flight biographies meet with their children to cook and eat together with other women, describes the setting of a self-created space of coexistence, which may, at first glance appear similar to initiatives in Nordhaide. Since the large-scale housing estate Paunsdorf has gained in importance for the accommodation of refugees since 2014/2015, the number of children with an immigrant background rose sharply. New tasks, like language problems and different cultural habits, posed new challenges for everyday life in schools and kindergartens. In this situation, a youth club on the outskirts of the district attracted the newcomers more than other institutions and became a particular resource for families with a history of flight—not only for young people but also for their parents. It was at the centre of the ethnographic fieldwork in Paunsdorf.

5.2.1. The Youth Club: A Protective Space for Different Needs

> The club is more crowded now: All the PlayStation seats and the billiard room are occupied. I'm called to table tennis; the big boys' team wants to join. This premises on the outskirts of the city form a kind of own centre. In addition to leisure activities for young people, it takes among others, on the functions of a residents' centre, a canteen and a (migration) counselling, but also enables self-organized projects—like the women's café initiated by L. a young mother origination from Palestine and threatened by expulsion. Despite lacking resources, however, with enthusiasm, the urgency of 'responsibility for integration,' caused by the influx of residents with histories of flight into the neighbourhood, was accepted by the two permanently employed pedagogues voluntarily. Around 5 PM, there is soup—especially the younger children are joining; for them, lunch is essential. M. shouts 'halal' loudly when the meal is announced, but he does not eat with them. The older 'Arab' boys often go to Aldi and buy snacks. The 'German' children seem to have no money; they have to wait for the soup. How the parents experience this and how social tensions arise, can be guessed. Here the pedagogues regularly provide information. An essential part of their positioning in the club is the work 'against the right-wing radicals.' (Shortened field notes from February 21, 2018; Kirndörfer, 2019)

The observation in the youth club showed, among other things, what happens when different marginalised groups step out into a public space which on the one hand, is representing a municipal institution, but is, on the other hand, a protective space, characterised by openness and affection for multiple needs and aspects of difference (Kirndörfer, 2019). Here the young people experience recognition and can also bring their own rules into play. Beyond that, it is a place of support for families in distress. In doing so, the youth club appears as a place where cautious encounters and multiple activities can break down simple labelling of differences and encourage new bonds. However, the process of becoming part of the existing social fabric, characterised by poverty and social precarity, provokes struggles for recognition, attention and trust (Kirndörfer, 2019). The distribution and recognition conflicts, the negotiation of rules in everyday life of the youth club is not least embedded in the superordinate coexistence in the neighbourhood context and is affected with the supra-local discourse on 'the German East' and the radical right-wing question.

5.2.2. Paunsdorf and the Discourse on the German East

Political phenomena like the upcoming of the AfD, a right-wing and xenophobic party in Germany and the PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the West) movement, a xenophobic, right-wing populist organisation that has been organising demonstrations in the city of Dresden since October 2014, have gained in importance, especially in the Eastern parts of Germany. These circumstances are reflected in the local voting behaviour, with high proportions of AfD voters, but also non-voters, for example, compared to the Munich case study. Also, in comparison to the city average Paunsdorf strikes out in this respect (Table 1). Experiences of racism (see, e.g., P_B2, P_B7, and P_B11 in the Supplementary File), xenophobic attitudes and overall discourses about the German East strongly impact everyday encounters as well as patterns of interpretation and interaction in Paunsdorf (P_B4, P_B11, and P_Ex7 in the Supplementary File). Against this backdrop, interviews and field research has shown a firm intention among many actors in local institutions, like among others kindergartens and youth clubs, to counteract increasing right-wing populism and anti-immigrant sentiments (see, e.g., P_Ex 3, P_Ex6, and P_Ex10 in the Supplementary File). Thus, committed actors interpreted their daily work not only as a task in the field of social work—much more it is perceived as an explicit political contribution, as the following example of the youth work-

ers in Paunsdorf shows:

> It is difficult to place political topics. The parents say, for example, that there are migrants; I don't want that you go there, it is dangerous. So, and then you know, okay, that's the way the work is needed. And somehow you have a position that is against it so that you simply come into an exchange with young people and don't say okay, we are now doing a political project here. But that they just see, cool, there are somehow people who come from outside; they have a left-wing attitude. And dad says left-wingers are, uh, are all weird guys, but you're kind of cool that way, and that you're just a role model for them. (P_Ex10, Supplementary File)

In other discussions, representatives made clear that the topics of migration and integration are complicated to convey. They are considered too provocative and should not be addressed if you want to achieve your goals. In this way, dealing with difference and migration has virtually become a taboo subject in the local society (see, e.g., P_B11 and P_Ex6 in the Supplementary File). In the following case from daily work in a day-care centre, the vulnerability towards the topic xenophobia becomes clear once again. Here it refers to the reproach of xenophobia raised by a child of the group to a team member. The nursery-school teacher interviewed was in a kind of intermediary position in this conflict:

> So, when we recently sat together with the team, and this became the topic again with this, 'the child said to me, I am xenophobic'—this has deeply affected the teacher because she says: 'Oh, that has me/I don't know at all how to deal with this.' And then: 'That's not true either.' Then, when we had finished with the topic so far, I said again: 'Yes, I come from a typical guest-worker family [Turkish inmigrants to western Germany, who migrated later to eastern Germany], I know what it means to be…treated xenophobically.' (P_Ex8, Supplementary File)

Therefore, primarily because of her complex migration biography, she felt to be entitled, to evaluate the events neutrally and thus to act as an advocate for her (East German) colleague in this particular case. Not at least since staff with migration biographies usually still lacks in the local institutions, it is more uncertainness how to deal with the ethnocultural difference in everyday life. However, these different examples show that the public discourses on migration and natio-ethno-cultural differences are present and relevant points of references in everyday work and communication in Paunsdorf. Even if migration-related diversity is less visible in Paunsdorf compared to Nordhaide, it is still a dominant theme in the coexistence—in the sense of a proxy for struggles around left and right-wing attitudes, and in conjunction with racism as a permanent underlying issue, stress-free encounters seem challenging to realise. Here, the youth club offers newcomers first of all an essential space in which difference becomes possible, and which represents in the case of the women with flight biographies, in particular, a place of protected intimacy (Kirndörfer, 2019). Hence, the high value of places in the neighbourhood, becomes particularly evident where low-threshold encounters are possible, and people work together cautious, in rather unspectacular interactions and situation-specific encounters, such as youth clubs, day-care centres, family centres or other associations.

6. Ordinary Places and Actors of Urban Migration Societies

The juxtaposition of the two districts Leipzig Paunsdorf and Munich Nordhaide illustrated how paths of urban migration histories and overall socioeconomic framework conditions influence the local negotiation and subjective perception of migration and diversity in the urban every day. Due to considerable and rapid changes in the social composition of its residents, the handling of international immigration in Paunsdorf was more often problematized in connection with overburdening and distributive justice—not least concerning a supposed lack of public attention for this district and its residents. This applies to some extent, also for Nordhaide. However, in this neighbourhood, a rather unexcited and routinized coexistence among residents can unfold against the backdrop of the consciousness of living in an urban region, which is perceived to be, beyond others, economic attractive and largely cosmopolitan. Leipzig, in contrast, is struggling more intensively with tensions in dealing with of increasing societal plurality against the backdrop of various frictions after the political changes and the overall realities and debates of racism and growing xenophobia in East Germany. Hence, the case study examples illustrate, how dealing with natio-ethno-cultural difference is practised on the local level is not at least shaped by particular discourses on the supra-local scale.

If a postmigrant society is first of all considered as a society in the process of negotiating its identity and future under the terms of global mobility, then these negotiations are conducted in Paunsdorf more strikingly and vulnerable than in Nordhaide. Even though the effects of different urban migration histories as well as socioeconomic contexts are of considerable relevance in both case studies, a development-oriented perspective must be called into question. From a corresponding perspective, the Munich case study could appear as an ideal-typical pioneer in dealing with natio-ethno-cultural diversity and difference. Leipzig-Paunsdorf, on the other hand, could, in the sense of a linear model of migrant incorporation, be misunderstood as a sample for a 'catch-up development.' More relevant than hierarchical evaluations are therefore analytical perspectives that consider places of encounters and conviviality in the migration society simultaneously as contested places of so-

cial and class recognition on different scales. Foroutan (2016), for example, assumes that postmigrant societies are precisely characterized by the growing tensions between those who understand democracy as equal rights for all citizens and those who demand more rights for their group, be it defined, ethnically, religiously or nationally. In the Paunsdorf example, these tensions appear rougher and more polarizing—and also refer to unequal power relations in the national context. At the same time, the daily work of the people in the local institutions is continuously questioning and temporarily abolishing the influence of overall political and societal discourses in everyday situations. This was, beyond others, shown by women's cafés, in the premises of the youth club Paunsdorf as well as in the residents' centre in Nordhaide, organised by individual women: In the different settings, these events developed similar open dynamics of togetherness. Beyond that, everyday life frequently reveals, that not ethnic-national-cultural affiliation but first of all the financial, educational and social access to certain offers in the urban societies under consideration makes the difference in coexistence. In this context, the studied examples in Munich as well as in Leipzig show the importance of the 'ordinary' places and their actors, where participation is struggled for, and recognition is experienced, and who thus actively contribute in shaping urban society.

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Supplementary Material

Supplementary material for this article is available online in the format provided by the author (unedited).

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Article

Frustrating Beginnings: How Social Ties Compensate Housing Integration Barriers for Afghan Refugees in Vienna

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Abstract
In this article, we present findings from a recent (2017–2018) qualitative survey on the integration of Afghan refugees in Vienna. Vienna is by far the largest city in Austria with a diversified labour and housing market and a multi-faceted (migrant) economy. It doubtlessly is the most attractive 'arrival city' in Austria. Moreover, Vienna has received the bulk of refugees during the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015–2016 and before. The analysis will focus on Ager and Strang's (2008) argument, which characterizes housing as a core domain in integration. Housing constitutes a potential means of supporting integration into domains other than the labour market. In the process of housing integration, researchers (Aigner, 2018; Borevi & Bengtsson, 2015) have emphasized the relevance of refugees' social ties with family and co-ethnic groups, whereas the importance of inter-ethnic networking with members of the receiving society remains insufficiently explored. The majority of the 65 interviewees had emphasized the importance of refugees' social ties for their efforts towards structural integration. This analysis therefore aims at describing Afghans' challenging access paths into the local housing market, and the outstanding compensatory relevance of social ties in this process. Thus, we can identify special constraints (e.g., 'Afghanophobia,' exploitative conditions) and coping strategies of this under-researched 'newcomer' group of refugees in Austria.

Keywords
Afghan refugees; housing market integration; integration challenges; social networks; social ties

Issue
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1. Introduction

The starting point for this analysis was a self-financed pilot study (N = 19 Afghan interviewees) during the winter 2015–2016, which provided an initial picture of integration paths of Afghan refugees in Vienna. Many respondents had emphasized the relevance of social ties established during the period in which the 'refugees welcome' culture had been dominant, which have had positive consequences for structural integration (Kohlbacher & Schiocchet, 2017). These results led to a qualitative survey financed by the Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, focusing on opportunities and constraints for the integration of Afghans, who are still an overtly underresearched diaspora in Austria. This survey aimed at filling this empirical gap and providing insight into the integration challenges of this community. The research topics ranged from value orientations and educational, housing, and labour market integration to gender role models and religiosity.

The focus was the urban context of Vienna, which is characterized by a shortage of affordable housing. In this complex constellation, Afghans with their very limited market know-how and mostly lacking financial resources have to find accommodation within four months after receiving a positive asylum decision. Their struggle for obtaining housing results from a combination of individ-

ual strategies and resources, complex local processes of housing production and consumption, housing policies, and residential norms.

Our explorative analysis will describe Afghan refugees' access paths into Vienna's housing market, outlining economic, systemic, and xenophobic constraints for the housing integration of this 'new group' of refugees in Austria. The theoretical approach emphasizes the importance of housing for structural integration. This article will address the following questions: (1) How do refugees manage the transition into the regular rental market, and what are their main challenges? (2) Which compensatory role do social networks play in this complex process?

Housing and labour market integration of the many asylum seekers entering during 2015–2016 still represent the biggest challenges for municipal policies in Vienna, which, despite an increased construction rate, are not able to rapidly compensate the housing shortage.

2. Setting the Local Scene of Access to Housing: Political and Housing Conditions

2.1. Vienna: Austria's Immigration Focus

Vienna is by far the largest city in Austria with 1,897,491 inhabitants in 2019, of whom 688,884 are foreign-born. Between 2004 (when the total number of inhabitants was 1,619,410) and 2019, the total population grew by 17.8%, peaking through the influx of refugees in 2015 (Stadt Wien, 2019). Though Vienna has a long tradition of being the immigration magnet of Austria, large-scale immigration from Afghanistan is a recent phenomenon. About 40% of the annual migration influx to Austria is concentrated in Vienna, characterizing it as the most attractive 'arrival city' in Austria and making it well-suited for research in housing integration, which is a particular Viennese challenge.

During the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015–2016, the influx from the Middle East and Afghanistan has increased (Statistics Austria & KMI, 2017). In the peak year of 2015, 88,340 persons (25,563 Afghan) applied for international protection. In the same year, 1,263 gained subsidiary protection (Bundesministerium für Inneres, 2018, p. 4). Afterwards, this decreased to 42,285 (11,794 Afghan) applications in 2016, 24,735 in 2017 (3,781 Afghan), 13,746 (2,120 Afghan) in 2018, and 12,886 (2,979 Afghan) in 2019 (Bundesministerium für Inneres, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019). In 2019, Afghans constituted the biggest proportion (23%) of asylum seekers, followed by Syrians (21%), Iraqis, Iranians, Somali and Russians, mainly Chechens (each about 6%).

Outside Vienna, asylum seekers live in (sometimes overcrowded) federal group accommodations, often in remote areas. This has proved to foster stigmatization. Vienna follows a strategy of distributing asylum seekers into small-scale asylum centres and private accommodation units. Thus, in September 2019 only 29% of the asylum seekers receiving basic provision lived in 57 larger asylum homes, while 71% lived in small private accommodations distributed across the urban area (Fonds Soziales Wien, 2019, p. 2). Although we have no official statistics on the internal migration of Afghans who have received asylum, it can be assumed that after gaining asylum or subsidiary protection (according to Directive 2011/95/EU, given to a third country national who would face a real risk of suffering serious harm if the person returned to the country of origin), the majority has been moving to Vienna. This is supported by own qualitative data and by estimates referring to refugees of different origins, of whom 60% to 80% intend to move to the capital (Addendum, 2018, p. 4). Levels of needs-oriented minimum basic income, varying according to province, also play a relevant role in this regard (Müller, 2016). The spatial distribution of the Afghan-born population in Austrian political districts is uneven. Although the proportions are very low throughout, according to official statistics (0.05% to 0.35% of the residential population per district), the highest rates occur in Vienna and the provincial capitals Linz and Graz (each between 0.53% and 0.85%).

2.2. Housing Shortages and Blatant Rental Increases: Europe's Unique Metropolis of Social Housing

As is the case in other European metropolises, Vienna's transition from an industrial city to one with a dominant service sector leads to increased socio-spatial polarization. On the labour market, neoliberal trends such as restrictive wage policies and rising unemployment have led to an increase of socio-economically marginalized groups within the population, particularly in the immigrant segment.

Government involvement in housing production and consumption has a strong tradition not only in Vienna, but in Austria as a whole. Inequality is combatted by a policy of social equality, with the city developing measures aimed at reducing social disparities through a network of social welfare institutions and subsidies. Welfare policy includes interventions in the domains of housing, such as subsidised loans, subsidies for non-profit housing companies, housing benefits, support for single mothers and families, etc. The municipal "integration-oriented diversity policy" (Stadt Wien Magistratsabteilung 17, n.d.) combines the historical heritage of the city, being Austria's (last) socio-democratic stronghold and being the capital with the largest stock of municipal housing in Europe. The housing sector is quite different from that in a purely free-market society. It is outstanding in Europe because of its high share of subsidized housing (about 450,000 apartments), of which 220,000 units in about 1,800 residential complexes are municipality-owned (Wiener Wohnen, 2019). Thanks to political emphasis on affordable housing, Vienna is still in a better position than other metropolitan cities where social housing has been neglected (Musterd, 2020). However,

increased polarization in spatial dimensions could not be prevented, and housing shortages and rent levels have risen rapidly during the last decade (Pechtl, 2019). According to microcensus data, the gross rent level rose by 30.1% between 2008 and 2016 (Arbeiterkammer Wien, 2017, p. 15).

The housing market is segmented. According to microcensus data, 24.4% of the stock was municipal housing, 19.9% cooperative housing, 30.2% belonged to the rental segment, and 21% was owner occupied. 4.5% belonged to other types. In 2013 about 43% of third-country nationals, a category to which Afghans also belong, were living in the private rental segment (Kohlbacher & Reeger, 2020, p. 106). There is a gap between the political claims concerning the relevance of social housing for refugees and the reality of accessibility (Franz & Gruber, 2018, pp. 98–100). Municipal housing provides an alternative for foreign citizens with a longer duration of stay but because of legal restrictions (a minimum of 2 years' legal residence in Austria's capital at the same address), this segment is not accessible to persons who have recently been granted asylum and who have just left their asylum shelters. Refugees are excluded from co-operative apartments because they lack the necessary capital. Compared with other EU metropolises, Vienna's position in terms of the supply of social housing is positive, but it is now under pressure through real estate speculation and immigration. The imbalance between immigration to Vienna and new residential construction is mirrored in the fact that, for each newly constructed apartment, 4.8 'new' immigrants (including labour migrants and persons granted asylum), arrived in 2016 (Addendum, 2018, p. 5). Thus, the population with a background of flight is unequally distributed across the housing market segments (Aigner, 2016).

Considering the majority of asylum seekers entering around 2015, Afghans belonged to the socio-economically marginalized. Their educational and professional qualifications were lower than that of Syrians and Iraqis. The 'competence check' of the Austrian Labour Market Service showed that only 7% of incoming Afghans were university graduates (Arbeitsmarktservice, 2016). This limits their financial scope for rental payments and directs their housing demand to working-class neighbourhoods. Socio-economic status is the determining parameter for living in certain neighbourhoods. Within the city, the less attractive areas with a high percentage of rental housing units from the Founders' Period (old stock built from 1860 to 1914) are the favoured living areas for financially disadvantaged immigrants. According to the last official census in 2011, about 50% of all immigrants lived in six of the 23 Viennese districts, Leopoldstadt, Favoriten, Ottakring, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, Brigittenau, and Landstraße (Hatz, Kohlbacher, & Reeger, 2015, pp. 80–82). Although official data is yet unavailable, one can assume from qualitative interviews that most Afghans find accommodation in the older housing stock of the above-mentioned districts. Whether this should be assessed positively or negatively (Peach, 1996, p. 137) cannot be decided in the Afghan case. Since immigration from Afghanistan is a recent phenomenon, there are no existing residential areas with high concentrations ('ghettos') of Afghans. All respondents live in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. Based on the analyses of Massey (1990) and Massey and Denton (1993), it could of course be argued that by concentrating poverty, segregation creates an unfavourable social environment for financially disadvantaged immigrants. Residential areas of low-status African Americans, however, differ completely from Austrian working-class districts. Since 1974, the 'soft' urban renewal programme of the Vienna municipality has subsidised the renovation of about 340,000 apartments in these districts, which were inhabited in 2011 by approximately 800,000 persons (Ebner, 2013).

Furthermore, public authorities are largely delegating responsibilites for housing access of refugees who were granted asylum to NGOs. Usually, the impact of the municipality and of NGOs is rather limited and capitalist-shaped housing market mechanisms determine how Afghans obtain access to housing and in which market segments, districts, and neighbourhoods they can live. Welfare organisations (e.g., Diakonie, Caritas) offer advice and support but have a very limited stock of emergency housing at their disposal. This is mostly reserved for persons in extremely precarious situations, such as single parent families, traumatized, and chronically ill persons.

3. Afghans' Confrontation with Housing Market Realities

Although consultation services are available, the solution of the accommodation problem remains a challenge. Private market rents have significantly risen in the urban agglomeration. Persons granted asylum are not restricted in their choice of place of residence, but the majority moves to Vienna. Concerning the distribution into housing market segments, reliable data for Austria is still unavailable. More is known about local housing integration of persons granted asylum in Germany (see Bundesinstitut für Bau-, Stadt- und Raumforschung, 2017), and parallels to Austria are probable.

The relevance of municipal housing varies in different countries and municipalities (Francis & Hiebert, 2014). In Austria it varies due to changes in the entry requirements (e.g., a minimum duration of stay in a city) and in the size of stock. Usually, entering the private rental market is the only realistic option, although it is not easy for Afghans, due to several challenges. One major problem is that many Afghan households only receive the needs-oriented minimum basic income (in Vienna a monthly EUR 688.01 towards living costs, EUR 229.34 housing assistance plus EUR 247.68 per child; see Arbeiterkammer Wien, 2020) while affordable housing is extremely limited in metropolitan areas. The average net rent, excluding heating costs, for a 60 square meter flat equals

12.47 EUR/sqm (in 2016 this value was 12.10 EUR/sqm) and 14.97 EUR/sqm for a 30 square meter unit (or 14.23 in 2016; see Wohnungsboerse, 2020). This is aggravated by the fact that, according to an expert from the municipality, "there is a shortage of private flats in general and in particular of private rental flats." At the counselling centre another expert said:

> The apartments on the private rental market in which the refugees have to live are of an extremely bad quality and are completely overpriced. They also have limited and very short contracts. The housing situation of many, many refugees who are contacting us is so bad that one can hardly imagine it.

The availability of suitable housing is just one problem. Afghans encounter additional obstacles. First, there is little knowledge of the local rental market (Flatau et al., 2015). Apartment seekers often do not meet the rental market requirements since they cannot provide occupation references and prove creditworthiness. They are discriminated against by lessors and real estate agents due to their visibly belonging to an ethno-religious minority, their asylum status, and their source of income (often welfare; see Murdie, 2008). Xenophobic dicrimination also plays a role, as pointed out by an expert at the University of Vienna: "Apartment seekers with a 'foreign' name have great difficulties and will often not even get a viewing appointment." Furthermore, said an expert at the municipality: "People rarely want to rent their flat to an unknown culture, unknown persons who are granted asylum, without a job, entitled to needs-oriented minimum basic income." Living spaces often do not suit Afghans' household structures, which consist predominantly of single males or larger families (Aigner, 2018).

The search process is further burdened by the uncertainty regarding their legal status. A considerable share of Afghans is not granted asylum but subsidiary protection, which depends on the changing security situation in the regions of origin. An Afghan woman, aged 46, living in Austria since 2011, reported: "I had to wait three years until I could join my husband already living here." Muslims and 'visible' groups (Afghans should be included as well as Chechens and Africans) experience the most precarious starting conditions (see Murdie, 2010). With a longer duration of stay, many refugees improve their financial leeway and their housing market position. The improvement depends on their level of education and on their ability to achieve better paying labour market positions.

The "most common solution" (Francis & Hiebert, 2014, p. 76) to these challenges is to pay excessive rents for inadequate and overcrowded housing, which often constitutes transitory accommodation. According to an expert from the municipality:

> Flats are rented to groups, though the person is not the real owner. The person himself has rented the flat and has sub-rented it to five persons. A small apartment, only one-room apartment in which five persons have to live and the tenant collects the money. If the owner realizes the situation he says: 'Move out immediately!' Then they stand on the street with nothing, without rights.

In search of adequate housing, many refugee households move several times before they find appropriate housing (compare also Ager & Strang, 2008).

To compensate for the deficits mentioned, refugees urgently need information and the active support of persons familiar with the local housing market. Thus, for the majority, social networks are the most relevant 'key' towards accessing the housing market and reducing the risk of exploitation.

4. Relevance of Social Networks in Housing Integration

4.1. State of Research

A plethora of empirical studies documents the relevance of social networks for providing information about labour market opportunities. Less is known about the housing market. This analysis focuses on Ager and Strang's (2008) argument, in which they stress housing as an important domain of integration, although the interconnections between the dimensions of integration are interpreted differently (Adam et al., 2019; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In Esser's (2001) integration concept, the reference areas in the micro level (social integration) and the macro level (system integration) are complexly interwoven. Heckmann's (2015) concept distinguishes the four dimensions of structural, cultural, social, and identificational integration, emphasizing manifold interconnections. There is no doubt that the housing situation has impacts on other domains of structural integration, such as education and labour (Bosswick, Heckmann, & Lüken-Klaßen, 2007; Danzer & Ulku, 2011).

Social interactions 'produce' weak and strong ties. Granovetter (1973) refers to strong ties as close relationships (e.g., friends) and weak ties as more tenuous relationships. All of these ties increase the availability of resources (Granovetter, 1995; Gurak & Caces, 1992). Research has mainly focused on the effect of strong ties for social support in challenging situations. Closer ties are often a 'vehicle' for integration into the labour and housing market (Hurlbert, Haines, & Beggs, 2000), but Granovetter (1973, p. 1360) emphasized "the strength of weak ties." This relation we intended to verify by our qualitative data in general and for a selected national group in particular, as there is a research gap concerning the relevance of weak ties for housing access (Aigner, 2016). Fararo and Skvoretz (1987) pointed out that weak ties require a lesser time investment and therefore allow a greater number of ties to evolve, resulting in an overall network with greater connectivity. Smith (2012)

investigated the manifold possibilities and benefits of weak ties. The evidence suggests that the use of informal contacts varies according to age, ethnicity, and location. Immigrants in poor neighbourhoods and in large cities are more likely to use informal networks. Weak inter-ethnic ties are relevant in the field of social integration, which is a process of exchange, and which starts with the establishment of first contacts (Wren, 2007). Networks based on personal ties, as well as organizational relations (e.g., schools, professional associations, agencies, recruiters, and other intermediaries), are relevant (see Arango, 2004, p. 28; Fawcett, 1989).

Social networks are the core of social capital. Individual characteristics of persons concerning their capacity to establish social ties (and to mobilise resources), such as extroversion, gender, or social class are obviously relevant (Murdie, 2008). Social capital theory contends that social relationships are resources that can lead to the development and accumulation of human capital (Häuberer, 2019, p. 36). For Coleman (1988, 1990), social capital exists between actors. It is not attributable to a single actor as is economic capital. Putnam (2000, p. 167) has added trust and norms to the social network core. Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital at the individual level. Lin (2001) adopted an individualistic and actionistic view of social capital, adding resources to the social network. For him social capital is "resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions" (Lin, 2001, p. 29). Social capital may also be interpreted as "any feature of a social relationship that yields benefits" (Lin, 2001, p. 29), which seems to be a suitable basis to understand many Afghans' interpretations of 'useful' networks. These include extended family members, friends and acquaintances, German language teachers, volunteers, and NGO staff in transitional housing and counselling centres (see Francis & Hiebert, 2014).

Concerning refugee integration, the mechanisms of social networking have been investigated, e.g., by Atfield, O'Toole, and Brahmbhatt (2007), Brücker et al. (2016, pp. 121–128), as well as McMichael and Manderson (2004). Compared to labour migrants, asylum seekers and persons entitled to asylum are disadvantaged in their networking abilities. Due to the special conditions of asylum (e.g., living in asylum homes), they often lack extensive social networks in the receiving context (Bergeron & Potter, 2006). Cheung and Phillimore (2013, p. 536) discovered that the mere access to social networks is not enough to enhance access to employment. Rather, language competence, pre-migration qualifications and occupations, and time spent in the receiving country are most important in accessing work opportunities. However, the absence of social networks does appear to have a detrimental effect on access to the labour market.

Research in housing integration (e.g., Borevi & Bengtsson, 2015; Lauer & Yan, 2007) emphasizes the relevance of social ties with co-ethnics, but the importance of ties with members of the receiving society is still under-researched. Ryan (2011) identified a research gap, as more attention should be given to the ways in which immigrants access and maintain different types of networks in varied social locations and with diverse people. In the case of Vienna, only very little is known about the housing paths of third-country nationals. One has to mention the analyses of Giffinger and Reeger (1997) for Turkish migrants and of Lichtenberger (1984) and Kohlbacher and Reeger (2007) for migrants from former Yugoslavia. The first study about housing integration of refugees in Vienna was done in 2015–2016 by Aigner (2018), based on a sample of 25 respondents of various origins (6 from Afghanistan).

4.2. Methods

4.2.1. Qualitative Ethnographic Approach

According to Franklin (2008), the qualitative investigation of housing paths has the capacity to integrate structural and subjective dimensions. The value of ethnographic methods for the interpretation of housing access processes lies in the embedded nature of these processes in complex structures of integration processes, market conditions, everyday life, and social relations (Ronald, 2001, pp. 416–419). Using a qualitative approach allowed us to include the perspectives both of refugees and of experts.

Concerning Vienna as an arrival space, we know that the refugees who were interviewed were living in many different parts of Vienna, but because of many refusals to reply, we could collect little data about their integration in these neighbourhoods of residence. This study does not aim to make representative claims about refugees' general degree of success on the housing market. Instead, it seeks to contribute to a better understanding of Afghans' complex problem constellations and paths of access into the housing market. The limitations of the sample in terms of country of origin influence the results because this influences the likelihood of being accepted as a tenant.

4.2.2. Sampling

One goal of the sampling process was to interview a group that was as diverse as possible in order to include the effects of different socio-economic and demographic variables that usually have an impact on the integration process. A total of 65 persons (27 female, 38 male) with varying lengths of stay in Austria were interviewed in 2017–2018. Respondents were recruited with the support of organizations of the Afghan diaspora through snowball sampling. Whereas 13 Afghans had already fled before 2000, 23 moved between 2000 and 2010, 11 during 2013–2014 and 18 came in 2015 or later. 52 interviews (33 with men and 19 with women) could be conducted in Vienna. Mirroring the flight movements of Afghans to Europe in general, there was a

dominance of younger respondents. 50.1% were born between 1990 and 1999, only 5 were born between 1950 and 1959, and only one person was older than seventy years. Single young males predominate among the recently-fled respondents, mirroring the high proportion of this group among refugees that have been coming to Austria since 2010. Of the interviewees, 8% did not even have a basic education, 21% had finished compulsory education, whilst 25% held university degrees. All interviews (duration between one and two and a half hours) with Afghans were conducted in Farsi-Dari and then translated into German. The data set was augmented by 13 expert interviews with representatives of the Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, the Austrian Integration Fund (ÖIF), the Vienna Municipal Department for Integration and Diversity, NGOs, Afghan associations, etc. There also was a focus group discussion of four hours with four experts, two volunteers, four researchers, and four Afghan refugees, which took place at the Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology of the University of Vienna. The quotes used in this article are extracts from the interviews translated into English.

The material was coded with atlas.ti (using substantial and theoretical codes) and analyzed by qualitative content analysis using the inductive and recursive approach of Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1978). Through the method of permanent comparison, data collection as well as coding and analysis of the data took place simultaneously. The supplementary fieldwork consisted of participation in formal as well as informal activities and participant observations (e.g., at football matches and musical or private events).

4.3. Perspectives and Experiences of Afghans

We knew from the pilot study that social ties are often quickly established during the initial phase of stay. Extroverted persons readily accomplish this. Thus, various individual networks exist within one community: young male or female refugees, families with children, or persons belonging to certain ethno-religious groups (e.g., Hazara) for example each form their own types of networks. Single persons are usually more eager to establish strong and weak social ties with Austrians than Afghan families since the former have left behind their whole social system.

4.3.1. Financial and Housing Market Challenges

Social ties with diverse people in varied social locations influence the segment-specific and spatial location of Afghans. We know from our data that networks are both a motivation and a means for the selection of accommodation and its location within the city. This, however, differs in accordance with socio-economic status and financial capacities. All Afghan respondents had lived in transitional housing before they entered the private rental market. A complex of closely interrelated factors characterises the difficult transition paths into Vienna's private rental market. In these aspects, the situation of Afghan interviewees clearly differs from that of labour migrants and from the overall situation in the city. Because the demand for affordable housing in Vienna significantly exceeds the supply, almost all interviewees had serious trouble finding accommodation: "To find a flat is really a big calamity," said an expert from the municipal department. Considerable competition in the housing market is a challenge faced by everybody searching for apartments, because labour immigrants, students, and other low-income households are also trying to find affordable housing in the same 'working-class' districts. The respondents characterized the situation as extremely harsh, expecting these conditions to continue. A quote from an expert interview illustrates this:

> The biggest challenge is at the beginning….Maybe they have found an apartment which is completely problematic, and they know that after two years they will have to leave it. The flat is totally destroyed. They have paid an extremly high rent for it, a commission and maybe a deposit to a company that has lent them the money. Thus, they are fully in a market situation…they don't know the language, they have health problems,…there are so many barriers at the beginning that it is not possible to manage all these problems parallelly….For two or three years they have to fight that basic needs be met until they will get the needs-based minimum income.…There may also be some kind of financial 'backlog' of rental payments which they were unable to pay.

4.3.2. The Role of Support by Social Ties

Almost all interviewees reported that gathering information about vacant apartments or rooms communicated through social networks is the most successful routes towards obtaining lodgings (see Adam et al., 2019). Networks rather than internet real estate search platforms were the greatest help. An expert from an NGO counselling centre explained: "Thus, the community plays the leading role for surviving and for finding accommodation." Not only the sharing of relevant information, but also the rendering of financial support, which may constitute one-time payments or long-term financial assistance, is frequently reported:

> When we arrived, the Afghans helped us a lot with 100 or 150 euros. My husband could rent a flat with his own savings and the additional money which we could get this way. (Woman, aged 33, in Austria since 2016)

A female interviewee, aged 46, living in Austria since 2011, said: "I have a flat in the 10th district and my colleagues, my acquaintances, and friends support me with money.''

Refugees can benefit greatly from social contacts with locals, compensating their lack of knowledge of the local rental market, sharing experiences during the search process, and dealing with lessors or institutional providers of housing (Anthias, 2007). Through networking, the Afghans obtained relevant information and assistance during viewing appointments and gained language support when negotiating with lessors and finalizing the rental contract:

> After the positive asylum decision, we had to leave the asylum shelter within four months. A female teacher from the nearby school supported us. She had a flat where a hospital nurse was living temporarily. After two months, this person left, and we arranged a viewing appointment. It is a very beautiful apartment with a garden plot. Austrian people are really very helpful. (Male, aged 45, in Austria since 2013)

From the interviews it is evident that negotiations with lessors often need the support of an Austrian or another person of trust speaking fluent German who can intervene on their behalf, help with translation problems, and reduce doubts concerning (financial) reliability:

> For finding a flat I contacted all my Afghan and Austrian friends and I posted on Facebook. My actual flat I have found with the help of an Austrian friend. She informed me that she would arrange a viewing appointment. After viewing the flat together with this friend, I could sign the rental contract immediately. (Male, aged 36, in Austria since 2010)

An Afghan woman, aged 21, living in Austria since 2016, narrated: "A female volunteer from the Red Cross…helped us to find this apartment owned by an acquaintance of hers."

Social ties with other Muslim groups also may help obtaining housing (see Cheung & Phillimore, 2013), but there are pronounced ethnic dividing lines between the Muslim organizations in Vienna. Some interviewees mentioned professional intermediaries from the Afghan or other Muslim communities who are paid to place apartment seekers in apartments. These services are usually connected with considerable financial profit resulting from the tight market situation and excessive fees are thus often charged. Fearing homelessness, the Afghans were unwilling to provide detailed information about this problem. An Afghan expert from the municipal department reported:

> We have some persons in the Afghan community who take advantage of this situation. They send apartment seekers to a certain flat. Then the refugees stay there for three months. Then the property management throws them out because they don't have a rental contract. They even don't know what a rental contract is. They are exploited….In a kind of corruption they also issue pay slips for other people so that these Afghans can get a flat. For this activity, they claim provision. The legal provision is two monthly rents, but these persons want three monthly rents. These pay slips are absolutely required by the Afghans. To find a flat is really a big calamity….Unfortunately, we hear that certain persons profit from this situation as real estate agents. They convey apartments on the basis of a 'small' commission of 500 euros, which is in fact extremely much money for these persons. And you must know that the rent for these apartments also is 500 euros. 500 for 25 square metres, which is extremely much for a refugee granted asylum and having no job at the beginning.

The transition to the private rental market is often linked to precarious rental arrangements with short-term, insecure, or even illegal rental contracts. Often there is a lack of basic information about tenants' rights (e.g., eviction protection, allowable rent, ancillary costs, and deposits). Afghans living in insecure housing situations (mostly young single men) are constantly at risk of becoming homeless, as an interviewee reported:

> When I was 18, I had to leave the youth centre in the 12th district and got a place in a Caritas shelter near the Western Railway Station in the 15th district. There I lived for two months. Then I was homeless for two weeks. I had neither shelter nor money. Some days I slept outdoors near the River Danube….After my brother had found a job, I could join him and moved into his apartment. (Male, aged 21, in Austria since 2015).

Shared flats prove to be a frequent strategy, using existing and extending social ties after leaving refugee accommodations. Single rooms are easier to finance than whole apartments. Renting a room in a shared flat is usually bound to a temporary contract but this does not differ substantially from temporary rental contracts for whole apartments:

> Young Afghan men have the opportunity to find shelter anywhere, possibly protracting this condition of semi-homelessness. They often solve this problem in renting middle-sized apartments in larger groups. There they frequently become victims of exploitative relationships. (Expert, NGO)

Temporary contracts are also a frequent model for students who sub-let their rooms while studying in other EU countries. Thus, some refugees share a flat with Austrian students who become helpful friends in everyday life. These contracts are less attractive for many other tenants, and thus the competition in this legal segment is less harsh. A considerable advantage of flat sharing is the possibility of expanding supportive social ties. Living with friends and gaining new social ties can become an impor-

tant practical support for single refugees whose families were left behind. It is no option for families searching for accommodation.

The Afghans' scope for action and decision-making is extremely limited. Most interviewees did not have any alternative to the flats or rooms they were living in at the time of being interviewed. Refugees from Afghanistan are also confronted with an additional challenge. As the result of a negative media presence in the wake of criminal offenses, a certain xenophobic mood against the Afghan community evolved simultaneously with an increase in generalized Islamophobia (Hajek, 2019, pp. 9–19). The outcome for housing integration was as follows, according to an expert from the University of Vienna: "Afghans actually have no good standing searching for an apartment or a job. This is because of certain criminal offenses and media reports. People don't have a good opinion about Afghans." Furthermore: "Apartments are available, but they don't get them because there is their negative image" (expert, Afghan organisation). Afghans are among the most stigmatized groups:

> It is because of all the negative things that have been in the newspapers, so Afghans and Chechens have very bad cards in this thing….You take someone else, if two people come, one is an Afghan and the other is from somewhere else, then you take that one and leave the Afghan, because they say he is fighting and things like that. (representative, Afghan mosque)

5. Conclusion

This article presents results about the housing access paths of Afghans who have been granted asylum in Vienna. As among other immigrant groups, the characteristics of dwellings as market goods, the particular resources, and the dynamics of supply and demand affect housing access paths and housing conditions. Afghans could be identified as a particularly vulnerable group because of economic disadvantage and discriminatory practices. Afghans experience a highly competitive situation with manifold difficulties when moving from refugee accommodations into the rental segment. Limited affordable housing in Vienna constitutes a major general constraint. This is more pronounced in the central districts and with certain types of housing, namely larger apartments for families, with two or more rooms. This especially holds true for Vienna's rental market segments with unregulated pricing (mainly in the older stock of working-class districts), where chances are largely determined by the liquidity of the refugee household and by efficient networking.

It could be demonstrated that dimensions of housing quality and types of contract are determined by household-specific financial abilities and nationality. Many lessors reject applicants because of their foreign origin, legal status, poor language proficiency, and/or socio-economic characteristics, such as being a welfare recipient. In the case of the Afghans, who fall under generalized suspicion, a discriminatory mood can be detected.

Afghans rarely manage to find access to the housing market along 'native' pathways such as internet real estate platforms. Social networking is identified as the most frequent coping strategy towards overcoming challenges in the search for housing and counteracting discriminatory practices. Thus, their individual and group-specific chances and their competitive position for accessing the market and for addressing particular dimensions of housing conditions are improved by intra- or inter-ethnic social ties, which provides additional financial resources and information, and mediates between demanders and suppliers. Networks include strong ties to friends and relatives in the Afghan community who provide information on vacant apartments or who pass their own apartments on to fellow Afghans. Moreover, weak ties between refugees and locals play an important role. These ties with volunteers, counsellors in NGOs, and German language teachers offer information and language support. The same persons may both be persons of trust and non-profit-oriented lessors. Thus, both kinds of social ties play a role in Afghans' access to dwellings in a segmented housing market. Weak ties often are very effective, supporting Granovetter's (1973) argument about the "strength of weak ties." Social ties are both a motivation and a facilitator for the selection of accomodation and of the spatial location of housing. Our findings further demonstrate that respondents do not have much choice regarding their housing decisions and are therefore often dissatisfied with the size of their dwellings, but only rarely with their location.

The findings of this study are subject to some limitations. One was the broad range of research topics covered by the survey, which made it impossible to gain deeper insights into refugees' modes of access and maintainance of different types of networks in varied social contexts and with diverse people. A more systematic investigation of the formation mechanisms, structures, and duration of the social ties would provide valuable insights. Another limitation is its 'snapshot' character. A further survey in 3 to 5 years would reveal whether the respondents had progressed on their housing paths. Thus, we plan further research to answer these questions.

There is a clear lack of institutional assistance for newly recognised refugees (particularly for young, single men) towards finding accommodation in the private housing market. Thus, the municipality should soon take measures to facilitate access to social housing and to shorten the waiting time. Finally, I want to stress the importance of involving all members of the urban society in the battle against discrimination in the private housing market.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Refugees and Asylum Seekers Dispersed in Non-Metropolitan French Cities: Do Housing Opportunities Mean Housing Access?

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Abstract
Since 2015, policies for resettling asylum seekers and refugees in European cities have renewed the debate over the governance of migration, while not only metropolises but also small towns and mid-sized cities emerge as, although not new, at least specific arrival spaces. National dispersion policies are assigning these asylum seekers and refugees to small and mid-sized cities that are presumed to provide housing opportunities. However, little is known about access to housing and residential trajectories in these specific urban and socio-economic contexts. This article analyses how the housing providers—either state agencies, managers of temporary accommodation centres or social housing organisations—are adjusting to the arrival and needs of asylum seekers and refugees in cities where there is usually less ethnic diversity. We demonstrate that access to housing and residential trajectories tends to be determined by dispersion and mainstream social mix policies, from national to local arrangements. However, we argue that some pragmatic local practices have reframed this pattern to provide housing solutions that may be contrary to national policies. Our article will be based on 84 in-depth interviews conducted with housing providers, NGOs and with asylum seekers and refugees in three small and mid-sized French cities.

Keywords
asylum seekers; housing access; local planning; mid-sized cities; policies of dispersion; refugees; small cities; social and ethnic mix

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Urban Arrival Spaces: Social Co-Existence in Times of Changing Mobilities and Local Diversity'' edited by Yvonne Franz (University of Vienna, Austria) and Heike Hanhörster (ILS—Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development, Germany).

1. Introduction

Urban and migration research has mainly focused on global cities and metropolitan areas as places of arrival (Saunders, 2011) that are affected by an increasing 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007), and as 'pragmatic' actors playing an increasing role in the multi-level governance of migration and diversity (Arino et al., 2018; Babels, Bontemps, Makaremi, & Mazouz, 2018; Caponio, 2018; Dekker & van Kempen, 2004). Since 2015, the policies to resettle refugees and asylum seekers in European cities have raised in different ways the issue of migration governance. European and national policies indeed disperse refugees and asylum seekers in order to avoid concentration spots in large cities or border areas. Small and mid-size cities are thus perceived as places of housing opportunities due to vacancies in less supply-constrained housing markets. However, little is known about access to housing and residential trajectories in these specific contexts. Recent research calling for a 'rescaling' approach in migration studies defines medium-sized cities as low- and down-scale cities. They may not provide as many opportunities for migrants in terms of employment, education and ethnic networks and they may lack public resources and experience of migration governance (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). In this framework,

not much research has been conducted into housing access except through national arrangements for reception policies and the selection process organized by the institutional state actors (Rigoni, 2018).

The aim of our article is to fill in this gap in research into small and mid-size cities as places and pragmatic actors by focusing on housing access through a multi-level governance approach. Beyond this national representation of small and mid-size cities as places of housing opportunities, how are reception structures for refugees and asylum seekers and for those whose requests have been rejected actually provided in these local contexts?

Using 84 in-depth interviews conducted in three French cities, our article focuses on the narratives and set of actions put forward by diverse housing providers and the arrangements that are driving housing access. The article analyses how the housing providers—either state agencies, managers of temporary accommodation centres or social housing organisations—are adjusting to the arrival and needs of asylum seekers and refugees in cities where there is usually less ethnic diversity. We assume that crossing analysis relating to housing and migration policies and practices, on the one hand, and the residential experiences of these exiles, on the other hand, could give new insights into issues of migration governance. The exiles we are talking about are those affected by public reception arrangements for asylum seekers: Some are subject to the Dublin Regulation (they are referred to as 'Dublinised') and must return to the first European country in which they were registered; others will have their applications rejected and still others (a minority) will obtain refugee status.

First, we will look at previous research findings concerning migration governance and housing access in different types of cities. Next, we demonstrate how access to housing and residential trajectories is determined by dispersion and social-mix mainstream policies from national to local arrangements. However, we argue that pragmatic actors may adjust their discourse and day-to-day practices to provide housing solutions, just as residents may rise up in support of the most vulnerable.

2. Migration Governance and Housing Access: Previous Research

Some comparative research into the governance of diversity highlights 'the growing dissonance' between the prevalent 'assimilationist' rhetoric of national governments and the more 'tolerant' approach of cities in Europe (Arino et al., 2018; Raco, 2018). Cities act as "strategic players" (Dekker & van Kempen, 2004), capable of reshaping or even challenging national narratives and setting up divergent specific local arrangements (Arino et al., 2018; Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2019). Recent research analysing European city networks shows how cities seize this opportunity both as a way to politically oppose national or European discourse and strategies, and to find pragmatic solutions to the influx and settlement of migrants (Bazurli, 2019; Caponio, 2018; Downing, 2015). Approaches to multi-level migration governance underline two strong trends: increasingly Europeanized supra-national policies (Guiraudon, 2010) and a more and more central role for local actors. The 'local turn' (Scholten & Penninx, 2016) thus reflects the "prominent and entrepreneurial" role of cities "drawing up their own agenda, policy strategies and key questions/answers to the challenges related to integration and the accommodation of diversity" (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017, p. 2). Certain municipalities even take over the management of domains in which they deem the State to be inefficient, creating forms of 'neo-municipalism' (Furri, 2017). This 'local turn' goes hand in hand with the emergence of new civil society stakeholders involved in taking in migrants. This is the case in Paris, where it was the inhabitants who made it a 'welcoming' city (Babels et al., 2018). On the one hand, such mobilization of civil society is a local adaptation to the austerity leading to a devolution of responsabilities. On the other hand, it reflects forms of creeping decentralization, even though cities have few legislative possibilities for influencing migration policies (Pauvros, 2014). Given the diversity in cities' positions and capacity for action, these localist policies risk reinforcing the segregative effects and inequality of asylum seeker and refugee reception facilities based on the resources and willingness of local authorities.

Two recent ANR-sponsored (French National Research Agency) projects highlight some findings on diverse French cities. The ANR project Babels provides an insight into the inter-dependent relationships between migrants and cities and the forms of hospitality (or rejection) set up for 'migrants' in Europe and France. The three types of city studied—crossroads cities, refuge cities and border cities—are nevertheless mainly large cities such as Berlin, Paris and Istanbul, or specific border cities like Calais and Lampedusa (Babels et al., 2018). Moreover, although some residential trajectories leading asylum seekers and refugees from Paris to mid-sized cities have emerged (Deschamps, Laé, Overney, & Proth, 2017; Lae, 2018), housing and housing providers have not been explored extensively. The ANR project CAMIGRI is analyzing the 'reception policies,' with one axis focused on 'residential spaces' of migrants in French cities. However, the research objective is to use international migration to shed light on the changing dynamics of rural areas (Berthomière & Imbert, 2019). Moreover, lots of research in this area is focusing either on the political discourse and arrangements of mayors and city departments or on the initiatives deployed by local actors (Béal & Pinson, 2014), social workers and citizens and the theory of social movements (Bazurli, 2019; Gebhardt, 2016; Rigoni, 2018). Not as much is known about other local housing providers.

Some research is nevertheless emerging on the governance of migration in small and mid-sized cities notably after 2015 (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; Meier, 2018; Raüchle & Schmiz, 2019). The most common European

statistical threshold used for mid-sized cities is a population of between 20,000 and 100,000 inhabitants as the definition of small towns appears to be uncertain. Most urban research converges around the idea that the definition of small towns and mid-sized cities is related more to their intermediary status and functions between rural areas and large cities than to any threshold. Urban research is increasingly highlighting the diversity of small and mid-sized cities as some of them are experiencing demographic and economic growth rather than decline and their relevance to understanding the complexity of cities (Bell & Jayne, 2009).

The rescaling approach in migration studies also defines small and mid-sized cities in terms of their position within the global and national hierarchy on a relational continuum from top- and up-scale (metropolitan) to low- and down-scale (small and medium-sized; see Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). One of the benefits of this approach is to conduct a cross-analysis of contexts and actors, including the refugees and asylum seekers themselves, and to outline the differences in opportunities for migrants according to the types of cities. The assumption is one of less opportunities in terms of ethnic resources, education and unemployment for migrants in small and mid-sized cities. This could nevertheless be questioned regarding housing. To be more specific, there is a need to qualify the types and the location of housing provided in these small and mid-size cities where the share of social housing may be under the national average. Within the framework of the rescaling approach, recent research into migrant economics in two medium-size German cities explores the 'opportunity structures,' "defined as consisting of technological developments, production factors, market conditions, demand, welfare systems and the legal frameworks" (Raüchle & Schmiz, 2019, p. 1769). Although 'opportunity structures' as a concept has been used to analyse the multi-level and embedded arrangements for the economic integration of migrants, housing market policies and neighbourhoods are part of this.

Housing provision and access is both a crucial resource for migrant integration and a relevant approach to looking at the multi-level governance issues involved in combining migration and housing policies. In France, research has outlined different key issues. First, the rate of social housing (17%) has been one of the key vectors of housing provision for immigrants in the 1970s even if they have tended to end up in large poor social housing estates with a high concentration of migrants. As in other European countries, area-based policies address this concentration of poor and immigrant households in deprived neighbourhoods (Bolt, Phillips, & van kempen, 2010). This model reflects a mainstream 'colour-blind' universalistic framework of "the philosophy of integration" based on individual immigrant incorporation into the French political community (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2018; Favell, 1998) which shapes governance arrangements (Arino et al., 2018) and leads to the mainstream social mix objective guiding allocation systems in 'ordinary' social housing and immigrant distribution in neighborhoods and cities (Blanc, 2010; Simon & Sala-Pala, 2010). However, urban research has highlighted how the "institutional racism" and ethnic discrimination of street-level bureaucrats is driving unequal access to housing (Sala-Pala, 2013). In any case, access to standard social housing is contingent on legal status which may exclude some asylum seekers and refugees. As such, the newly arrived asylum seekers are especially vulnerable and poorly housed because they cannot benefit from different forms of solidarity from people who have already been allocated housing (Lévy-Vroelant, 2014). Moreover, the most vulnerable migrants are often accommodated in 'constrained housing' structures (Bernardot, 2005), while urban hospitality facilities may be transformed into places of confinement or isolation, or even serve as holding centres prior to expulsion (Kobelinsky, 2008; Valluy, 2007). Housing opportunities are therefore reduced for asylum seekers, who are forced to stay in specific types of accommodation, while access to more standard-type housing is governed by a series of arrangements that are rooted in universalist French housing models, but give rise to discriminatory practices (Bourgeois, 2017).

The aim of this article is to fill the gap in research into migration governance post-2015 in contexts other than large cities—especially in France—and to provide insights into housing opportunities and access. In doing so, our main focus is the manner in which migration policies and housing policies and practices are combining to provide local housing opportunities, and to what extend the different housing managers and providers favor (or do not favor) housing access for asylum seekers and refugees. This approach could provide fresh insights into rescaling and multi-level governance approaches.

3. Presentation of Research Sites and Methodology

This article draws upon the findings of exploratory research conducted between June and October 2019 for which we selected three towns with different socio-demographic dynamics and urban issues : Saint-Liorac, in central France, Locheronde, in western France, and Layronastre in southern France. These names are pseudonyms because we elected to preserve their anonymity: that is why we are quite vague about their location. These three cities can be qualified as small and medium-sized not merely because of their populations, but also because of their role as urban centres within a radius of between 10 and 20 kilometres (Mainet, 2011), and because they are relatively far away from centres of power. In all cases, statistical data reveals migrant populations that are well below those of the Paris region (see Table 1). We chose to study three cities that differ in several respects to try to understand what is common to specific relocation experiences outside of metropolitan or border areas, and what factors may be considered

Table 1. Socio-demographic data of sites researched.

Cities	Population	% Migrants	Annual Δ in population 2011–2016	Unemployment rate	% Rented social housing
Saint-Liorac	25,954	5	−1	14.1	17
Locheronde	53,741	6.4	+0.4	17	22
Layronastre	8,380	6	+0.9	18.3	14
Paris	2,190,327	20.3	−0.5	12.1	21.1
Paris Region	12,117,131	19.2	+0.4	9.7	25

Source: From the national population census, 2016.

as specifically local ones : while Saint-Liorac has a declining population, Layronastre, with a much smaller population at the moment, is witnessing positive net migration, reflecting its strong residential attractiveness. However, these three cities have all recently been confronted by an increase in arrivals of refugees and asylum seekers, in ways ranging from the opening of public reception facilities to strong citizen activism.

Our research compares and contrasts national reception policies for asylum seekers and refugees, with the local practices of accommodation providers involved both in managing specific types of housing and in access to standard housing. The qualitative methodology developed in the research was based firstly on the study of local documents relating to the organisation and management of access to accommodation and housing and, secondly, on 84 semi-structured interviews (with 134 interviewees), including 29 with refugees, asylum seekers and 'Dublinised' (48 interviewees; see Table 2). We questioned them about their residential trajectory since they emigrated and their urban experiences. The other interviews allowed us to analyse the discourse and practices of all of the actors involved: local representatives of central government, local authorities, providers of social housing, managers of accommodation facilities, residents' associations and residents who are providing accommodation.

4. A National Dispersion-Based Approach: Institutional Reception Channels

Analysing how accommodation and housing is managed for refugees and asylum seekers shows how the state plays a predominant role in the spatial allocation of people and, ultimately, in relocating them to small and mid-sized cities. The programmes driven by the central level of public action are framed by national migration policy, which is based upon migrant categorization and sorting arrangements.

4.1. Accommodation Facilities and Administrative Categories That Influence Residential Situations

The channels for accessing specific accommodation facilities in small and mid-sized cities are structured by the Dispositif National d'Accueil (National Asylum Programme, or DNA), through which the government provides asylum seekers and refugees who have neither resources nor housing with administrative support and accommodation. Since it was set up in 1973, reception facilities have constituted a category of public action. The term 'migrant,' frequently used since 2015 to denote different DNA missions and programmes, cuts across several administrative and legal situations, ranging from 'asylum seeker' to 'refugee' (about 27% of asylum seekers in France), 'rejected applicants' or 'Dublinised.'

To simplify matters, we propose to divide the complex institutional channels into three broad categories: 1) so-called temporary reception facilities, which provide access to cohabitation facilities or individual accommodation for several months, pending the examination of the asylum application; 2) access to standard permanent housing for people who have been granted refugee status entitling them to stay in France on a long-term basis, and which is intended to help them access their basic rights; and 3) emergency accommodation, which in theory provides people with insecure or illegal administrative status with shelter for one or several nights.

Table 2. Types of actors who participated in the 84 semi-structured interviews.

Number of interviewees/city	Layronastre	Saint Liorac	Locheronde	TOTAL
State agencies and representatives	3	1	4	8 (12)
Local authorities (cities and departements)	1	1	3	5 (8)
Social housing organisations	1	2	3	6 (6)
Managers of accommodation facilities	6	4	7	17 (21)
Resident support groups (either organised as NGOs or not)	12	3	4	19 (39)
Asylum seekers and refugees	12	9	8	29 (48)
Total	35 (46)	20 (44)	29 (44)	84 (134)

The diagram below (see Figure 1) demonstrates the link between administrative categories and residential circumstances: An asylum seeker is supposed to be accommodated in a reception facility (blue) and then, depending on whether or not they obtain refugee status, they will be either channelled into permanent accommodation (green) or have to resort to emergency accommodation if they are rejected or 'Dublinised' (red). Our research shows that, in reality, this trajectory is often much less linear, in particular due to the saturation of many facilities. For example, asylum seekers frequently begin in emergency accommodation before they are able to access reception facilities, just as it is common for refugees to be stranded in temporary facilities for asylum seekers.

4.2. Geographical Dispersion Policies Out of Large Cities and Border Towns

Refugee and asylum seeker dispersion-based approaches are common to all programmes aimed primarily at organising national spatial distribution outside of the hotspots, i.e., mainly Paris and its region on the one hand, and border towns on the other, especially Calais in the North of France, located on the English Channel with access to England, and Ventimiglia on the French–Italian border. Indeed, in 2015–2016, many people arriving in France in the hope of being granted asylum or wishing to travel through France to apply for asylum elsewhere, have become concentrated in these territories. Devoid of resources or support from the public authorities, they settled in large camps on the streets of Paris or, in Calais and Ventimiglia, on the outskirts in areas known as 'Jungles' (Babels et al., 2018).

Through its decentralised agencies, especially the Local Directorates for Social Cohesion and Protection of the Population (DDCSPP), the government has organised the geographical distribution in diverse reception Centres. The DDCSPP put out calls for tenders to find operators for this accommodation facilities and they rally local stakeholders, especially municipalities, to make sure they are on board. They also gather data on the number of available places to enable central government agencies to coordinate operations at national level via the Office Français de l'Immigration et de l'Intégration, the French agency in charge of immigration and integration.

We encounter the same approach in 'geographical mobility' and 'relocation'-type housing access programmes. Central government seeks to ensure that people who obtain refugee status in the Paris region opt to relocate to housing outside the Greater Paris area. This was the mindset behind the creation of a national refugee rehousing platform by the state which seeks to match the supply of vacant properties in small and mid-sized towns with officially recognised refugee applicants. Despite mixed results (only 10% of the targets of 2,000 and 1,000 relocations planned for 2018 and 2019 were achieved), central government continues to develop this programme by seeking to link it more closely to job offers. But in reality, out of 2,595 beneficiaries of international protection by December 2018, only 218 people (8.4%) stated that they were willing to opt for a solution outside of the Paris region (GIP-HIS, 2018).

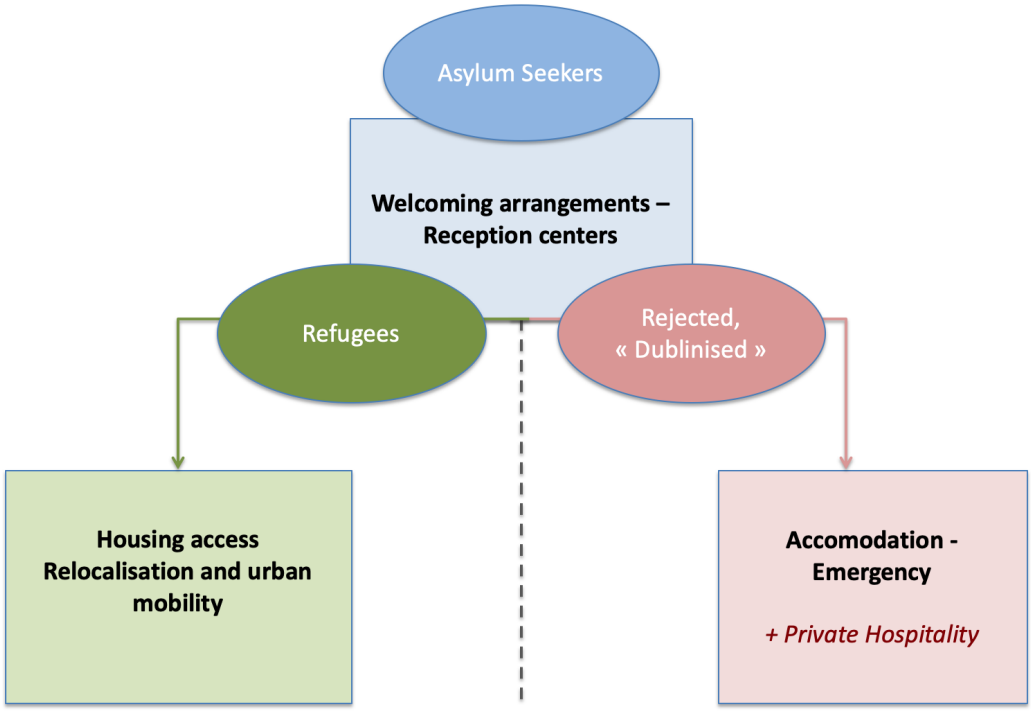

Figure 1. Formal trajectory of an exiled asylum seeker among the various facilities available based on their administrative status. Diagram based on our research fieldwork and DNA documentation.

The three towns we have studied are part of the DNA but this top-down reception policy organised by the state is implemented at regional and departmental level. Our research shows that governance of these facilities is the responsibility not of the municipalities but of the government subcontractor agencies located in different towns within a *département*: In western France, there are four NGOs with space for 990 people, in central France three facilities accommodate 336 people and in southern France, five facilities can hold 659 people. Aside from this specific accommodation, exiled migrants can also be accommodated in ordinary housing or by individuals. As shown in the map of one of the 'cities,' specific accommodation is spread out between nine small local sites that are managed by the local representatives of the state at the level of the department.

4.3. The Stamp of Imposed Trajectories: Settling in an Unknown Town

Exile people we interviewed who have been living in cities for several months or years are generally positive about the location. However, the experience of having a residential trajectory imposed upon them in an unknown city, far from any social ties or cognitive reference points, continues to be perceived negatively. Several respondents emphasised that they did not have any choice in this location, highlighting the implied stress of this. Let us take two typical examples that reflect strong patterns identified in the trajectories studied. At the end of 2014, Mikayla, Bodan and their two children arrived from Ukraine in Strasbourg, where Bodan's sister and family live. The government puts them up in a filthy hotel, where they are eaten alive by bedbugs and they wish to apply for asylum. This is when they realised that to get support and access to decent housing, they had to agree to leave Strasbourg and go several hundred kilometres away, to a small or mid-sized town they have never heard of. They would have preferred to stay close to their family network, but they agree to move to this town because it was the only way of securing their basic rights:

> Well, you're entitled to refuse, but then you don't get any support. That's the way it is. All the doors are closed if you refuse. And because we don't speak French or know anything about French law, we can't live here without help. That's why we came. But it's stressful in the beginning because we lived in Strasbourg for two months and because we didn't speak French, we lived with my husband's sister. It's normal for us to live together. It's good for communication. (Mikayla, Saint-Liorac)

Sadri, a 32-year-old Afghan man arrived in France on his own. He immediately travelled to Calais because he wanted to get to England. He speaks English. There were a few dangerous and unsuccessful attempts to get there and he was still in the Calais Jungle when it was broken up in October 2016. The alternative proposed by the French government was as follows : Either he applies for asylum, and this involves getting on a bus that will take him to a reception centre in some faraway part of France, or he declines to do so and remains in an irregular situation at risk of permanent expulsion (Le Courant, 2016). He decided to get on a bus without knowing where he was going:

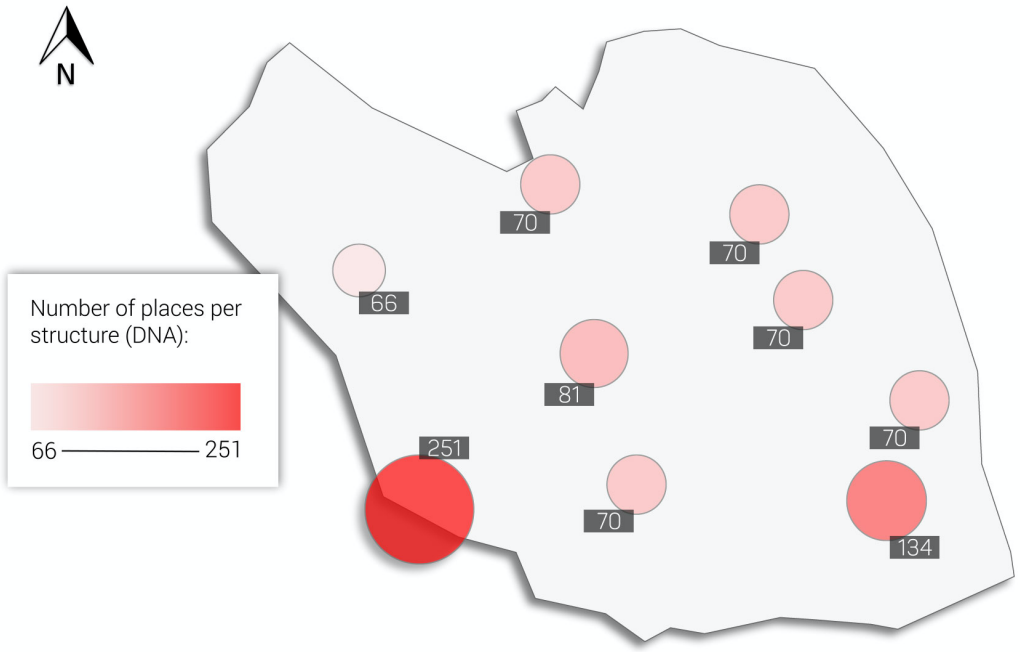

Figure 2. Schematic dispersion of DNA applicants at departmental level of the western city: Number of places per structure. Schematic map based on fieldwork and designed by Jules Jung (Blitzz studio).

> At a certain stage I requested asylum. I said I would go. After that there were buses and people transferring refugees. I didn't realise and my friend said: 'Ask where we're going? To what place? Look on a map to see if it's a city or not!' But I said, 'let's just go!' We didn't have any choice. (Sadri, Layronastre)

There are many stories just like Sadri's, of people who did not know their final destination, describing people crying on arrival and sometimes even refusing to get off the bus. The arrivals are often experienced as an ordeal, just like all of the to-ing and fro-ing and the length and complexity of the administrative procedures.

5. When Social Mix Becomes Ethnically-Based and Adjusts to the Housing Supply

National references (to assimilation and mix) permeate the discourse of the housing providers interviewed. The ethnic categorizations they use to select housing applicants influence trajectories, even though they adjust their practices to the housing stock in the cities studied.

5.1. Mix and Dispersion: From Assimilation to Ethnic Categorization

In our three research sites housing providers are mainly the shelter managers, the main not-for-profit social housing organisations, local representatives of central government agencies and the municipalities. Despite the specific social and residential features of these local contexts, social mix is a central and recurring term in their discourse. The overriding imperative of social housing organisations is, according to the interviewees, to "avoid concentrating" asylum seekers and refugees, but this is embedded in a generalised discourse about 'migrants,' this category including for the interviewees, all people with a migrant background. The first argument in favour of this policy refers to the fact that migrants are deemed to be 'poor.' Mix is considered a question of "balancing the population" "at local and regional level." Allocation strategies therefore factor in not just housing availability but the concentration of poor and migrant people. This concentration is presented by social housing organisation in Locheronde as posing a risk of aggravating management difficulties, of "bad debts" and "stigmatization." In two of the sites studied, this discourse is associated with large housing estates considered to be 'ghettos.' Allocating such housing to refugees would thus run counter to the idea of mixing up different profiles for the purpose of attracting the middle classes to the newly renovated housing:

> At a certain point, there has to be a mix and this mix depends on a settlement policy, because we have a very vulnerable and a foreign population. In other words, that means bringing housing products, and people…who are a little wealthier than the existing population. (Social housing organisation, Saint Liorac)

The idea that migrant people should be dispersed within the city ties back to a second line of argument whereby living in an ethnically diverse environment facilitates social 'integration.' An interviewee from a social housing organization (Saint Liorac) reported that concentration would only result in "conflict" and risks of "communities turning in on themselves." In practice, it's not just about not putting all "migrants" in the same place; it is also about not putting all people of the same origin together in a particular part of the city, in the same stairwell or in a shared apartment. Interviewees pointed out that the dispersal of "compatriots" into various shared accommodation structures, as advocated by associations, avoids "ghettoization" and encourages "language learning," the adoption of "good living practices" and a willingness to "live together":

> Mix really is the best thing. It's better to mix people of different nationalities. There will be respect due to the fact that they don't know each other, whereas if you put Georgians and Syrians together, they will be familiar with the same codes so they will be more demanding of each other. (Social worker from an accommodation centre, Layronastre)

Within this mindset, discourse is punctuated by ethnic categorizations. Accommodation providers distinguish between 'migrants' and other residents. They also construct ethnic groups based on (real or assumed) religious and cultural differences by classifying them according to their supposed ability (or inability) to integrate or get along with other groups:

> Take Chechens and Armenians for example. Armenians integrate much more easily and are much more social. They open businesses and so on. Chechens are very different. (Social housing manager, Saint Liorac)

Access to specific housing as well as to standard housing is conditioned by this dispersion-based approach to mix. These ethnic categorizations both tend to reduce the potential supply of housing and thwart the affinities and aspirations of people who want (or don't want) to live together. They result in random and unequal access to housing. For example, a social housing provider justifies their refusal to allocate housing to Syrian refugees on the grounds that there are too many Syrians in a certain neighbourhood.

5.2. From Housing Opportunity to an Unsuitable Offering

Four findings emerging from the research conducted questions the opportunity of housing in these cities. First,

housing vacancies, which vary between the three sites, have fallen since 2015. Next, the issue is more bound up with location, type of housing, and rents for available housing. Indeed, at all three sites, supply is not adapted to the demand for housing as a whole, and even less so for refugees and asylum seekers; the dominant type of housing comprises individual privately-owned standalone housing; the share of collective social housing is lower than in the big cities and is concentrated in a few neighbourhoods in the city centre area; the rest of the supply is much more heterogeneous and consists mostly of large detached houses scattered throughout smaller municipalities. Most available dwellings are three-and-more-room units, whereas demand is for smaller one-and-two-room units. As regards new housing, including new social housing built with loans targeting low-income households, high rents make it inaccessible to the least well-off.

In fact, access to housing for refugees and asylum seekers is not managed at municipal level but in line with the housing portfolios of landlords and departments. This supply-demand mismatch impacts not just access to housing for refugees and asylum seekers but their living conditions and day-to-day mobility. When they accept this housing, these people are confronted with both isolation and difficulties in accessing jobs, often located on the (industrial) periphery of cities or the (agricultural) outskirts of towns. Their poor mobility is linked as much to the lack of regular urban transport as to the fact that they do not have a car or a valid French driving licence. Consequently, the dispersion strategy conflicts with the stated national imperative of integrating refugees.

6. Local Adjustments and Initiatives in Housing Access

All of the institutional stakeholders in charge of refugee and asylum seeker accommodation and housing are caught up in conflicting imperatives that may stem from their own professional trajectories, positions and ethics or due to the reception and housing policies (Frigoli, 2004; Rigoni, 2018). These paradoxes result in pragmatic readjustments and tinkering to facilitate action and handle local situations.

6.1. Tinkering with the Republican Model: Priority in Access to Housing

As regards basic rights to social housing, refugee and asylum seeker requests are in principle, treated in the same way as other requests. However, in two of the cities, local housing providers actually strayed away from this principle of equality. Priority treatment of refugee housing requests was mainly justified by the need to "relieve bottleknecks" and "free up spaces" in specific accommodation facilities, which would be saturated by people who had obtained refugee status without having any housing solutions. Rather than the argument of integration, accommodation providers talk about pragmatic management of the local effects of asylum policies.

In one of the cities, this treatment is simply to bolster refugee housing applications. In the other, a quarterly local commission bringing together social housing organisations, state agencies and managers of reception facilities has been set up specifically for this purpose. It examines refugee applications and points them towards available social housing. Thirty refugees were rehoused in one year using this process. Local stakeholders are caught between two contradictory requirements: the urgency of rehousing refugees to free up places for asylum seekers, and the objective of social mix which would lead to not rehousing people in places where there is adequate supply.

Therefore, local management of refugee and asylum seeker residential mobility leads to two types of pragmatic readjustments vis-à-vis the official discourse on social mix. On the one hand, local actors practise a form of positive discrimination that deviates from ordinary law, although they are not able to frame it in these exact terms due to French 'colour-blind' and equality principles. Some players referred to this arrangement as a 'refugee contingency,' but others refused to call it that. On the other hand, the need to rehouse people has resulted—at least in one of the cities—in a preference for neighbourhoods deemed to be places of concentration, i.e., in areas which are the focus of urban policy, unlike social mix.

6.2. The Informal Practices of Social Workers to Keep the Most Vulnerable Off the Streets

Local readjustments are largely based on individual initiatives by social workers. While some—especially the managers of specific structures—proffer a 'legalistic' discourse emphasising compliance with governmental standards, others develop practices that bend the rules. This generally involves social workers working directly with exiles. To bring administrative status more firmly into line with family situation, trajectory or aspirations, social workers frequently decide, in an informal and sometimes hidden manner, to derogate from certain rules.

For example, if residents of a temporary reception centre for asylum seekers who have been granted refugee status refuse to accept accommodation offered to them, they can be turned out on the street. Justification for such refusals must be based on strict criteria which are not always very clear or adapted to refugee situations. To avoid turning people onto the streets, a social worker at Layronastre says she "masks" their refusals. She uses the false argument of a mismatch between the refugee family profile and the housing that they are being offered.

Social services also have to deal with the demands and needs of people whose asylum requests have been rejected or who are 'Dublinised.' The Prefecture acts as if these people have been deported while they are still ac-

tually living in the city. To find solutions for families who are sleeping in the streets and suffering from hunger, one local council (Locheronde) has adjusted the legal conditions regarding social aid granted to individuals "whose papers are in order" so that it can include such people in the 'grey area' of reception policies, "people who were already here but whose applications have been rejected, or who sometimes arrive in an irregular situation. It is also common for social workers who have no solution to offer migrants who lose their right to accommodation, to take it upon themselves to contact networks of citizens who take people into their own homes in order to find some sort of a solution.

6.3. Private Hospitality: When the Residents Get Involved

Non-institutional accommodation—organised by, and in the homes of residents—has developed systematically, with more intensity in Layronastre where public authorities are less involved. Those whose asylum applications have been rejected or 'Dublinised' are most at risk of homelessness and these are the people usually cared for by residents. In Saint-Liorac, decentralized government agencies have even told the Emergency Shelter Centre operators not to accept unsuccessful applicants onto the programme. This decision was taken after it was noted that 100% of available places were actually occupied by them, which was deemed by public authorities to represent an 'embolization' of emergency accommodation by such people. Obviously, those people have not disappeared from the city, they are simply wandering around. Even though the same facilities operator has been able to create an ad hoc structure to receive them, it has four times fewer places than the original centre. So, this specific bending of the rules tends to work against migrants, specifically 'Dublinised' and rejected people. In this context, a network of accommodation providers is gradually being set up, notably to provide shelter for people who can no longer apply for local emergency accommodation.

In Layronastre, solidarity-based accommodation has been extensively developed over the past few years: it enables people who have to leave reception centre as well as other categories such as unaccompanied minors not taken into care by the state to be housed for a few months or even years. Arrangements can range from cohabitation in a shared flat to a room provided in a family home. Often, while the gateway to this solidarity is via access to shelter, the activism of residents of the cities helps make up for the shortfall in care provided by the public authorities. For example, commissions dealing specifically with transport issues are often set up: In the case in point, residents offer rides in private cars to do the shopping, or they accompany people to meetings with the administration which are often in large cities hundreds of kilometres away.

7. Conclusion

The main outcome of our empirical study is to demonstrate how asylum seeker and refugee housing access in French small towns and mid-sized cities is driven by dispersion policies underpinned by two types of arrangements. On the one hand, specific housing for asylum seekers and refugees is provided through national migration policies, especially within the framework of the DNA. Dispersion is underpinned by migrant flow management and control from the national to the local level. Next, our research reveals that the administrative system for asylum seekers and refugees is not set up for just one city but is managed at the departmental level where dispersed small arrangements are provided throughout the territory. Moreover, our research shows how access to these programmes is provided via administrative sorting categories that assign asylum seekers and refugees to different programmes based on their status. It demonstrates how these arrangements are focused first and foremost on managing the shortage of places or the length of stays with regard more to smoothing migrant flows than to integrating them. As such, those who are most vulnerable, i.e., 'Dublinised' and rejected applicants, are those most frequently turned out onto the street.

On the other hand, local housing solutions that include social housing are also set up in partnership with different housing providers. Here, housing access is driven by the strong social-mix focus in French housing policies (Blanc, 2010). Our research shows how social mix permeates official discourse to justify geographical distribution and ethnic sorting within neighbourhoods and cities. Social mix is used as an argument for 'more effective integration' of 'migrants,' echoing the French philosophy of integration (Favell, 1998) and not recognising intermediary groups between the national community and citizens (Escafré-Dublet & Lelévrier, 2019). This social mix strategy may actually be easier to implement than in large cities as the housing supply is highly dispersed in 'bunches' of localities throughout the departmental territory. However, there is often a mismatch between this housing configuration and migrants' actual needs in terms of transportation and urban services. Therefore, local housing stakeholders often adjust this mix principle in order to accommodate people and this may include agreeing to allocate them to large public housing complexes that already have a large concentration of migrants.

Our research shows how these twofold dispersion strategies have direct consequences on the residential experiences of refugees and asylum seekers: they are encountered all along their residential trajectory, from allocation to an unknown city to their cohabitation arrangements and housing locations. Ethnic categorizations are strongly determining unequal and random residential assignments reflecting forms of "institutional racism" (Sala-Pala, 2013). Not only do they deny refugees and asylum seekers the resources that people usually

draw upon in community groups, but they also prevent them from leveraging networks, especially when they arrive. Moreover, the stock of housing in the cities studied does not necessarily constitute a resource for refugees and asylum seekers as the supply of affordable housing adapted to their households is severely limited or poorly located.

Therefore, an analysis of asylum policies demonstrates the central role of the French state—at the national and the local level—in defining, deploying and coordinating these actions. Indeed, this top-down, hierarchical policy is coordinated locally by decentralised government services through specific accommodation and housing programmes delegated to a plethora of agencies with varying degrees of expertise in asylum-related issues. Moreover, the local representatives of the state are also central agents in local housing policies and practices, mobilizing the supply of local housing and organizing fast-tracking and partnerships for refugee access to social housing, at least in two of the studied cities.

However, these highly restrictive frameworks do not preclude informal or individual strategies of adjustment and circumvention that emerge from local interaction. In the three cities studied, civil society is becoming involved, especially in places where the local authorities—representing the state and the municipality—are not so pro-active, which is in line with the findings of other research (Babels et al., 2018). Residents mainly help people who have not been granted refugee status or those waiting to be taken into public reception facilities. Therefore, at local level, action is being polarised between, on the one hand, standardised institutional channels providing accommodation and support to asylum seekers or refugees and, on the other hand, more informal care structures for those who have no real status, often taken care of by local residents and municipalities.

Our research has therefore led us to refine the "local turn" concept (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2017) in the French context in which small and mid-sized municipalities are more reactive than proactive in providing access to housing, in constrast to larger cities. Our analysis of multi-level governance in housing provision and access tends to highlight the key role of intermediate actors such as the managers of shelters, social housing associations, civil society and the local representative of the state. Our research also calls for a redefinition of the political and geographical framework as well as the complex system of national and local arrangements in these small towns and mid-sized cities, thus providing some insights into the rescaling and opportunity structures approach (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; Raüchle & Schmiz, 2019).

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Negotiations of Socio-Spatial Coexistence through Everyday Encounters in Central Athens, Greece

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Abstract
Over the past decades, Athens has emerged as both a destination and gateway city for diverse migrant populations. Athenian urban development interrelated with migrants' settlement dynamics has resulted in a super-diverse and mixed urban environment. This article focuses on the western part of Omonia, in central Athens, Greece, and investigates socio-spatial trajectories of migrants' habitation, entrepreneurship, and appropriation of (semi-)public spaces. It draws on scholarship about everyday encounters where negotiations of difference and interethnic coexistence take place at the very local level. It explores encounters between migrants, as well as between migrants and locals, that are created due to their everyday survival and social needs. The article argues that these 'place-specific' and 'needs-specific' encounters emerge as 'micropublics' that are open to negotiation, manage to disrupt pre-existing social boundaries, and epitomise processes of belonging in the city. The article draws from ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative semi-structured interviews carried out from 2013 to 2014 and from 2018 to 2019.

Keywords
Athens; everyday encounters; local diversity; micropublics; migrants' settlement; socio-spatial coexistence; urban space

Issue
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1. Introduction

In an era of never-ending forced mobility, migration is constantly reshaping the world, cities, and the local level. Urban space has been diachronically interrelated with the dynamics of migrants' settlement and movement, as on the one hand, urban and economic development affect the (re)production of migratory flows and on the other, migrant populations transform urban spaces in which they settle by influencing everyday life processes. Relevant scholarship from the Chicago School of Sociology, which emerged almost a century ago, has been widely spread but is at the same time extensively criticised for its deterministic approach on migrants' trajectories (Park, Burgess, & McKenzie, 1925). Over decades, urban scholars analysed the rising socio-spatial complexity of urban environments and migrants' settlement patterns (Arapoglou, 2006; Leontidou, 1990; Soja, 2000). Furthermore, scholarship on the relationships between migration and the city has been inspired by the critical urban theory and determined by Lefebvre's analysis of space as a social product (Lefebvre, 1974), Soja's socio-spatial dialectic (Soja, 1989) and Massey's notion of space as a "simultaneity of stories-so-far" (Massey, 2005, p. 9).

Urban space is where the possibility of contact and encounter between 'strangers' emerges and where "living with difference" (Valentine, 2008) is primarily nego-

tiated. As Young notes, "city life is a being together of strangers, diverse and overlapping neighbors" (Young, 1990, p. 240). 'Strangers' are characterised by both spatial proximity and social distance (Wolff, 1950), while their recognition is taking place through encountering them in space (Horgan, 2012). The relationships between strangers, or 'strangership,' as Horgan (2012) has argued, constitute spatial processes of physical approximation and encounter. In the words of Massey, place "as an ever-shifting constellation of trajectories" poses the question of living together, which is "the central question of the political" (Massey, 2005, p. 151).

Many cities worldwide are constantly transforming due to migrants' movement and settlement. Over the past decades, Athens has emerged as both a destination city and a gateway for migrants on their journey to Europe. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, migrant flows from Eastern Europe and the Balkans transformed Greece into a destination country. Since the late-2000s, the Greek-Turkish borders have become the main European entry points for migrants from the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. More recently, during the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015, more than a million asylum seekers and refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other countries arrived in Greece, strengthening its transit character. After the closure of the Western Balkan Route in 2016, significant numbers of asylum seekers were trapped in the country for indefinite periods of time.

Athenian urban development interrelated with migrants' settlement dynamics has resulted in a super-diverse and mixed urban environment where different migrant groups and locals reside in spatial proximity. This article focuses on the western part of Omonia in central Athens (known as 'Gerani') and investigates socio-spatial trajectories of migrants' habitation, entrepreneurship, and appropriation of (semi-)public spaces. Omonia has multiple functions for the everyday life of migrants in the city—it is a place of long-term residence, a pole of attraction for diverse ethnic groups and locals, and an arrival space for newcomers. The article draws on scholarship about everyday encounters where negotiations of difference and interethnic coexistence unfold at the very local level. It explores encounters between migrants, as well as between migrants and locals that are created due to their everyday survival and social needs. The article argues that these 'place-specific' and 'needs-specific' encounters emerge as 'micropublics' that are constantly open to negotiation and manage to disrupt both pre-existing social identities and boundaries and local power relations. Besides, through these micropublics, processes of not only negotiating socio-spatial coexistence but also belonging in the city are epitomised.

The research presented in this article combines both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative data on the migrant population and ethnic businesses in the area are provided by the Panorama of Greek Census Data (EKKE-ELSTAT, 2015) and the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The core of the research was implemented through qualitative and ethnographic methods. In situ observation, mapping, informal discussions (15), walking interviews (tours guided by migrant interviewees; 3) and in-depth semi-structured interviews (21) were conducted during two different periods, from 2013 to 2014 and from 2018 to 2019 for the needs of two different research projects. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with migrants who arrived in the late-2000s from Middle Eastern, Asian and African countries (9), refugees (5) who had arrived since 2015 and Greeks (7), either residing, working, or visiting Omonia during their leisure time, both men (16) and women (5). The immigrant interviewees were both documented (4) and undocumented (5), a choice based on the crucial role of the latter in everyday urban dynamics (Varsanyi, 2008), while refugee interviewees were mostly assigned asylum seekers and not recognised beneficiaries of international protection. The names of the interviewees presented in the article have been changed for confidentiality-related reasons. The methodology draws from an agenda for urban research that simultaneously examines the diversity of subjects, practices, and places (van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). Rather than focusing solely on one ethnic group, or one sector of activity (e.g., housing or ethnic entrepreneurship), the article explores a specific urban environment, as the dynamics of socio-spatial coexistence can be understood only through the investigation of contextual spatialities (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; Vaiou et al., 2007).

2. Local Diversity, Spaces of Encounters and Socio-Spatial Coexistence: Theoretical Considerations

Emerging in the wave of academic and political criticism on multiculturalism, 'diversity' stands for the rising complexity of contemporary migration in cities. The notion of 'super-diversity,' as introduced by Vertovec, refers to "new conjunctions and interactions of variables" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025) and aims to capture the multiple characteristics of social groups, such as gender, age, language, legal status, labour market experiences and patterns of spatial distribution (Vertovec, 2007). Thus, super-diversity aims to go beyond 'traditional' approaches that focused mainly on the investigation of ethnicity or specific groups. For many scholars, super-diversity is a helpful concept as it both focuses on the increasing complexity of the dimensions of difference and is locally grounded, permitting "to be alert to the spatial dimensions of the politics of difference" (Berg & Sigona, 2013, p. 348). The notion of 'hyper-diversity' has been also introduced, referring to "an intense diversification of the population in socio-economic, social and ethnic terms, but also concerning lifestyles, attitudes and activities" (Tasan-Kok, van Kempen, Raco, & Bolt, 2013, p. 6). A body of critical approaches to super-diversity has emerged recently, arguing against the romanticised perceptions accompanying the term. Super-diversity as

an analytical framework conceals crucial structures of power, oppression, and exclusion because it downplays the role of 'old' categories of difference such as race, class, and gender (Aptekar, 2019). Other contributions have drawn from the experience of southern European cities, and focused on the relationships between diversity and socio-economic inequality by highlighting that super-diversity may exist in parallel with the reproduction of social fragmentation and exclusion, even without the spatial segregation of social groups (Arapoglou, Kandylis, Kavoulakos, & Maloutas, 2009).

Diversity has also been approached as a lived experience through the investigation of everyday encounters with difference (Valentine, 2008) in urban space. Everyday encounters constitute an issue that has gained significant attention in philosophical, sociological and urban studies. From Goffman's (1961) studies on encounters through the lens of the sociology of interaction, or Althusser's "underground current of the materialism of the encounter" (Althusser, 2006), encounters with the 'stranger' emerge as processes of contact that reflect a micro-picture of the worlds' complex social relationships. Closely related with the notion of contact, scholarship on encounters with difference has been inspired by the 'contact hypothesis' (Allport, 1954), according to which increased contact is capable of reducing prejudice and mediating difference. A significant part of urban studies has focused on processes of social approximation produced through everyday interactions in super-diverse contexts, highlighting their role in strengthening local interethnic coexistence (Hall, 2015; Wessendorf, 2010). As such, encounters emerge also as spatial processes, as 'strangership' involves encounter and approximation as some of the necessary conditions to unfold (Horgan, 2012). At the same time, space is also "constituted by the dialogical encounter of groups" (Isin, 2007, p. 223).

Nevertheless, following the criticism on super-diversity, the idea of contact and encounters as processes generating only positive social proximity and respect for 'the Other' has been intensively questioned (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Valentine, 2008). Instead, encounters may also involve conflict (Ahmed, 2000). Fleeting encounters do not equate with 'meaningful contact' (Valentine, 2008) and spatial proximity through encounters in public spaces is not always capable of creating social proximity (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011). Also, it has been argued that encounters can both bring 'strangership' into being and highlight inequality (Horgan, 2012). The major factors affecting everyday encounters with difference, which are usually left out of the analysis, are inequalities, systemic oppressions, and exclusions, as well as the particular historical and geographical contexts of unequal power relations between social groups (Aptekar, 2019; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Nast & Blokland, 2014).

By understanding the 'accomplishment of difference' as a dynamic process (Aptekar, 2019), the lens, through which encounters are investigated, should be spatialised and contextualised. The specific socio-spatial context, in which encounters take place, is of crucial importance for their impact on everyday interactions. Amin (2002) argues that encounters in public spaces may not provide the possibility of sustained interactions, and suggests shedding light on other semi-public spaces, as 'micropublics' or "micropolitics of everyday social contact and encounter" (Amin, 2002, p. 959) taking place in the microscale of "everyday lived experiences and local negotiations of differences" (Amin, 2002, p. 967). Matejskova and Leitner (2011) argue that encountering otherness in specific places, such as their case study on neighbourhood community centres, could foster sustained and close relationships. Nast and Blokland (2014) urge to focus on a context-specific investigation of networks and neighbourhoods' institutional settings in particular rather than on residential neighbourhoods in general (Nast & Blokland, 2014). Mayblin, Valentine, and Andersson (2016) analyse the concept of 'contact zones' as spaces of purposeful organised activities that engineer meaningful contact. Wessendorf (2014) draws on the differentiation between the public, parochial and private realm and conceptualises the 'parochial spaces' as semi-public spaces characterised by closer relationships among neighbours. Realms are not always related to specific physical spaces, the boundaries between them are fluid, and spaces considered private or public could function in specific situations as parochial (Wessendorf, 2014).

Thus, the specific characteristics of the spatial context, in which—and the practices or activities through which—everyday encounters are taking place, come to the forefront. Semi-public, or 'in-between' spaces, compared to public ones, emerge as capable of providing stronger potentials for the positive negotiation of living with difference, especially when they are related to specific activities, practices, and needs. Such 'spaces of encounters' (Leitner, 2012), Fraser's (1992) 'counterpublics' and Amin's (2002) 'micropublics' constitute what we might describe as 'place-specific' encounters that until today remain open for the contemporary negotiation of difference and interethnic coexistence. These encounters are considered as dynamically open, able to disrupt preconceived boundaries and racial stereotypes (Leitner, 2012), to involve both current subjects and past histories (Ahmed, 2000) and to enact a politics of belonging. It is at this particular point that the present article aims to contribute: by investigating 'place-specific' and 'needs-specific' encounters, as 'micropublics' (following Amin's term) fostering social proximity and coexistence, emerging in everyday spaces where survival and social needs are covered through specific activities and practices. Following the criticism of Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009) on the 'ethnic lens' usually adopted in migration urban research and despite the extended scholarship on diversity and interethnic coexistence, fewer studies have examined super-diverse and mixed contexts where no ethnic group constitutes a dominant major-

ity. Additionally, less attention has been paid to urban contexts where refugee populations have settled since the increased refugee arrivals of 2015, interacting with a wide range of other previously settled ethnic groups (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016), including undocumented migrants (Varsanyi, 2008).

3. The Context of Athens: Urban Development and Migrants' Settlement

Despite the long theoretical tradition on the relationships between migrants' settlement dynamics and urban development, relevant research on southern European cities has emerged since the 1990s when the respective countries transformed from emigration to immigration countries. An approach that would directly apply analytical and theoretical insights from the US and northern European cities to those of Southern Europe would be ineffective (Arapoglou, 2006) due to several differentiating characteristics of the European South. The forms of urban development and trajectories of production processes, the reduced effect (or even absence) of central urban planning, the weak welfare state, the 'informal' processes characterising different aspects of everyday life (including labour), and the strong family networks functioning as a protective mesh in social reproduction processes constitute some of them (Leontidou, 1990; Vaiou et al., 2007; Vaiou & Hadjimichalis, 2003). The morphology of urban space also differentiates the southern European cities, due to characteristics such as urban density, mixed land uses and social mixing.

During the last century, and especially in the first three post-war decades, the population of metropolitan Athens increased significantly, from 1,500,000 in 1951 to 3,500,000 in 1981 (Maloutas & Spyrellis, 2015). From the 1950s until the 1980s, several construction laws and housing production mechanisms (such as 'antiparochi,' a flats-for-land system) made it possible to house the increased population in the city. These procedures resulted in a densely-built environment in central Athens with problematic living conditions in the absence of urban and social infrastructures (Sarigiannis, 2000; Vaiou et al., 2007). As a consequence, from the late 1970s onwards, a part of the middle- and upper-class Athenians left the central neighbourhoods and moved to the north-eastern and southern suburbs, resulting in urban sprawl and transformation of the socio-spatial map of the city. More specifically, from 1991 to 2001, the number of Greek residents in Athens Municipality reduced by 153,352, while from 2001 to 2011, it reduced by 137,813 (Maloutas, 2018, p. 142). As Maloutas and Spyrellis (2015) note:

> Athens, a city where upper social classes traditionally lived in the centre and working classes lived in the periphery, came closer to the paradigm of the English-speaking world, where the affluent live in the suburbs and the working class live around the centre.

During the 1990s, migrant groups from Eastern European and Balkan countries settled in Greece. The migrant population of the Municipality of Athens increased from 25,873 in 1991 to 146,632 in 2001, reaching 18.40% of central Athens total population (Maloutas, 2018, p. 142). The majority of migrants settled in central urban neighbourhoods, in the old, available, and affordable housing stock that the partial movement of Greek residents had left behind, in absence of housing policies but in a context of increased employment opportunities. Since the late-2000s, migrant flows towards Greece from Middle Eastern, Asian and African countries, also settled in the same central Athenian neighbourhoods, in a context of economic crisis and deepening socioeconomic inequalities. According to the latest census data, the number of migrants in Athens Municipality increased to 150,586 in 2011, reaching 22.71% of Athens total population (Maloutas, 2018, p. 142), without including the large numbers of undocumented migrants. The vast majority of the migrant population comes from Albania (47.84% of the foreign population in metropolitan Athens), while migrants from many other countries of origin follow in smaller numbers, such as Pakistan (5.83% of the foreign population in metropolitan Athens), Romania, Bulgaria, Georgia, etc. (Maloutas, 2018, p. 142). Since 2015, refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and other countries have also settled in Athens, temporarily or more permanently, either informally through networks of co-ethnics or through housing programs for asylum seekers (Papatzani, 2020).

In general, the geography of migrants' settlement is characterised both by dispersal in metropolitan Athens and by small ethnic concentrations in specific neighbourhoods (Balampanidis, 2019; Vaiou et al., 2007). In the residential multi-storey apartment buildings, migrants settled mainly in the affordable and smaller apartments on the lower floors and in the basement (Maloutas & Karadimitriou, 2001). This settlement produced spatial proximity between migrants and locals and an unplanned interethnic cohabitation, resulting mostly in a vertical social differentiation rather than horizontal housing segregation (Maloutas & Karadimitriou, 2001). Thus, a super-diverse urban environment was produced (Arapoglou et al., 2009) where the likelihood of 'contact' between migrants and locals remains high until today. In this context, questions on interethnic coexistence have already been explored by studies in the last two decades, focusing mainly on migrants that settled in Athens during the 1990s. These studies have unfolded migrants' socio-spatial trajectories in the city and have traced trends of informal migrants' integration both in space and society (Balampanidis, 2019; Lazaridis & Psimmenos, 2000; Vaiou et al., 2007; Vaiou & Stratigaki, 2008).

Nevertheless, the socio-political context of the last decade has been polarised and socio-economic inequalities have increased. Migrant populations from Middle Eastern, Asian, and African countries have been constantly identified by the dominant media and political dis-

course as 'strangers' and 'invaders,' as the scapegoats of the economic crisis. 'Illegals' (undocumented migrants) have especially been linked to criminality, fear, and the degradation of the centre of Athens. 'Ghetto,' a term used to characterise areas of central Athens, entered the media discourse in the late 2000s, while in the early 2010s it also dominated the political discourse of official authorities (Kalantzopoulou, Koutrolikou, & Polihroniadi, 2011). Both migrant groups and specific central Athenian neighbourhoods with relatively higher percentages of migrants have been stigmatised (Koutrolikou, 2015). These developments run in parallel with the rise of racism and exclusions both in terms of discourse and everyday violent practices against migrants at the local level (Kandylis & Kavoulakos, 2011; Papatzani, in press). Even though the aforementioned perceptions and practices were reduced in 2015–2016, during the massive wave of solidary that emerged after refugees' arrivals, they were never abandoned. Thus, another side of everyday reality, characterised by social inequalities, racism, and exclusions existed during the last decade, and questions of interethnic coexistence remain open to investigation until today.

4. Spaces of Everyday Encounters and Negotiations of Socio-Spatial Coexistence in Omonia

The area of Omonia is located at the heart of the historic commercial centre of Athens (see Figure 1). Omonia square was one of the main squares planned by Kleanthis and Schaubert for Athens' first plan in 1833. The plan was later transformed and the form of Omonia square changed many times in the past decades. Until today the area attracts thousands of Athenian residents every day, due to the important transportation hub (metro, train, buses) located there. The area of our research, in the west of Omonia, is a mixed urban environment that historically constituted an area of small craft industries, wholesale and retail trade, private and public services and hotels. The western part of Omonia, compared to the east, always hosted less expensive services and commerce. Today, the area is characterised by high buildings, narrow streets, and arcades producing a densely built environment with a variety of public and semi-public spaces. There were always relatively few residences in Omonia compared to other neighbourhoods in central Athens due to its main commercial character. Furthermore, while in the past decades, local middle-class inhabitants moved from Omonia to the suburbs, some elderly inhabitants stayed and lower-class newcomers moved in (Arapoglou et al., 2009). Additionally, transformations in commerce and services (such as the removal of traditional sectors of activities) were followed by the establishment of new types of commercial and services activities.

Omonia has always been an important place for migrants, not only in terms of housing but also as regards commercial, labour and leisure activities (Noussia & Lyons, 2009). It constituted the first arrival space for migrant populations for all migratory flows towards Greece. Research during the 1990s revealed that migrants settled in Omonia in old degraded hotels and the affordable rental market (Psimmenos, 2004). While some migrants who found other housing solutions moved towards other

Figure 1. Map of the location of Omonia in the municipality of Athens. Based on EKKE-ELSTAT (2015) and Google Earth, with the authors' own editing.

neighbourhoods in central Athens, for others, Omonia has been a place of residence until today. Additionally, Omonia attracted many of the first migrant businesses that were established in Athens since the late 1990s. Asian grocery shops, ethnic restaurants, transfer agencies, call centres and hair salons gradually took over the spaces where other sectors of commercial activity had prevailed in the past. Many businesses started by migrants are still functioning today, and their total number in Athens did not reduce during the economic crisis (Hatziprokopiou & Frangopoulos, 2016). According to Hatziprokopiou and Frangopoulos (2016, p. 16), Omonia "epitomises the locus of migrant entrepreneurial ventures in Greece as a whole". To this day, the area functions as a place of residence, work and leisure for diverse ethnic groups, none of them dominant in the area (Arapoglou et al., 2009). Omonia was also one of the main areas of Athens stigmatised as a 'ghetto' in the dominant media and political discourse of the early 2010s, where police interventions against migrants took place from 2012–2014 (Papatzani, in press).

4.1. Negotiations of Interethnic Cohabitation through Housing

Migrants' housing patterns in Omonia take different forms. Despite the general character of Omonia as a place of commerce and services, densely-built and old multi-storey apartment buildings offer affordable housing options for migrants. Despite their general dispersal across metropolitan Athens, the percentage of migrants in Omonia is higher than average in Athens Municipality, as illustrated in Figure 2; yet it has to be mentioned, that this high proportion of foreigners is in an otherwise small total population of residents due to the generally low percentage of housing as land use in the area. Currently, Omonia also constitutes a place of concentration of apartments and hotels rented through the ESTIA accommodation program for asylum seekers (Papatzani, 2020).

The residential blocks-of-flats consist of large apartments on the upper floors with better views, ventilation and insulation, and lower floors with smaller, darker, devalued apartments that are usually rented

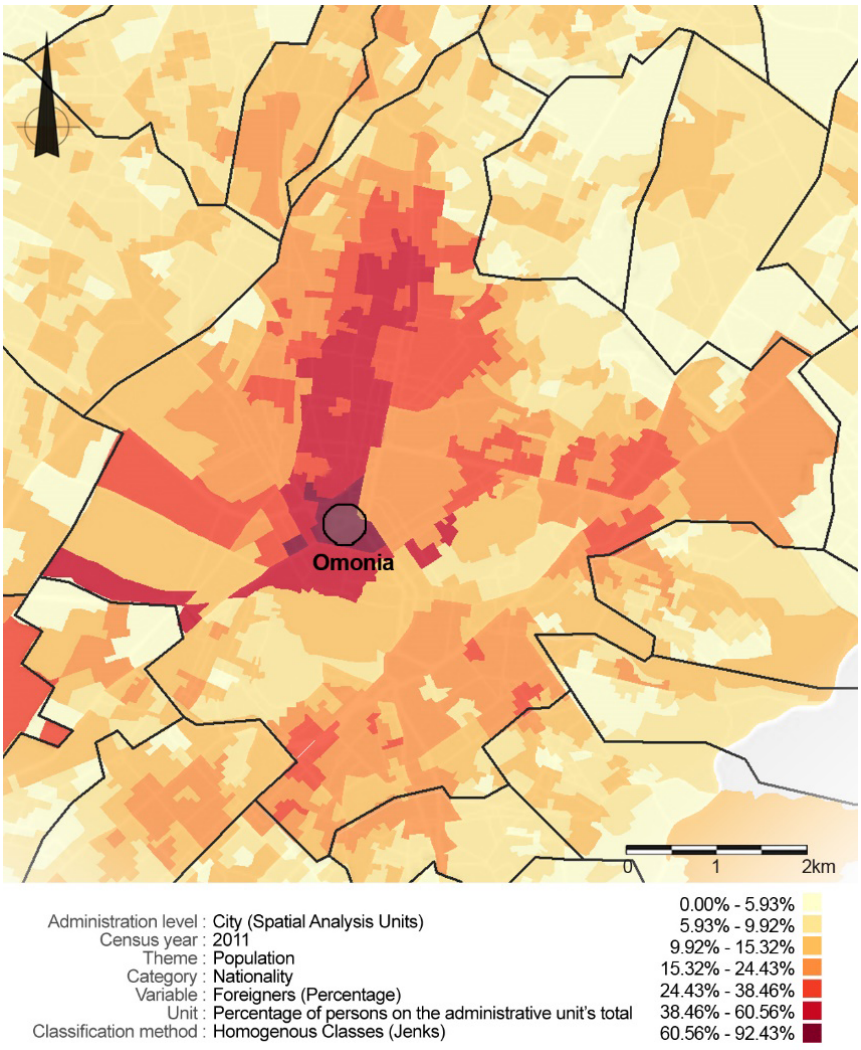

Figure 2. Percentages of foreign citizens on the administrative unit's total, in the Municipality of Athens. 2011 Census Data. Based on EKKE-ELSTAT (2015), with the authors' own editing.

at affordable prices. Following the general migrants' residential patterns in Athens, a vertical ethnic differentiation emerges in the block-of-flats in Omonia (Maloutas & Karadimitriou, 2001), in which the poorest population groups such as Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Africans, live in small apartments in the basement or on the ground floor, while the upper floors are inhabited by longer-settled migrants and Greek residents (see Figure 3). Co-ethnics usually cohabitate, and in case newcomers do not have legal documents, it is common to stay with documented migrants who are already settled in Athens.

In these block-of-flats where newcomers, migrants who have been living in the city for years and Greeks live in spatial proximity, interethnic relationships are established through everyday contacts and encounters with 'the Other.' These relationships are not only formed between migrants and Greeks, but also among different migrant groups. Relationships of mutual help and everyday familiarity created in mundane encounters in the buildings' shared spaces lead to a sense of belonging in the area:

> I often help my neighbours to repair something broken. Apart from the Bangladeshi and Bulgarian neighbours, all the others are Greeks. Everyone loves me because they know me, you understand? They know me very well. (Abdul from Algeria, 8 November 2014)

> In the block-of-flats, different inhabitants live on each floor. When people from diverse backgrounds and nationalities live in the same building, they get used to each other and get to know each other even though they might have cultural differences. (Eleni from Greece, 7 February 2019)

In Omonia, migrants do not live only in residential buildings. The majority of office and craft buildings in the area usually have shops on the ground floors, services and offices of both Greeks and migrants on intermediate floors, but also informal housing. Vacant spaces on the upper floors of these buildings are often rented by migrants. This type of housing is usually organised by informal networks providing accommodation per night or month to newcomers or migrants who lack other housing options. In some cases, this type of informal accommodation is also organised by smugglers, especially for migrants who plan to continue the journey. These practices include local—and at the same time transnational—unequal power relations between migrants and 'hosts' who usually exploit the formers' precarious situation. At the same time, they produce new spaces where interethnic relationships and networks are formed, of which some may last for years during migrants' future trajectories in the city, or even towards Europe:

> Immigrants in Omonia rent the upper floors of former office buildings. Five or six people sleep on mattresses and stay there for months. They make the rental contract with the name of the one who has legal papers. (Jibran from Egypt, 16 November 2014)

Like in the past, Omonia currently functions as the very first arrival space for asylum seekers and refugees during their first day in Athens. The large number of hotels in Omonia usually host newcomers who are planning to

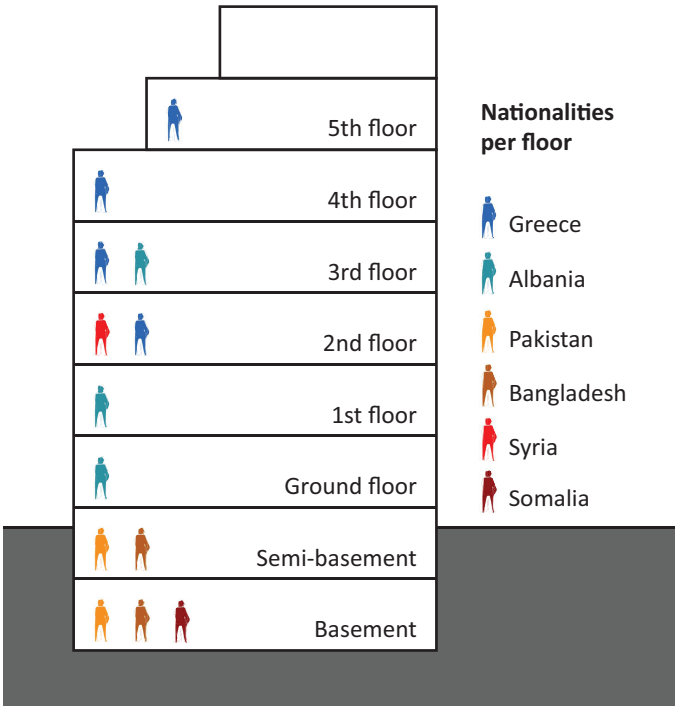

Figure 3. Nationalities of inhabitants per floor in the block-of-flats of Zarif (from Syria) in Omonia. Source: Authors.

stay in the city temporarily and can afford it:

> There is a very cheap hotel here. I think it is 25 euros a week. All the Syrians stay there, the ones who came out of the war. The hotel owner is well-known in Turkey and when people come from Syria, they receive his number for when they arrive in Athens. (Zarif from Syria, 11 November 2014)

> I arrived here in Athens and a guy told me to go to Omonia because when someone arrives in Athens, he goes to Omonia. I came to Omonia at one o'clock in the night. I saw two guys from Africa. I spoke French and asked them where I could find a hotel because I was too tired. (Abdul from Algeria, 8 November 2014)

Newcomers often hear about Omonia before they arrive in Greece, usually during their stay in Turkey on their journey to Europe. They are informed that they should go to Omonia because of the presence of co-ethnics as well as different kinds of goods and services, such as cheap hotels, money transfer, travel agencies, ethnic shops and various immigrant organisations. Thus, for newcomers, the character of Omonia as a first arrival space redefines the area as a transnational pole of attraction and as a gateway for migrants' transnational movements.

4.2. Ethnic Entrepreneurship as a Catalyst for Interethnic Coexistence

In addition to affordable housing, the building stock of old office and craft buildings in Omonia offers a variety of flexible small-scale spaces for diverse activities and shops, both on the ground floor and on the upper floors. Due to the building structure of the block-of-flats, consisting of a concrete structure with columns and non-load-bearing walls, it is relatively easy to adapt spaces, making them larger or smaller according to specific needs. Many of the shops in Omonia are owned by migrants who have been residing in the Greek capital for years. The majority are migrants from China, Pakistan, Albania, Bangladesh, and Syria (see Figure 4). They invest in different types of commercial and services activities. Commerce includes clothing, electronics shops and mini markets attracting both migrants and lower-income Greeks as clients, while services such as ethnic restaurants, travel agencies, or internet cafes target primarily migrants' needs. In these shops, a wide range of interethnic relationships is negotiated on an everyday level, ranging from relationships between migrant shop owners, employees and Greek clients to relationships between different ethnic groups.

In some cases, particular activities—both in terms of their type and the owners' nationality—are specifically located in Omonia. For example, the concentration of travel agencies, transferring people and goods from and to Balkan countries, has been located in the northern part of Omonia since the 1990s, maintaining its historical spatial continuity (Psimmenos, 2004). Nevertheless, the relationships between nationalities, economic activities and locations are not static but transform dynamically over the years. Additionally, in some cases, businesses of specific ethnic groups come together in certain streets, creating micro-concentrations in terms of the owners' nationality. It has been observed, for example, that Pakistani shops are located in different streets than those of Bangladeshis or Arabs, as also ob-

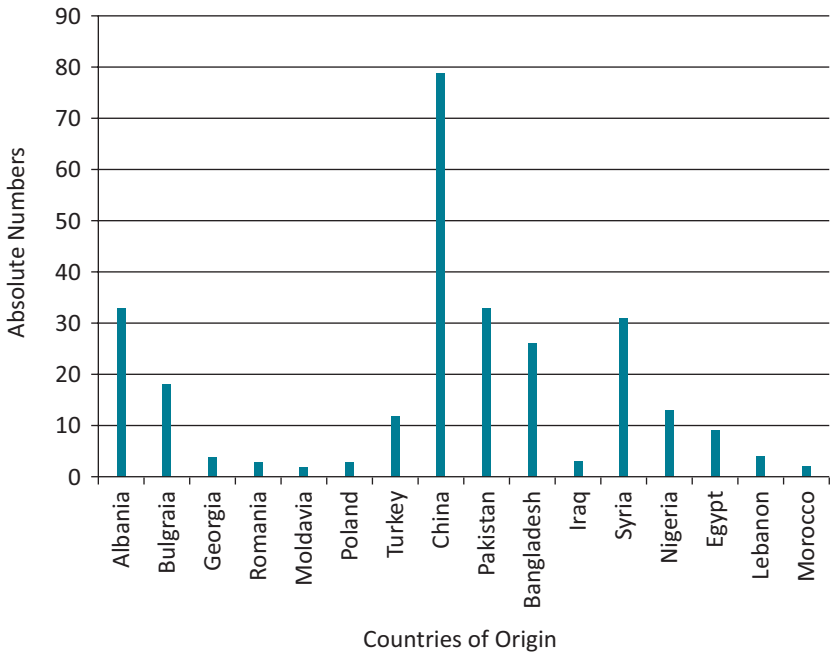

Figure 4. Countries of origin of the migrant shop owners in Omonia, 2014 data, in absolute numbers. Based on data from the Athens Chamber of Commerce and Industry, with the authors' own editing.

served by Noussia and Lyons in their study on Omonia a decade ago (Noussia & Lyons, 2009). These micro-concentrations help migrants to maintain and strengthen social and commercial relationships and ethnic networks. However, they do not constitute strictly bounded spatial systems. Instead, both community networks of co-ethnics are strengthened around them, and interethnic relationships between different ethnic groups and Greeks are constantly reproduced. It has also been observed that when owners change, the new owner sometimes keep the ethnic decoration and character of the shop, even if the former owner was from a different country of origin:

> Different nationalities gather in different streets. The shops and public space in Sofokleous and Anaksagora Street are mainly appropriated by Pakistanis, Menadrou street is for Afghans, Geraniou street is occupied by Bangladeshis, and the commercial and public spaces in Sokratous street are mainly used by Arabs. (Hazar from Pakistan, 4 February 2019)

While the majority of the streets accommodate diverse shops and businesses, other types of spaces such as the various arcades in the area, or the upper floors of buildings are appropriated for more informal economic activities. Shops without official operating licenses, spaces functioning as meeting places for irregular activities, and informal mosques can be found in a wide range of different semi-public or private spaces. The third floor of a former office building in Sofokleous street has been transformed into a 'shopping mall' where products are sold informally. In an Indian restaurant in the area, people hang out with friends and watch an Indian cricket match, while in the back of the restaurant, deals are made about valuable information on legal status procedures. In these in-between spaces, migrants hide away from the visibility of the street level, gaining a sense of security and anonymity for covering a wide range of survival and social needs. Engaging with informal economic practices presupposes both the existence of relationships and networks of trust and also migrants' embeddedness in the wider socio-economic and politico-institutional environment, including "sets of rules and regulations, neighbourhoods, associations and business traditions" (Kloosterman, van der Leun, & Rath, 1999, p. 262).

4.3. Micropublics of Everyday Encounters

The centrality of Omonia attracts both migrants permanently living in Athens and newcomers. For the first, Omonia constitutes a pole of attraction for leisure activities, such as worship practices in the informal mosques, or meeting friends and hearing about news from the home country. The latter usually gather in the area to gain information about their legal status procedure or employment and housing opportunities, to meet their networks, create new ones, or find possible ways to leave the country. Omonia is a place of attraction even for people living and working in other neighbourhoods of Athens or remote areas of Attica (see Figure 5), and a significant number of them visit the area many days per week. Especially on Sundays, when the shops in Omonia are open (contrary to the rest in Athens), hundreds of migrants get together in the area, transforming it into a mass meeting place. Said Haifa from Syria (24 January 2018): "One could call Omonia the 'square of refugees or square of Arabs.' We all gather here since everyone lives in different parts of the city."

Omonia is also an important place for locals due to the transportation hub and the variety of cheap markets and services provided. The super-diversity of the place, as well as migrants' cultural presence (e.g., through the labels and posters in their native languages covering walls or the facades of stores), familiarise the Greeks with the presence of migrants in the city (Vaiou et al., 2007). Through locals' and migrants' interactions in Omonia, otherness is encountered in urban space and socio-spatial coexistence is negotiated on a daily basis.

The large, open public spaces in the area are often appropriated by migrants. In the square of St Constantine Church, women from the Balkans and Eastern Europe gather in large numbers each Sunday, on their day-off from their jobs as domestic workers in middle and upper-class Athenians' houses. They meet each other, exchange news, and send money or goods to their home countries through the travel agencies located close by. In Omonia square, asylum seekers and refugees meet friends on their way shopping, or for advice on the asylum procedure.

Apart from gatherings in public spaces, a variety of semi-public spaces emerge as hangouts and benchmarks for a wide range of ethnic groups. Migrant shops function as vital meeting and leisure places. Gatherings of Pakistani or Bangladeshi men are formed and maintained outside co-ethnic shops. The inside of specific shops constitutes a meeting place for gathering information on migration journeys towards Europe, especially for newly arrived migrants that remain undocumented. Both the shops' interior and the public space outside them function as places of encounters. In the arcades people meet with friends, exchange news, try to find a job, or to exchange fake documents for their everyday navigation in the city in case of police control. An old man from Pakistan has had his own corner for the last ten years, on the pavement at a crossroads, selling mobile phone cards for cheap communication with his country of origin, attracting many co-ethnics every day. Outside the informal mosques, in the arcades or on the streets, people gather not only to pray but also to socialise. Gatherings of migrants in these diverse spaces create new types of micropublics of everyday contacts and encounters (Amin, 2002) that are crucial to migrants' everyday lives and socio-spatial settlement in Athens. These micropublics emerge in private and public but mainly in semi-public, in-between spaces, redefining the boundaries

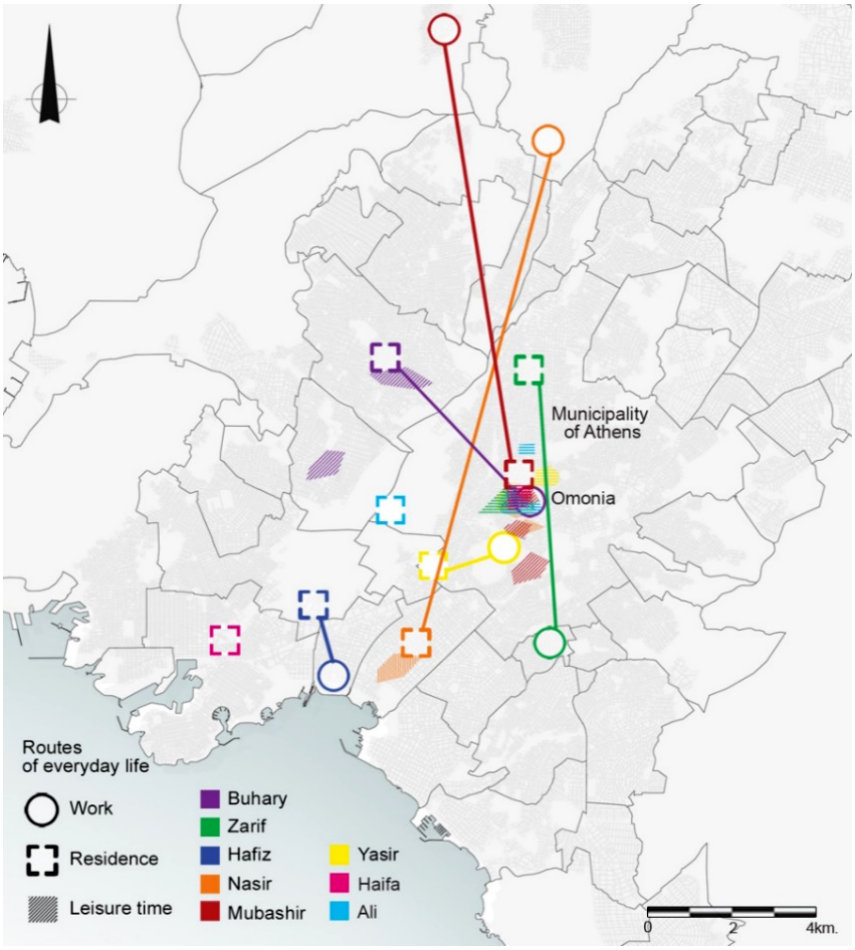

Figure 5. Map of the places and routes of everyday life in the city: Work, residence and leisure time of eight of the migrant interviewees. Source: Authors.

between the public and the private spatial and social sphere. Nevertheless, since the boundaries between different spheres are fluid (Wessendorf, 2014), migrants constantly reproduce different spaces of encounters as micropublics that function according to their needs. The presence of the police in the area, which has strengthened over the last decade, sometimes disrupts the encountering processes, but after its removal, encounters and micropublics are recreated, maintaining a dynamic continuity over time and space (Papatzani, in press):

> Migrants come here to find each other and to get information. To tell you an example, after 10 years of living in Athens, I bumped into a friend from my childhood I didn't even know lives in Greece. Then the world seemed so small, the world is in Omonia. (Hazar from Pakistan, 4 February 2019)

Micropublics are not bounded by strict or fixed social boundaries, even though they are usually formed by the appropriation of space by people of the same nationality, gender, age, duration of settlement in Athens, or legal status (Noussia & Lyons, 2009). For example, newcomers and already-settled migrants usually create different micropublics due to their differentiated needs, practices, and activities. Nevertheless, as also Noussia and Lyons argue, "access to distinct spaces is negotiated over time within migrant groups" (Noussia & Lyons, 2009, p. 601). The constant movement and flows in Omonia and the overlapping practices and needs disrupt the socio-spatial boundaries of the micropublics in a mundane way. Boundaries between migrants and locals are negotiated through diverse activities such as shopping in the same shops or inhabiting in the same buildings. Legal status boundaries are disrupted in micropublics where the needs of the undocumented migrants meet the experiences and know-how (Vaiou et al., 2007) that the documented have gained. Gendered boundaries are blurred in the places where both men's and women's needs are covered, in the case of gatherings for sending money and products to their home countries, outside the travel agencies, for example. In the informal mosques, ethnic boundaries are also disrupted as people from different nationalities meet in the same place. Boundaries between newcomers and already-settled migrants are also negotiated in the micropublics formed inside and outside the co-ethnic shops where their practices and needs overlap. These micropublics unfold in a wide range of

spaces: from specific places where members of one ethnic group can find each other, to spaces where the needs of different ethnic groups overlap, to spaces where everyone is on equal footing. The social characteristics, according to which micropublics are initially formed, are constantly redefined and none of them manages to prevail permanently. Overlapping shared spaces and micropublics of everyday encounters are constantly being reproduced through dynamic social processes and practices based on everyday needs.

5. Conclusion

Drawing on the scholarship on everyday encounters with difference in super-diverse contexts and aiming to go beyond the 'ethnic lens' (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009), this article has offered some insights on Omonia, a super-diverse urban context where newcomers coexist with already-settled migrants and locals (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016; Varsanyi, 2008). The dynamic context of Omonia is reproduced by the simultaneous existence of a wide range of different housing, entrepreneurship, and leisure activities that unfold its multilevel importance for migrants' everyday lives in the city: as a place of long-term residence, a pole of attraction for diverse ethnic groups and locals, and as an arrival space for newcomers.

Super-diversity and close spatial proximity characterising the settlement of migrants and locals in Athens form a fertile ground for opportunities of interethnic coexistence. Nevertheless, the processes of encountering difference that are produced through this ground could neither be presumed as merely positive nor conceived as static, especially in the context of deepening inequalities, strict migration laws, institutionalised exclusions, racism and the absence of integration policies. In this article, we claim that beyond the significant importance of the diverse and spatially mixed urban environment of Athens, further conditions should prevail for the production of interethnic coexistence. In other words, there is a 'distance' to be covered between spatial proximity and social proximity. In this direction, it is the everyday encounters and micropublics that play a crucial role. More importantly, it is the micropublics that are created through practices and activities emerging from everyday survival and social needs that could dynamically cover the aforementioned 'distance,' even if they remain, until today, less researched by the relevant scholarship.

These micropublics, as 'place-specific' and 'needs-specific' everyday encounters created by migrants themselves, are constantly open to negotiation. They emerge mainly in semi-public, in-between spaces and they redefine the boundaries between different spatial and social spheres. As our case study in Omonia revealed, micropublics are dynamically open to transformation, able to redefine pre-existing social identities and boundaries, to disrupt local power relations of inequality and control, and to foster interethnic coexistence. As such, everyday encounters incorporate processes of not only negotiating difference and socio-spatial coexistence, but also belonging in the city. They enact a politics of belonging (Leitner, 2012), permitting migrants to make their place and claim their right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968/2007) through mundane and usually implicit—yet vital—everyday practices of contestation.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Housing Commons vs. State Spatial Policies of Refugee Camps in Athens and Thessaloniki

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Abstract
Since the European Union's agreement with Turkey on March 18, 2016, more than 70,000 refugees have been trapped in Greece. Most have been settled in state-run camps on the perimeters of Athens and Thessaloniki. However, these state-run camps do not meet international standards and are located at significant distances from urban centres, within industrial zones where residential use is not permitted. At the same time, a number of self-organized and collective refugee housing projects have been created within the urban fabric of Athens and Thessaloniki. In the context of these projects, refugees develop forms of solidarity, mutual help, and direct democracy in decision-making processes. There is a significant volume of bibliography which studies the NGOs' activities and state migration policies. However, little attention has been given to the various ways by which refugees create self-managed and participatory structures to meet their needs. This article aims to fill the gap in the research concerning the production of housing common spaces by the refugees themselves. Based on the current discussions on the Lefebvrian 'right to the city' and the spatialities of 'commons' and 'enclosures,' the article aims to compare and contrast refugee housing commons with state-run refugee camps. Using qualitative methods, including ethnographic analysis and participatory observation, the main findings show that refugees attempt not only to contest state migration policies but also negotiate their multiple identities. Consequently, refugees collectively attempt to reinvent a culture of togetherness, to create housing common spaces, and to claim the right to the city.

Keywords
Athens; Greece; housing policy; mobility; refugees; Thessaloniki

Issue
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1. Introduction

In the aftermath of the European Union and Turkey common statement concerning the refugee crisis on March 18, 2016 (European Council, 2016), and the closure of the borders along the so-called Balkan refugee corridor, more than 70,000 refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2019) became trapped in Greek territory. The vast majority are now accommodated in 26 state-run refugee camps on the perimeters of Athens and Thessaloniki. However, the state-run camps do not meet international standards for refugees' accommodation (UNHCR, 2007). According to several reports (Greek Council for Refugees, 2019; International Rescue Committee, 2016) and our observations, the camps are overcrowded old factories and abandoned military bases, located at a significant distance from the city centres and in non-residential and hazardous industrial areas. The condition of 'campization' (Kreichauf, 2018) of refugees in these isolated 'spaces of injustice' (Harvey, 1996; Soja, 2010) forces refugees to be invisible and to live in extremely precarious con-

ditions. Concomitantly, refugee solidarity initiatives occupied abandoned buildings and set up a number of self-managed and collective housing projects in the urban centres of Athens and Thessaloniki. In these self-organized housing projects, refugees develop forms of solidarity, mutual help, and direct democracy in decision-making processes and claim their right to the city.

There is a significant volume of important literature which studies the humanitarian NGOs' activities and state migration policies (Afouxenidis, Petrou, Giannaki, Kandylis, & Tramountanis, 2017; Rozakou, 2012) as well as on the governmentalities, conflicts and policies in refugee camps (Kreichauf, 2018; Pasquetti, 2015; Ramadan, 2013). However, few researchers have looked at how refugees contest state-run camps and create self-managed and participatory housing structures to meet their needs (Della Porta, 2018; Lafazani, 2018; Tsavdaroglou, 2019). This article aims to enrich research concerning the production of housing common spaces by the refugees themselves. Based on current discussions on the spatialities of 'commons' and 'enclosures' (Harvey, 2012; Stavrides, 2019), the article aims to compare and contrast refugee housing commons with state-run refugee camps. In this respect, it follows the call of many works from the 'autonomy of migration' literature (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013) to shift the emphasis from systems and policies of control to the multiple ways that migration reacts to, operates independently from, and in turn shapes those systems and policies.

Moreover, the article takes into account the Lefebvrian (1968/1996) analysis of 'the right to the city,' which concerns urban social movements' struggles for housing, employment, education, culture, and health to include every user and resident of the city. Thus, the article examines how refugees' commoning practices have the ability to contest state migration policies and how refugees can claim visibility, spatial justice, and the right to the city.

The structure of the article is as follows. The following section discusses the theoretical approaches on the right to the city, autonomy of migration and common spaces and their importance in the examination of refugees' right to the city. The next section concerns the methodological approach. The following two sections analyse the spatial policies of the state-run refugee camps and the refugee squats in Athens and Thessaloniki. Finally, the last section concludes with some remarks on refugees' right to the city which we consider important for enriching urban planning.

2. Theoretical Approach: The Refugees' Right to the City and Mobile Commons

In order to examine the refugees' right to the city, we must first look at the homonymous work of Henri Lefebvre which claims that the right to the city embodies basic human rights such as "the rights of ages and sexes (the woman, the child and the elderly), the rights of conditions (the proletarian, the peasant), the rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, and to housing" (Lefebvre, 1968/1996, p. 157). However, Lefebvre (1968/1996, pp. 173–174) does not limit his analysis to the legal or juridical form of human rights but instead clearly emphasizes that the right to the city "manifests itself as a superior form of rights: the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat, and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, to participation and appropriation…are implied in the right to the city." Thus, Lefebvre conceptualizes the right to the city as a social relation that collectively claims participation in the urban society, in such a way that it produces the city as a place of freedom, co-habitation, and togetherness. As he stresses, "the right to the city is like a cry and a demand…a transformed and renewed right to urban life" (Lefebvre, 1968/1996, p. 158). Consequently, the Lefebvrian right to the city is not simply a right to the physical space of the city, but a claim to urban social life. It is the right of every user and resident of the city. Finally, as Lefebvre notes that the right to the city concerns also "the right to the use of the centre, a privileged place, instead of being dispersed and stuck in ghettos (for workers, immigrants, the 'marginal')" (Lefebvre, 1996/1968, p. 34). This is particularly important in examining the refugees' right to the city, in terms of planning policies which emphasize their ability to exercise their right to the city centre, and everyday social relations.

Recently, several scholars (Harvey, 2012; Tsavdaroglou, 2018) have tried to enrich the Lefebvrian analysis on the right to the city with a discussion on commons and enclosures. 'Commons' usually refers to the territories that are "governed by a group of people, the commoners, and a social relationship that underpins that governance" (Chatterton, 2010a, p. 901). Commons stand against enclosures, the processes of privatization and the prohibition of access to common-pool resources. Over time and across space, there have been a plethora of struggles and conflicts around the dialectic of common spaces versus privatized spaces. In light of this, as Chatterton (2010b, p. 626) pointed out, "the common is full of productive moments of resistance that create new vocabularies, solidarities, social and spatial practices, and relations and repertoires of resistance." The most crucial notion of these new vocabularies is perhaps the so-called 'commoning,' which concerns the social relations that produce and reproduce the common. The term is introduced by Linebaugh, and as he explains, "I use the word because I want a verb for the commons…I want to portray it as an activity, not just an idea or material resource" (as cited in Ristau, 2011). This conceptual shift from 'commons as resources' to 'commons as relational social frameworks' (Bollier & Helfrich, 2015) opens up fruitful new theoretical avenues on "the continuous making and remaking—the (re)production of the commons through shared practices" (Ruivenkamp & Hilton, 2017, p. 1). In addition, as De Angelis (2010,

p. 955) has argued, "there are no commons without incessant activities of commoning, of (re)producing in common," which is important for communities in order to "decide for themselves the norms, values, and measures of things" (De Angelis, 2010, p. 955). Closing this brief review on commons, it should be noted that several thinkers (Caffentzis, 2010; Hardt & Negri, 2009) have highlighted the lack of state or private control, regulation, and management as being a key feature of the commons.

Subsequently, under the prism of the commons, the right to the city could be seen as urban commoning relations that collectively appropriate, produce, and protect common spaces for every user-commoner, and especially for marginalized residents such as the newcomer refugees. As Stavrides (An Architektur, 2010, p. 17) states, the right to the city "can be produced through encounters that make room for new meanings, new values, new dreams, new collective experiences. And this is indeed a way to transcend pure utility, a way to see commons beyond the utilitarian horizon." Consequently, the question of refugees' right to the city should concern not only the urban physical space but also the social spaces of encounters, dreams, values, and solidarities.

In this respect, the recent strand of thought on the 'autonomy of migration' offers the lenses to conceptualize the so-called 'mobile commons' of moving populations. Several scholars (Bakewell, 2010; Faist, 2000; Massey et al., 1993) have examined the complex question of agency and structure in relation to migration processes. Focusing on the agency and self-activity of moving populations, scholars of the autonomy of migration (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; Papadopoulos, Stephenson, & Tsianos, 2008) criticize and attempt to "dethrone" (Olmos, 2019, p. 7) the structural approaches that regard refugees as mere passive recipients of state policies or humanitarian NGOs' activities. In contrast to the victimization and the paternalistic approach of institutional policies, proponents of the autonomy of migration (Mezzadra & Neilson, 2013; Trimikliniotis, Parsanoglou, & Tsianos, 2015) highlight refugees' subjectivities and their creative capacity to contest physical and social border policies and form mobile commons that are based on "shared knowledge, affective cooperation, mutual support and care between migrants" (Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013, p. 179).

Overall, taking into account the aforementioned approaches, we aim to show how state-run camps constitute physical and social borders which prevent the refugees' from claiming their right to the city. We also demonstrate how self-organized housing projects within the city centre could be considered as common spaces offering refugees the potential to claim and invent spatial justice and the right to the city.

3. Methodology

Athens and Thessaloniki were selected as case studies for two reasons. First, they are the most populated urban areas in Greece, hosting almost half of its total population, with the highest number of state-run refugee camps. Second, they are the only cities with refugee squats in mainland Greece. Athens is the capital of the country and its' port Piraeus is the point of entry for refugees moving from the islands to the mainland. Thessaloniki is the biggest city in northern Greece and the site where refugees were relocated from the informal settlement of Idomeni, on the border with North Macedonia, in the summer of 2016. Each city hosts about 15,000 refugees in 13 state-run camps (Coordination Centre for the Management of Refugee Crisis in Greece, 2016), and more than 3,000 refugees in self-organized occupied buildings. In the rest of the mainland, 10,000 other refugees are living in state-run camps while around 30,000 live in state-run camps on islands. Thus, 75% of the refugees in mainland Greece currently live within the two examined cities. The vast majority of refugees are from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan (Asylum Information Database, 2018).

The Athens conurbation, with approximately 3.8 million residents, is about four times larger than Thessaloniki, however, both cities have a similar urban structure, characterized by their dense urban structure and mixed land use. The commercial, touristic, and administrative functions are based in the centre, high economic strata are mainly in the eastern areas of each city, while the low-income areas and industrial zones are located on the west sides of both cities. Most of the state-run refugee camps are located within or around the industrial zones (see Figures 1 and 2).

The research was based on qualitative methods, direct observation, spatial and ethnographic analysis. Fieldwork was conducted in the 26 state-run refugee camps and 15 squats in both cities from autumn 2017 until summer 2019. We carried out 60 semi-structured interviews, 30 per city because the two cities have approximately the same number of refugees (see Table 1), and several informal conversations with refugees living in both state-run camps and self-organized refugee squats in the two cities. While 30 interviews concern the state-run camps and 30 the self-organized squats, most of the squats' residents had experienced living in state-run camps which brought the total number of interviews about the state-run camps to 52. We aimed to have 2 interviewees, usually one male and female from each structure, state-run camps or squats, thus there were 60 interviews in total. The participants in the research were from Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Algeria, and Morocco, the main countries of origin for refugees (Asylum Information Database, 2018); all were adults, 28 males and 28 females and 4 who self-identified as transgender and queer.

The research interviews and conversations with refugees were conducted in either Greek or English with the help of interpreters when translation from Arabic, Urdu, and Farsi was needed. The biggest difficulty that we faced was that the majority of the interpreters were

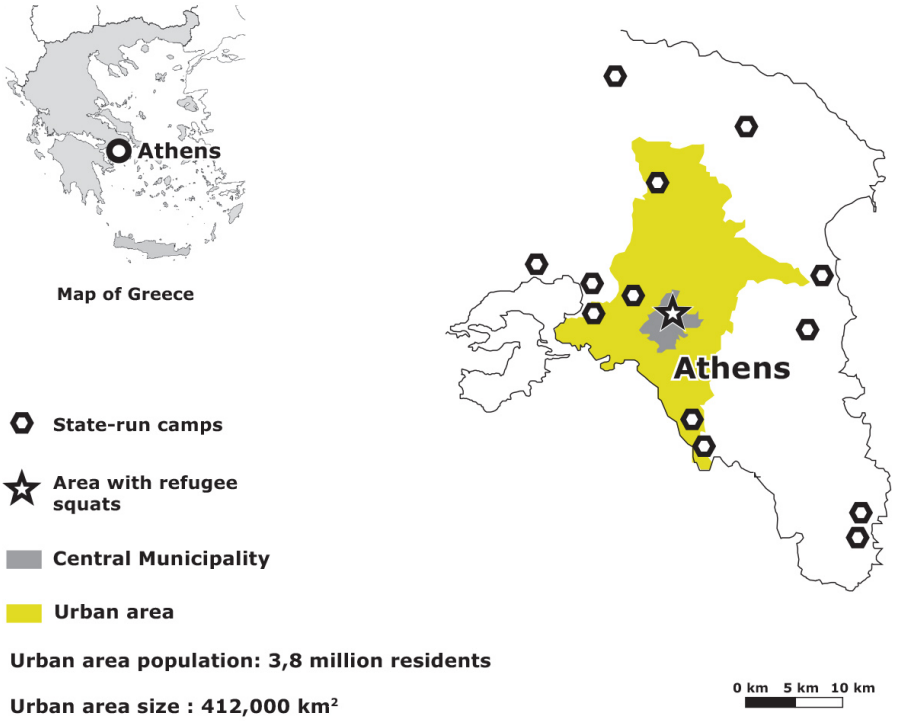

Figure 1. Locations of state-run refugee camps and refugee squats in Athens. Source: Authors, based on the land use map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

male and in cases where the interviewee was female, we had to find a female interpreter to secure their trust and avoid discomfort. The interviews and conversations were organized according to the requirements of the participants, in familiar and easily accessible locations, such as coffee shops, public squares, and the self-organized squats so as to minimize any inconvenience.

Also, our positionality as Greek and European citizens involved complexities which had to be taken into consideration in the research analysis. For example,

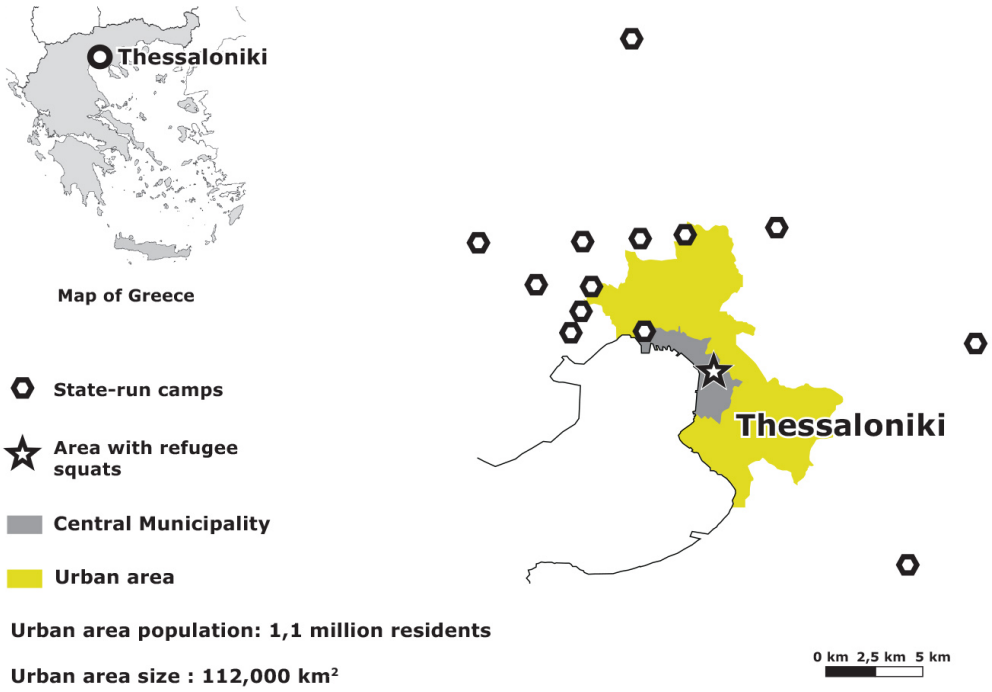

Figure 2. Locations of state-run refugee camps and refugee squats in Thessaloniki. Source: Authors, based on the land use map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

Table 1. Interviews sample.

	Athens	Thessaloniki
Number of refugees	15,684	15,395
Number of interviews	30	30
Number of interviews concerning only state-run camps	15	15
Number of interviews concerning only squats	6	6
Number of interviews concerning both squats and state-run camps	9	9
Number of male interviewers	14	14
Number of female interviewers	14	14
Number of transgender and queer interviewers	2	2
Number of interviews in English	23	24
Number of interviews in Greek	7	6

'empty promises' should not be made to the refugee participants regarding their future legal status, and refugee-participants' activities should not be exoticized or fetishized.

Finally, we should point out that we have replaced participants' real names with culturally appropriate pseudonyms in order to protect their identities. The anonymisation guarantees that no harmful social consequences affect the refugee participants as a result of taking part in the research.

4. Spatial Policies of Campization: State-Run Refugee Accommodation Centres

The refugees' right to affordable housing and public services is recognized by several international, European, and national statements, agreements, and laws (European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2007; Greek Government, 2018; United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1991). However, numerous NGOs (Greek Council for Refugees, 2019; International Rescue Committee, 2016) have severely criticized the living conditions of the state-run camps in Athens and Thessaloniki and emphasized that they do not meet the international standards for "security of tenure, availability of services, affordability, habitability, accessibility and cultural adequacy" (UNHCR, 2014, p. 4).

According to Mahmoud, a Moroccan male refugee who stayed in a camp on the outskirts of Thessaloniki for one year:

> The living condition in the camp is absolutely unacceptable. Very dirty, disgusting places, they do not offer anything to refugees, even the water is unsuitable for drinking or showering. Very few toilets, always dirty and never hot water. The government just threw the refugees into the tents, the phrase that is prevalent in the mouths of all the refugees is that "the camps are a slow death. (Personal interview, April 10, 2019)

Also, noteworthy are the words of Karima, a refugee woman from Syrian, who lived in a camp outside of Athens:

> I have nothing to do at the camp, only to talk to other refugees about the bad things going on inside the camp. The camp is like a strange prison, cut off from the outside world, living in a parallel ghetto-like reality. You talk about ugliness, you get upset, you play with your mobile phone in your container and then you sleep, this is the life in the camp. (Personal interview, June 22, 2019)

According to our research, the 13 state-run refugee camps in Athens and the 13 camps in Thessaloniki used to be military bases and abandoned factories or warehouses at a considerable distance from the city centres; this varied, from 15 km to 70 km (see Figures 3 and 4). These places are the ruins (Ziindrilis & Dalakoglou, 2019) of the postwar industrialization and militarization of the country. They are the expression of the massive postwar industrial development of Athens and Thessaloniki, and the Cold War policies of militarization, as the country is located on NATO's South Eastern edge next to the Eastern ex-Communist bloc. However, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the emergence of post-Fordism and the de-industrialization of the country left vast areas of factories and military bases on the perimeter of Athens and Thessaloniki abandoned. These are the sites of the refugee camps.

Consequently, all of the refugee camps are far from hospitals, schools, playgrounds, green spaces and parks, as well as public services, local markets, churches, cafes, restaurants, and sports and leisure services. In fact, the majority of the camps are located in the most degraded and environmentally polluted areas of the Thessaloniki and Athens metropolitan complexes, far from the city centres and the middle or upper-class neighbourhoods and suburbs. The areas in which the camps are located are covered with abandoned factories and warehouses as well as other forms of land use such as prisons, oil refineries, and shipyards.

The Ministry of Migration and Asylum decided on the locations of the state-run camps in a haste, as the borders in the Balkan corridor closed in March 2016 and some thousands of refugees were trapped inside the Greek territory. Until then, Greece did not have

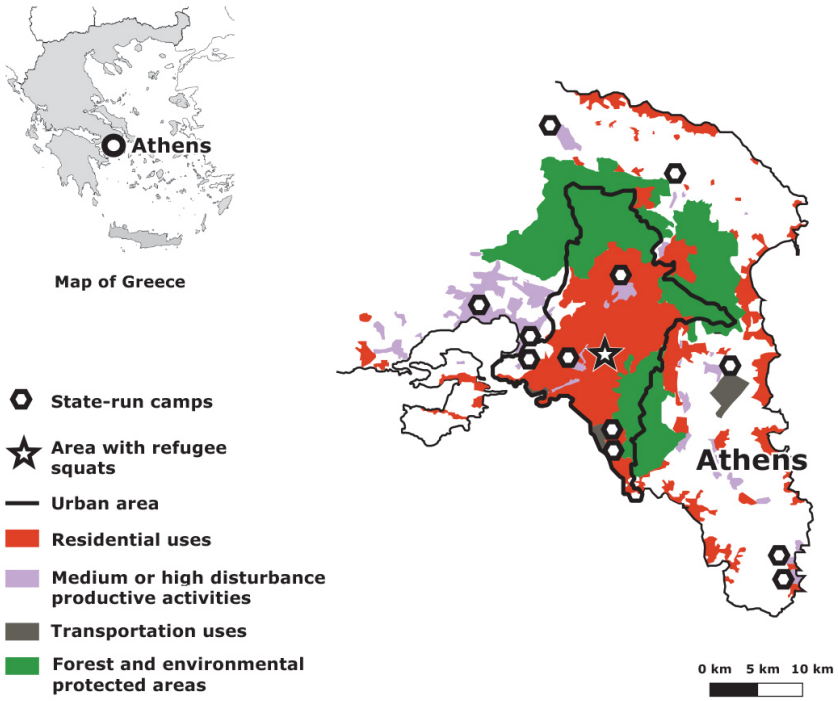

Figure 3. Land use and locations of state-run camps and refugee squats in Athens. Source: Authors, based on the land uses map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

organized accommodation centres for refugees. Thus, the state "urgently and under pressure" (Pechlidou, Frangopoulos, & Hatziprokopiou, 2020, p. 168) followed a 'fast track' process, limiting consultation with local authorities to one invitation to propose possible locations for camps. According to the Ministry coordinators and media press release (Ministry of Interior, 2015), most of the mayors in the conurbations of Thessaloniki and Athens refused to propose locations, following a "not in my back yard" attitude (Pechlidou et al., 2020).

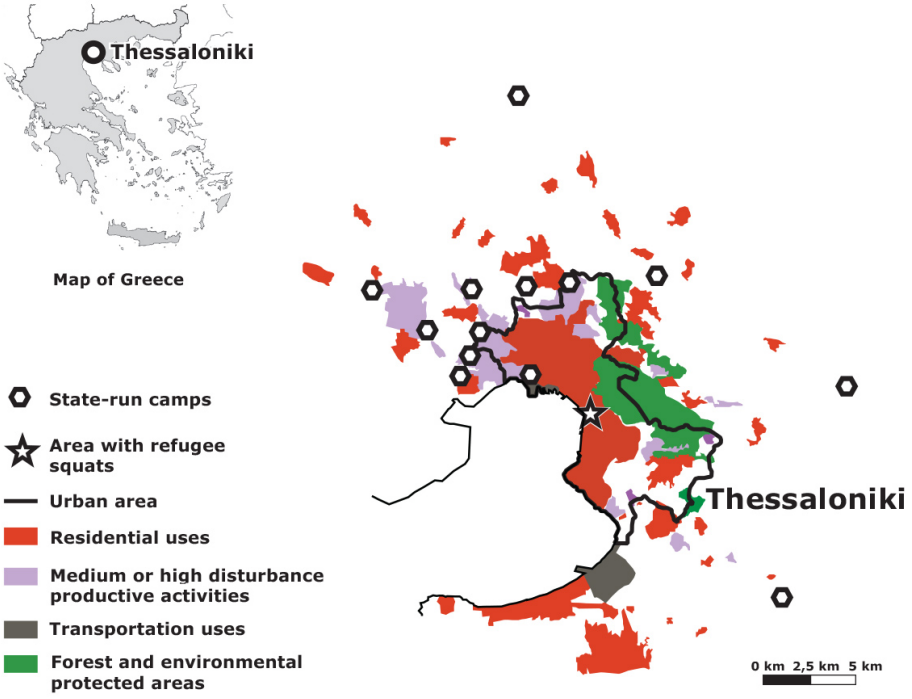

Figure 4. Land use and locations of state-run camps and refugee squats in Thessaloniki. Source: Authors, based on the land uses map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

According to Gemenetzi and Papageorgiou (2017, p. 67), the state's "housing choices [were made] without clear and transparent spatial criteria in the context of a comprehensive housing policy." Consequently, refugee camps were located in the most degraded, low-income areas of Athens and Thessaloniki. Their establishment triggered xenophobic reactions by neighbouring residents, frequently supported by several local mayors, who signed petitions against camp locations with the pretext of there being a lack of information and consultation (Pechlidou et al., 2020).

Although similar procedures were followed when deciding the location of the camps in both cities, there were two differences worth noting. In the case of Thessaloniki, the vast majority of the camps were located in the west part of the city with only one camp being located on the east side (see Figure 4), while in Athens it seems that they were more equally allocated around the urban area (see Figure 3). Moreover, as mentioned above, the number of refugees in the two cities is almost the same, and since Athens is four times larger than Thessaloniki in terms of population and urban area (see Table 1), the percentage of refugees per local population is much higher in Thessaloniki (around 14 refugees/1,000 residents) than in Athens (approximately 4 refugees/1,000 residents).

Furthermore, according to the Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014), in the areas of the refugee camps, residential uses are prohibited and only 'medium or high disturbance productive activities' are permitted (see Figure 5). Also, according to European Union's *Seveso Directive: Technological Disaster Risk Reduction* (EUR-Lex, 1997) and on the basis of the national *Large-Scale Technology Accident Response Plan* (Ministry of Interior, General Secretariat for Civil Protection, & Department of Emergency Planning and Response, 2009), several state-run camps are located within industrial accident hazard zones as they are adjacent to oil refineries, petroleum product processing plants, as well as liquid and gas fuels depots (see Figure 5).

In addition, it is remarkable that according to UNHCR's (2007, p. 210) design standards of refugee accommodation centres, at least 30 square meters should be provided for each resident as the minimum acceptable level for decent living conditions, and 45 square meters including open spaces, roads, footpaths, administration, and all shared uses in the camp. However, in most of the state-run refugee camps in Athens and Thessaloniki, the size of the camp area is significantly smaller, measuring 25 square meters per resident in Skaramagas camp in Athens including open areas and only 15 square meters per resident in Softex camp in Thessaloniki. Also, it is worth noting that the above sizes are considerably lower than the Greek national urban planning standards (Greek Government, 2004) which is set at 45 square meters per resident for affordable housing, increasing to more than 100 square meters when including roads, green areas, and open public spaces.

Thus, we argue that the accommodation of refugees in isolated and inappropriate state-run camps is close to

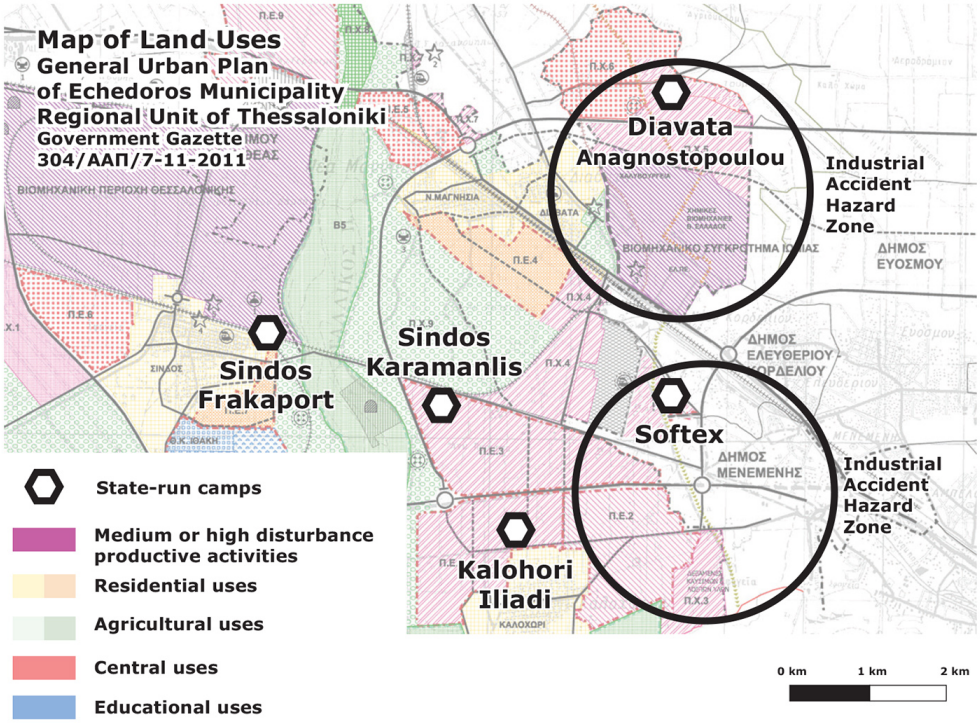

Figure 5. Map of land use in the municipality of Echedoros in the regional unit of Thessaloniki and positions of state-run refugee camps. Source: Authors, based on the land uses map of the General Urban Plan of Echedoros Municipality (Greek Government, 2011).

the notion of 'spatial injustice' (Harvey, 1996; Soja, 2010) as the spatial separation and discrimination between the city residents and the containment of refugees in camps produces a "regime of marginality" (Wacquant, 2007, p. 67) and a "territorial stigmatization" (p. 68). Therefore, we argue that the aforementioned features, conditions, and positions of the state-run refugee camps constitute an exceptional spatial legal status, and as Turner (2016, p. 141) has aptly pointed out, "they are legally under the jurisdiction of the host society but also exempted from it." This exceptional spatiality is adjacent to the notion of 'campization' of refugees which according to Kreichauf (2018, p. 14) is the production of a space that is "developed to separate the 'own' and the '(ethnic) stranger'; citizens and non-citizens" it is an "exceptional place, which has been developed to house this particular group and not citizens." In the cases of Athens and Thessaloniki, this campization is expressed in socio-spatial isolation, restrictive and exceptional spatial policies, and low standards of living, with the inevitable consequence that most of the refugees suffer from psychosocial and mental health problems and post-traumatic stress disorder. In the words of Sara, an Iraqi female refugee who lived within camps in Athens for two years:

> All refugees when leaving the camps have psychological problems and trauma, because they spent most of the time inside the tents or the containers looking out of the window, as if they are imprisoned, desperate, frustrated, doing nothing. I really cannot understand the logic of keeping refugees out of the city and treating in this inhuman way. (Personal interview, April 28, 2019)

According to several reports and our observations, women and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer) persons face a high risk of gendered, homophobic, and transphobic based violence, sexual abuse and harassment in the state-run camps. As Liapi, Charidou, and Tyrovolas (2016, p. 41) argue, "limited attention is paid to the prevention of gender-based violence through the implementation of actions to empower women themselves" while as they stress (Liapi, Giannopoulou, Tyrovolas, Kountouri-Tsiami, & Saratsi, 2019, p. 57) "inadequate and inefficiently trained personnel, whose capability of recognizing the signs of gender-based violence is not guaranteed, limits, even more, the effective identification of gendered based violence survivors.''

The harsh conditions in the state-run camps have inspired refugees' self-organized protests, such as hunger strikes demanding better quality food, hygiene, and living conditions (Tsavdaroglou, 2019). However, such expressions of resistance and agency were typically met with violent repression by the police.

Given the above conditions, it is not surprising that refugees look for alternative forms of housing and to gain access to the city and its urban social life.

5. Inventing Spatial Togetherness: Refugees' Housing Commoning Practices

In contrast to the conditions in the abovementioned state-run camps, numerous refugee housing squats emerged in the city centres of Athens and Thessaloniki from 2015 to 2019 (see Figures 6 and 7). Most of the squats were abandoned public or private buildings, which were occupied by refugees and solidarity leftist and anarchist solidarity groups. In these spaces, locals, international volunteers, and refugees try to establish an everydayness of taking decisions together, learning from each other and challenging national, political, religious or other identities. According to several scholars (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Lafazani, 2018; Tsavdaroglou, 2018), as well as findings from our own research, these housing projects are managed as common spaces as they are based on the values and principles of commoning, non-hierarchical participation, mutual caring, and direct democratic processes. Moreover, these occupied buildings can be considered as commons as they constitute a physical common resource and social commoning process for newcomers who are exercising togetherness and sharing inhabitance, intercultural interactions, and caring personal relationships. Accordingly, the refugee squats seem to follow the principles of mobile commons as outlined by Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2013), that is sharing of knowledge, infrastructures of connectivity, informal economies, transnational communities of justice, and politics of care. These features transform the occupied buildings from empty spaces into open spaces for newcomers beyond the camps' physical and social borders and the NGOs' or state's immigration management.

When we asked Babak, an Iranian male refugee who had lived for one year in camps in the perimeter of Athens before becoming a resident of the Themistokleous 58 squat in the centre of Athens, to describe the main differences between life in a state-run camp and life in a refugee squat he said that:

> In contrast to the camps, the squats are in the centre of the city, they are proper buildings in which we are protected from the weather conditions, while in the containers and tents in the camps refugees are vulnerable to wind and rain as well as to winter cold and summer heat. However, the most important difference is that in the squat we feel like we are part of it, we can shape it, we can participate in activities, while in the camp it is like you are in a peculiar cage, there are surveillance mechanisms everywhere, there are cameras and police control the refugees every day. (Personal interview, April 10, 2019)

Mehdi, an Afghan male refugee who has lived for six months in a camp outside of Athens and for one year in the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza squat in Athens said:

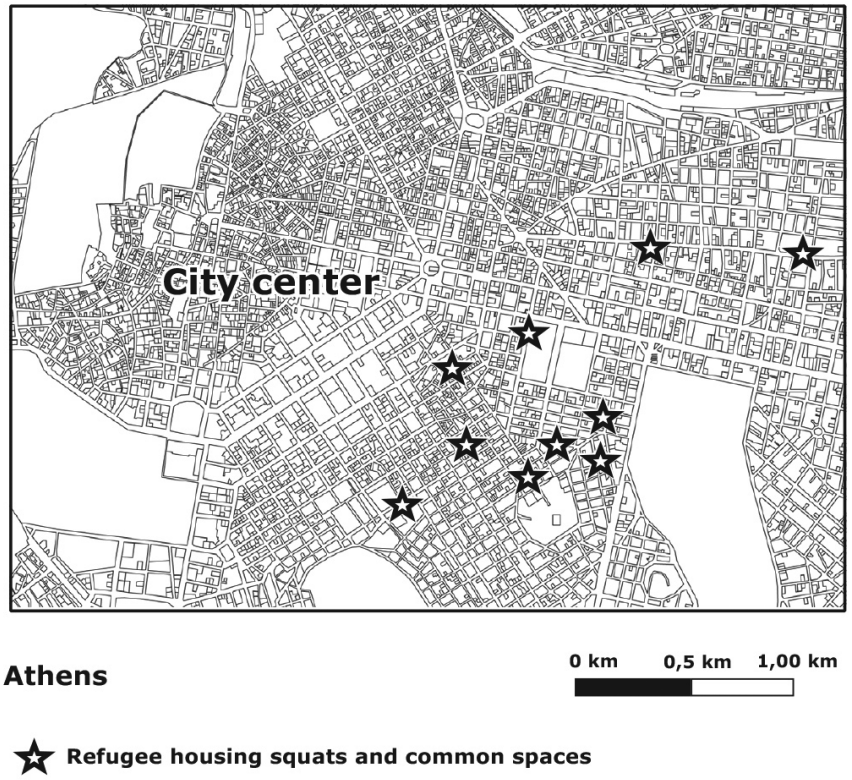

Figure 6. Refugee housing squats and common spaces in Athens. Source: Authors, map based on the land uses map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

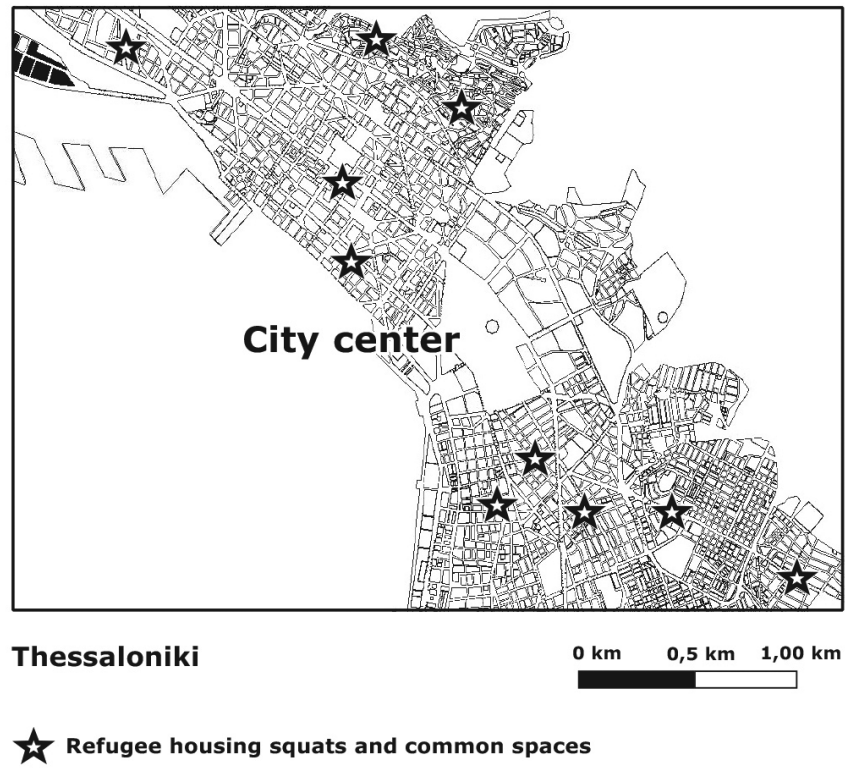

Figure 7. Refugee housing squats and common spaces in Thessaloniki. Source: Authors, map based on the land uses map of Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014).

> In the squat there are no NGOs or state interventions, here we live together and we do all the tasks together. There are no walls between refugees and solidarity people, or between different nationalities. Here we are all equal and there is respect and absolute freedom of expression and speech. Nobody imposes on the other what they should and should not do. We rely on free consciousness and we support each other. (Personal interview, April 10, 2019)

Communicating and analysing the significance of the mutual support practices, self-organization, and direct democracy in transforming the abandoned buildings into housing commons, does not however imply that there were not challenges involved and a struggle to overcome them. According to both our research and analysis provided in relevant works (Agustín & Jørgensen, 2019; Lafazani, 2018), most of the newcomers are not familiar with processes of direct democracy and non-hierarchical participation. As Lafazani (2018, p. 902) emphasizes:

> Many, perhaps due to the sociopolitical structure of their countries of origin and through the process of crossing the European borders, carry a sense of subalternity when face-to-face with European solidarity activists. They do not perceive themselves as equal interlocutors who can be involved in decision-making processes.

Hence, efforts for equal participation across lines of nationality, religion, and gender, as well as negotiations of the multiple emergent power relations, although key aspects in these projects, were often hard to achieve. Moreover, due to intense pressure to accommodate large numbers of newcomers, sometimes refugee squats turn into overcrowded spaces that do not meet the official national or international design standards of refugee accommodation centres. However, the commitment to a sense of collective community and to accepted inviolable standards, leads the occupants to try to organize the buildings according to the needs of their residents; wherein each family usually lives in a separate room, single women have distinct safe places, and alcohol, drugs, and any form of physical violence are strictly prohibited.

One of the most important features of the squatted buildings is that they are located within a short walking distance of schools, hospitals, employment opportunities, and public services. Thus, the refugees are able to cultivate a feeling of sociability, familiarity, and intimacy with the city and its urban social life. In the case of Athens, as Agustín and Jørgensen, (2019, p. 59) describe, the squatted buildings "are often located close to anarchist squats and social centres that also protect the refugee squats against fascist and right-wing militant mobilizations." Indeed, most of the refugee squats in Athens are located in, or near the perimeter of the Exarcheia neighbourhood, an area in the city centre where a counter-culture has historically been developed and where anarchist and left-wing political communities reside. In the case of Thessaloniki, the squatted buildings are scattered throughout the city's central neighbourhoods, which means that refugees interact with a wide and varied range of people from the local communities. In the words of Rima, a female refugee from Syria, who lived for six months in state-run camps and then for eight months in the Orfanotrofio Housing Squat for Immigrants in the centre of Thessaloniki:

> I believe that if the refugees get involved with the local population this will be useful to both the refugees and the local community. This will break stereotypes on both sides, and at the same time, this will make refugees to feel better and to be useful to this place. It is very important to have inside the city meeting places for locals and newcomers, like the squat of Orfanotrofio, in order people to have a living experience and knowledge of the other that is not mediated by dominant images produced by the mainstream media. (Personal interview, December 21, 2018)

Furthermore, as a statement by the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (2019) in Athens declares, the two main goals of the squat are "to create a space for safe and dignified housing for migrants in the centre of the city, a space of solidarity and cooperation between locals and migrants" and "to function as a centre of struggle in which political and social demands by migrants and locals will interweave and complement each other." Also, in the words of Amira, a Pakistani female refugee who lived for five months in state-run camps and then moved to the self-organized Housing Squat for Immigrants Orfanotrofio in Thessaloniki:

> At the squat, I first saw people who cared about me, who helped me with the asylum procedures, who helped me when I needed to go to the hospital, and of course, I found a safe house. Most importantly, I participate in the political assembly and I have an active role in organizing demonstrations and protests for the freedom of movement of refugees and against detention centres. (Personal interview, November 21, 2018)

Finally, many of the self-organized structures provide safe spaces for LGBTQ refugees. Indicative are the words of Jasmine, a transgender woman refugee from Iran who lived for eight months in state-run camps outside Thessaloniki and later joined the refugee LGBTQ group Eclipse in the centre of Thessaloniki:

> I live in an occupied house in the centre of the city with people from the queer group Eclipse. In contrast to the experiences I had in the camps where I was afraid to walk around and I was constantly hiding because everyone was looked at me really weird, now, I feel safe and I participate in the activities of Eclipse

> refugees LGBTQ group. I am very impressed by the self-organized approach on gender issues and I am happy to meet other transgender refugees from many other countries. All the people in the team have made me feel strong and proud of who I am, and I wish to transfer this feeling to other people who suffer and face the difficulties that I faced. And I want to emphasize that what characterizes our relationships in the group is strong feelings of trust and joy. (Personal interview, March 16, 2018)

Overall, it seems that the refugee squats emerge not only as an alternative to the state-run camps but also as an experiment that highlights the importance of the refugees' social and political rights to the city. This is an utterly political decision and experience, and during the last three years, the state has evicted more than 15 refugee squats in Athens and Thessaloniki and relocated the refugees to the camps. Nonetheless, the experiment in self-organized residential common spaces provided fruitful material regarding the political and social field of relations, as well as a basis from which to rethink the refugees' right to housing and the city.

6. Concluding Remarks: Refugee Common Spaces vs. State-Run Camps

Given the findings of our research, it becomes clear that the question of refugees' right to housing and the city constitutes a constant field of conflict between state planning policies and the social practices of commoning, solidarity, and self-organization. To conclude, we would like to emphasize three main arguments for the refugees' spatial justice.

First, state policies seem to follow the logic of spatial enclosures, leading to marginalization and exclusion of refugees to isolated and invisible ghetto-like spaces. According to our research, planning policies of the state concerning the location choice of state-run camps in Athens and Thessaloniki followed a top–down procedure which failed to take into consideration and consult local authorities. This harms the well-being of refugees and limits their acceptance by the local communities. This is more obvious in Thessaloniki, where the quantitative ratio of refugees to the local population is higher than Athens and most of the state-run camps are concentrated in the western part of the city, while in Athens there is a more equal allocation around the urban area. Yet, in both cities, state-run camps are overcrowded, are far from the city centres, with a lack of access to public services, health and education facilities, and employment opportunities, as well as being located in extremely degraded, polluted, and dangerous environments. In general, the state policies of refugee camps failed to comply with international design standards for refugee accommodation centres as well as to national urban planning legislation, and refugees are forced to navigate through multiple physical and social borders, obstacles and controls in order to access the city centre and its urban social life.

Second, the emergence of housing common spaces for refugees in central areas of Athens and Thessaloniki describes how the possibility for transnational practices of cohabitation, sharing of common-pool resources, and direct democratic organization is actualized. It shows that refugees often contest the institutional regimes of marginality manifested in the segregated areas of the state-run camps and invent and establish housing common spaces in collaboration with local and international solidarity groups, claiming residence in the centre of the city. This actualization is not free of limitations since sometimes the common housing projects do not follow the set living standards, as large numbers of people move in and rooms in the occupied buildings become overcrowded. Still, it seems that refugees prefer to live in squats rather than state-run camps. But as stressed above, this entails constant and hard negotiations to manage power relations across gender, nationality, and religion in decision-making processes. These challenges must be taken into consideration when analysing refugee housing experiments to move beyond the tendency to idealize them. However, it seems that the main reason that motivates people to create and sustain the refugee squats is their central location in the urban fabric that enables easy access to social services and employment opportunities, as well as the sense of solidarity with and belonging in the community. What is especially important here, are the social relations of urban commoning. According to Linebaugh (2008, p. 275), the basic principles of commoning are "anti-enclosure, neighbourhood, travel, subsistence, and reparation." Indeed, our research shows that these features of commoning are present in the refugees' housing squats examined here, as they are spaces which stand in opposition to the enclosures of state-run camps, and which provide safe space for refugee travellers' subsistence and reparation, while at the same time being located in central urban neighbourhoods.

Third, these cases provide ample evidence of, and a framework that documents, the autonomy of this migration approach. This approach is further enriched with details of the spatialities of refugees' right to the city and especially, to the centre of the city. This was based on our research focus and analysis of the active role and creativity of newcomers, the way they built mutual support and constructed solidarity residential common spaces in the urban centres of Athens and Thessaloniki. The inventing practices of collective housing and the agentive processes of being-in-common, challenge and contest the disempowering mainstream discourse of "victimhood" (Mezzadra, 2010, p. 128) and the institutional marginalization and stigmatization of refugees. Furthermore, the central location of the occupied residential common spaces and the political significance they give to gender issues enable renewed claims of women, queer, and transgender refugees' right to the city (Fenster, 2005).

Moreover, the housing common spaces portray the potentiality of refugees to produce new spatialities and access the "shared experience" (Stavrides, 2019, p. 8) of urban life. We strongly argue that such housing projects created by refugees can open up the centre of the city and the experience of urban life to newcomers and vice versa.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

"Live Like a Lifelong Tourist"? The Contradicting Realities of Finnish Offshore Service Workers in Athens

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Abstract
Contrasting the mass out-migration of the younger populace following the economic crisis in Greece and the simultaneous large inflow of refugees, the city of Athens has lately become an attractive place for tourists and lifestyle migrants. This article provides a better understanding of the marginal, yet unexplored in-migration of relatively affluent Europeans moving to Athens to work in the growing offshore service sector. Athens is an attractive place for offshore service work companies, as low salaries can be compensated for by "the sun," "Greek culture," and "low cost and high standard of living" (Bellos, 2019). Based on interviews with Finnish offshore workers, this article argues that the local context might not render all lifestyle migrants from wealthier countries similarly privileged. Due to their low salaries and recent changes in the local housing market fuelled by touristification, offshore service workers face a lack of affordable housing. The article further argues that affluent transnational migration is a multidimensional phenomenon, which needs to be contextualized, and which has nuanced, widespread effects on local housing markets and neighbourhood life.

Keywords
Athens; lifestyle migration; offshore service workers; touristification; transnational gentrification

Issue
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1. Introduction

As a historical phenomenon, migration is currently growing and diversifying. Residential tourism, second-home ownership, work-related multilocality, retirement migration, lifestyle migration, migration due to political unrest, as well as war, and poor economic opportunities; all these different kinds of voluntary and involuntary migration make people move around the globe and impact both the countries of origin as well as the destinations (e.g., Frauser, 2020; Ibrahim & Tremblay, 2017; Salvati & Benassi, 2020; Torkington, 2010; Williams & Hall, 2000). This article investigates a specific small-scale migration movement, namely that of relatively affluent Northern Europeans moving to Southern Europe in order to work in low-paid jobs. They represent a new, yet unexplored, class of transnational urban workers in Athens. Austerity-ridden Greece and Athens, in particular, have recently seen significant growth in multinational companies, offering offshored service work across Europe. Athens as a place becomes important in attracting these relatively affluent individuals to work with salaries that are not competitive compared to those in their countries of origin. Thus, workers are recruited by emphasising "the sun," "Greek culture," and "low cost and high standard of living" as a compensation for the comparatively low salaries (Bellos, 2019). Such features fit well into earlier conceptualizations of transnational mobilities from

Northern to Southern Europe. Privileged lifestyle migrants above all desire the sunnier climates, the quality of life, and appreciate local lifestyles and "authentic" cultural experiences (Hayes, 2014, p. 1955).

At the local level, cities and neighbourhoods hosting migrants are often subjected to changes that affect the availability of local housing and local services, thus reshaping the identity and ultimately also restructuring the city culturally, socially, and spatially (e.g., Escobedo, 2020; Gunce, 2003). One of the major newspapers in Greece, *I Kathimeri*, claims that the activities of Teleperformance, the largest employer of offshore service workers in Athens, have led to "further demand for hospitality and nutrition services." It has been suggested that Teleperformance is "a good example of the positive impact that the establishment of businesses in Greece can have on the economy and the real estate market" (Bellos, 2019). Although this has not been verified by any systematic research, it does hint that offshore service workers might be used as lenses through which wider debates on transnational mobility, transnational lifestyles, and transnational gentrification can be followed. Building on the existing literature about privileged lifestyle migrants and their impacts on neighbourhoods, the article provides fresh insight into the kind of lifestyle-oriented mobilities that do not fully fit into usual North–South dichotomies. According to Novy (2018), there is need to understand mobility that does not fall into the more investigated and well-known types of privileged transnational migration, such as tourism or lifestyle migration, to grasp the implications that this place-consumption might have on neighbourhoods. This article aims to fill this research gap by specifically adopting a place-based perspective on Finnish offshore service workers, by exploring their everyday realities in Athenian neighbourhoods and by contrasting them with the conceptions and imaginaries built by their employers. It will further show that, although the motivations of the offshore service workers for leaving Finland are very similar to those of lifestyle migrants, their everyday life in Athens, because of the salaries and the demanding but yet mundane work, is not in line with existing accounts of the lifestyle of migrants originating from wealthier countries.

2. Theoretical Debates

The importance of Southern Europe as a major destination for Northern European tourists and a growing number of lifestyle migrants has been well acknowledged in the research literature (e.g., Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020). Tourism can be understood as the temporary travel or stay of people in destinations other than their usual residence (Ibrahim & Tremblay, 2017). While the majority of people in the western world participate in touristic activities, lifestyle migration is a highly nuanced phenomenon. In general, lifestyle migrants are found to be highly mobile foreigners, of a variety of ages, primarily from middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds. Typically, they seek a high(er) quality of everyday life by moving either temporarily or permanently to a different place (e.g., Benson & Osbaldiston, 2014; Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019). Typically, lifestyle migrants approach migration as a form of consumption. This is the way they also distinguish themselves from other migration forms that are typically production-oriented (Benson & O'Reilly, 2016, p. 22). Nevertheless, Ibrahim & Tremblay (2017) claim that while lifestyle migration might be fuelled specifically by one category, the other may still have a secondary role in the process. Lifestyle migration has been documented both regarding the act of migration (where lifestyle migrants migrate, why, and how) and the lived experience following migration (Benson & Osbaldiston, 2014), as well as geographical arbitrage (the act of relocating day-to-day expenses to low-cost locations to provide a higher quality of life; Hayes, 2014).

Lifestyle migrants include, for instance, retired people relocating to Southern European coastal areas or second-home owners to the countryside or to (often Southern European) cities. A new category of lifestyle migrants that have lately gained specific attention are digital nomads. According to Mancinelli (2020), digital nomads are individuals who take "advantage of portable computing technologies and widespread internet access," which allow them to "work remotely from any location and use this freedom to explore the world." In other words, they 'blend' tourism, leisure, and professional activities in a number of different places (Reichenberger, 2018). In Europe, students of higher education have also been strongly encouraged to make exchange stays for 5–10 months in another European country, increasing the number of young lifestyle migrants around the continent (Calvo, 2018, p. 2143). However, as stressed by Benson and Osbaldiston (2014, p. 3), "the ability to privilege lifestyle and realise it through migration is born out of relative affluence and privilege, and is thus inseparable from economic circumstance and global contexts of inequality in which it takes place."

Jover and Díaz-Parra (2019) have called for greater attention on the implications of these inequalities in urban processes. The impact of wealthy foreigners at the neighbourhood level has been specifically explored through the concepts of 'touristification' and 'transnational gentrification.' The so-called 'touristification' often occurs in neighbourhoods that have already been subjected to gentrification (Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2019; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). Gentrification as a process refers here to the production of space for progressively more affluent users (Hackworth, 2002). Gentrification then can be driven by a number of interplaying actors and processes. Touristification is typically driven by cities to attract investment and visitors, yet is further fuelled by arriving tourists, investors, and locals seeking income and profit from tourists. According to Novy (2018), the process of touristification affects neighbourhoods in two

ways, which resemble those that have also been identified in gentrification literature. First of all, touristification changes the service supply of a neighbourhood to better fit the needs of tourists, meaning that the neighbourhood services used by locals are replaced by restaurants, cafés, and shops that usually attract tourists. Secondly, for the locals who stay in the area, touristification reduces their ability to access homes in their neighbourhoods; rented accommodation is often transformed into different kinds of—more profitable—accommodation for tourists (e.g., Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019; van Noorloos & Steel, 2015). In particular, as many cities face the displacement of locals and a restructuring of the rental market, there is a growing body of research showing the impact of short-term rentals, widely known as Airbnb, on the local socio-economic context (e.g., Balampanidis, Maloutas, Papatzani, & Pettas, 2019, in Athens; Davidson & Infranca, 2016, in general; Llop, 2016, in Barcelona; Wachsmuth, Kerrigan, Chaney, & Shillolo, 2017, in three Canadian cities).

According to Escobedo (2020, p. 6), tourists and lifestyle migrants with their similar use of neighbourhood spaces and similar consumption patterns particularly impact heritage spaces. These are typically historical neighbourhoods, which have often been neglected for long but which have recently actively been promoted as 'authentic' spaces by the cities. Thus, he claims that two processes, touristification and transnational gentrification, are apparent in historical neighbourhoods, as they "both operate through transnational movement of higher-income consumers of urban space" (Escobedo, 2020, p. 6). Transnational gentrification describes new urban processes created by the transnational movement of people and investment from wealthier countries to lower-income communities. The term, coined by Sigler and Wachsmuth (2015), explains neighbourhood change caused by transnational investment in the housing market that especially meets the demand of transnational "gentry," such as lifestyle migrants, instead of locals. Thus, transnational gentrification is driven both by economic forces as well as the cultural practices and cosmopolitan ideals of privileged migrants such as lifestyle migrants and luxury tourists (Escobedo, 2020).

However, lifestyle migrants' appropriate local space on a more permanent basis than tourists. While lifestyle migrants might settle in the same neighbourhoods as tourists, their ties to the neighbourhood and the local residents are different (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019). Yet, Torkington (2010), Eimermann and Kordel (2018), as well as Escobedo (2020) argue that, to date, little is known about the integration process and the local ties forged by international lifestyle migrants. Calvo (2018), for instance, recognizes Erasmus students in Lisbon as a new "class of transnational urban consumers." According to Calvo (2018), students not only take part in pre-existing local gentrification processes, but they are also active players in introducing their distinctive lifestyles into new local settings; they create new consumption spaces, earmarking the neighbourhoods for colonialization by urban investors. This highlights the motivation of this study to understand why relatively affluent Finns leave Finland to work in low paid jobs in Athens, and how they integrate into their new neighbourhood and connect to touristic and leisure-related activities.

3. Setting the Context: Athens, Migration, and Offshore Service Work

In 2009, Greek society faced a debt-crisis which devastated the country economically and, in addition to that, evolved into a multi-faceted 'humanitarian crisis.' Unemployment rates, particularly among young and highly educated Greeks, rose dramatically and led thousands of people to migrate to Northern European countries and beyond. Only indicatively, the annual average unemployment rate in 2015 was nearly 25%; for people aged between 25 and 29, it exceeded 37%; and for those aged between 20 and 24, it rose to almost 50%. Consequently, it is estimated by the Greek Statistical Authority that over half a million people left Greece during the period 2010–2014 (Labrianidis & Pratsinakis, 2016; Pratsinakis, Hatziprokopiou, Grammatikas, & Labrianidis, 2017). Concurrently, Greece has been—and still is—faced with a substantial inflow of refugees from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, primarily from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey, and Iran. Refugees are now being added to the number of 'international immigrants' who had previously arrived and settled during the 1990s and early 2000s, primarily people from Albania and the remaining ex-Soviet and Balkan countries (Gropas & Triandafyllidou, 2005). From 2013 until the present, the number of (registered) asylum seekers in Greece has increased to almost 300,000, following a rising trend every year (Greek Asylum Service, 2020).

In parallel with these developments, Greece has also experienced a so-called 'tourism miracle.' The number of tourist arrivals increased by 56% in only three years (2013–2016) and especially in Athens, which has recently and rapidly been transformed into an all-year 'city break' destination, not just a short-stay destination for those travelling to the Greek islands (Izyumova, 2017; Smith, 2016). Consequently, many central neighbourhoods of Athens have been faced with 'touristification' and its multiple effects, such as substantial changes in the real estate sector and, more precisely, the housing market (Balampanidis et al., 2019). Only indicatively, it is estimated that from 2016 to 2018, rent prices in central areas of Athens increased by almost 30% (RE/MAX, 2016, 2017, 2018). At the same time, certain central neighbourhoods of the city transformed into quite mono-functional areas, dominated by leisure land uses and activities and, thus, attractive primarily to tourists rather than to permanent residents. Consequently, although not yet verified by research, it is reasonably assumed and expected that significant demographic changes will soon occur in central Athens, with

many permanent residents being obliged to abandon their—until recently—attractive and affordable neighbourhoods. Such developments derive not only from the substantial increase of tourism, but also from the recently observed increase of 'lifestyle migration,' which is quite a new experience in the case of Athens. Tourist webpages (such as Greece-is.com and thisisathens.org) claim, for instance, that:

> Athens is an increasingly attractive destination for the growing tribe of digital nomads, travelling the world with laptop in hand. It's not hard to see why. With a great climate, high-level cultural offering and low living costs, Athens makes sense as a base—for a few days or a few months—while you work remotely. (King, 2020)

On the neighbourhood level, this has been apparent since a number of co-working offices have been established in Athens (King, 2019). Furthermore, the Facebook group "Digital Nomads Athens" seems to imply the existence of this phenomenon in Athens. The group counts more than 2,500 members and its Instagram page has more than 4,000 followers. Apart from connecting people, these forums help digital nomads find apartments and workplaces, mostly in the central and coastal parts of the city.

During the last ten years, Athens has also seen a growth in migration related to offshore service work. Although research on offshore service work has been scarce in the past year, Richardson, Belt, and Neil (2000) claim that companies offering these services have been the most important single new source of employment in some less-favoured areas in Europe. For Teleperformance, a French multinational company, and the largest offshore service worker employer in Greece, locating to Athens has been a success story. It is one of the few companies in Greece that managed to increase the number of workers by more than 4,000 during the period 2014–2019 and to simultaneously double its turnover. This is an exceptional development in Greece (Bellos, 2019). Other similar but smaller players have also settled in Athens: Another French company called Webhelp opened their premises in Athens in 2016 and currently employs almost 400 workers speaking 17 different languages (Webhelp Greece, 2020). The largest Finnish online property management company established an office in Athens in 2015. Under the name Marou Creations, it offshored some of the service work and currently employs about 15 Finnish-speaking workers at its Athens premises. Call centres, according to Richardson et al. (2000, p. 358), are offices established to remotely deliver services over the phone. In the case of this study, offshore service work includes call centre services, online support, and social media facilitation. Call centres have been researched from a variety of perspectives, including their business models, organization of work, their impact on place and on the working environment, and their meaning for local economies (e.g., Paulet, 2008). However, neither the lived experience of their workers nor their impact on place has gained any attention.

There is a clear intersection between tourism-related activities and recruiting employees to Athens, as also demonstrated by the title of this article. The title "Live Like a Lifelong Tourist" scrutinises the message of many of the relevant advertisements; it is about experiencing something new, not necessarily as a local, but rather as a temporary resident. The opportunities for production-oriented migration that the companies offer are presented as a form of place consumption (Novy, 2018). As in the description as to why digital nomads have found Athens described above, offshore service companies rely on "the sun," "Greek culture," and a "low cost and high standard of living" in order to attract Northern Europeans to low paid work in Athens (Bellos, 2019). For example, Randstad Hellas, which recruits European customer services workers suggests: "Would you like to live in a sunny country and experience the Southern European lifestyle?" (targeting Swedish natives; Randstad Hellas, 2019). Typical of the advertisements is their focus on the free-time that they would be able to enjoy in Athens, not the job per se: "You will…experience Greek music, taste great comfort food and visit their beautiful sights. Don't forget about their sandy beaches with crystal clear blue water and beautiful landscapes" (DK Global Recruitment, 2020). Similarly, as lifestyle migrants take advantage of the lower costs of living (often) to enhance or at least maintain their lifestyle in another (often sunnier) setting (e.g., Hayes, 2014), offshore service-companies also acknowledge the low cost of living as an advantage. Teleperformance, for instance, argues that one of the benefits for relocating in Athens is the availability of affordable housing: "While someone in the capital of Greece can rent an apartment at the price of 300€ in the city centre, the equivalent for Amsterdam would be 1,500€!" (Teleperformance, 2019).

4. Methods

This article focuses particularly on Finnish offshore service workers for several reasons. First, the interviewer is Finnish, and the phenomenon of the offshore workers was first noticed by the interviewer through job advertisements in the Facebook group "Finns in Athens." Furthermore, Finns in Greece and Athens have mainly been studied from a historical viewpoint as early 19th century adventurers and archaeologists, as well as through the daily lives of women who married Greeks (Järvinen-Tassopoulos, 2007). Secondly, and more importantly, being a Northern European country with a growing economy and low unemployment, offshore service workers migrating from Finland are unlikely to be motivated by financial need. The fact that Greece is the most popular holiday destination for Finns (Häkkilä, 2018) further suggests that the imaginaries of a tourist-

related activity-filled life in Athens, presented by the advertisements for offshore service employees, have struck a chord.

In order to grasp the everyday realities of offshore service workers, in-depth semi-structured interviews were chosen as the basic research method. The sample of interviews provided the ability to understand the complexities and contradictions (Valentine, 2005) of the Finnish offshore service workers' locational decisions and everyday life in Athens. The sample for this study was quite small; therefore, it cannot be taken as being fully representative of the phenomenon under study. Nevertheless, although the background and ages of the respondents were diverse, they had some common features: Few had a higher education, most had not travelled much in their lives, and most of them originated from the countryside or small towns. A sample including respondents with different life trajectories and of different nationalities could give a more vivid picture of the everyday realities in Athens. Nevertheless, the sample offers the opportunity to analyse very detailed data and shed light upon a phenomenon that has not yet raised much research interest. The concept of reaching a data saturation point helped to define the point at which a sufficient number of interviews had been conducted to satisfactorily answer the research questions. In other words, when similar issues started being repeated, the data-gathering process was considered sufficient (Karisto, 2008). The respondents are presented in the Supplementary File.

The respondents were found through several Facebook pages, but mostly through the Facebook group called "Finns in Athens." The Facebook pages were found through searches on Facebook including keywords (in Finnish and English), such as 'Finnish,' 'Finns,' 'Athens,' 'flats,' 'offshore service work,' and 'Teleperformance.' Using Facebook as the basic source to find respondents excluded those who do not have a Facebook profile. Therefore, if the study had included respondents who were not on Facebook, more could have been learnt about the means of finding accommodation in Athens without using social media. The interviews were mainly held in cafés, typically in the neighbourhood where the respondent lived. Two interviews took place in the respondents' homes and one in the Nordic Library in Athens. Additionally, one interview took place in a café in the centre of Helsinki and one on Skype. The interviewer acknowledged the importance of being reflective of positionality and asymmetries of power in relation to the respondents (e.g., England, 1994; Jacobsson & Åkerström, 2013). Therefore, at the beginning of the interviews, the respondents were told about the interviewer's own relationship to Athens, they were informed about how the data would be used, and how the academic publication process works. During the interviews, the participants were first asked about their housing and employment history, and about previous stays abroad. The second set of questions centred around their decision to relocate, and future plans related to mobility. Lastly, the interviewees were asked about their everyday life in Athens. In order to also gain a glimpse into the offshore service work from a Greek perspective, one current and one former Teleperformance worker were also briefly interviewed about their employment, the work, and the networks that they had formed through work. These respondents were found through the interviewer's personal networks. The interviews with the Finns each lasted approximately 40 minutes and all interviews were recorded. Notes were taken during the interviews and provided an index for the recordings, an 'open coding,' enabling the interviews to be transcribed when detail was needed. Following Weiss (1994), the interviews were first analysed based on the original themes of the interviews to find similarities and contradictions among the respondents. The themes were then linked to concepts and categories in the research literature.

In order to understand in which neighbourhoods landlords and transnational migrants operated in terms of housing, the study also included a read-through of the following Facebook groups: "Digital Nomads Athens," "Teleperformance: Moschato, Pireos Tavros, Kallithea," and "Teleperformance flats and roommates" during November 2019 and February 2020. During these months, the location of approximately 25 rental flat posts was analysed in terms of the neighbourhoods mentioned in the posts until data saturation was reached, that is, when the same neighbourhoods were repeatedly mentioned. The Teleperformance offices were also visited in February 2020 to understand if any particular services had been created around them.

5. Relocating Abroad

The climate in Greece was typically a pull-factor for the respondents, however, while the opportunity to spend time in a sunnier climate was important, their motivation had far more to do with gaining "cultural and personal experiences," and "a deeper sense of self": common motivations among digital nomads (Mancinelli, 2020) and most lifestyle migrants (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). The search for change (abroad) meant new work and new work-related challenges, breaking away from known routines, wanting to travel, or wanting to experience some adventure. Torkington has argued that the belief of lifestyle migrants that "*change of residential place* will lead not simply to better opportunities in life, but rather to something which might be described as a better lifestyle and/or more fulfilling *way of life*" (Torkington, 2010, p. 102; emphasis in original) is a unifying factor among lifestyle migrants. In most cases, the decision to leave Finland had been simmering for a long time, with several respondents describing that they had undergone deep self-reflection and a rethink of their way of life and alternative modes of living before deciding to relocate. Many of the respondents expressed alienation from their everyday lives in Finland, which they wanted to break

away from, despite reaching relatively good positions in Finland:

> I had a really good salary, a good job that I loved….So, my reasons to relocate were really personal. My friends were having their second child, but I felt I could still try something and learn something new. (Respondent 7)

> I was living my life on autopilot. We always tell ourselves: "Now is not a good moment" but, in the end, I found that if I don´t fill my calendar myself, someone else will….You do so many things based on what you have learned, what your parents taught you, but then, while you are doing that trip, something changes inside you. I always felt I want to travel and live somewhere else, but then it hasn´t been possible because of work. We always tell ourselves: "Now is not a good moment" but there is never a good moment. You have to take responsibility for your own life. (Respondent 3)

Before leaving Finland, most of the respondents sold the majority of their belongings. What was left was often stored with relatives. They typically arrived in Athens with one suitcase, sometimes with only hand baggage. Their lifestyle choice resembled that of mobile teleworkers in which material accumulation, stability, and comfort are replaced by minimalism, uncertainty, and risk (Mancinelli, 2020). In this way, they differ from other lifestyle migrants such as Erasmus students or retirees, who typically maintain strong bonds to their country of origin, including a permanent address there. Nonetheless, only those who had reached a managerial position were planning to stay in Athens and with the current employer for a longer time. Others were planning either to return to Finland for better employment opportunities, better schools for their children, safety, family and friends, or to relocate somewhere else.

The fact that respondents ended up in Athens (or Greece to begin with) was somewhat down to chance. In this way, they differ from other lifestyle migrants who typically return as more permanent residents to a place they visited as tourists (Hayes, 2014). For Erasmus students, the selection of the city is a key element in the construction of the experience abroad, thus showing the importance of place-consumption in their mobility (Calvo, 2018, p. 55). The respondents in this sample had been looking for work anywhere in Europe, mainly through the internet, while many repeated the same story; they sent applications to a number of countries and decided to accept the first job that they were offered.

6. Finding a Home in Athens

As the research literature (e.g., Calvo, 2018; Jover & Diaz-Parra, 2019; Torkington, 2010) has demonstrated, lifestyle migrants from wealthier countries typically behave in similar ways. They do not speak the local language, they wear similar clothes, and they originate from similar places. It is also typical that they share similar spatial patterns: They are attracted to the same neighbourhoods, often located in city centres, they consume the same goods, and they induce profound changes in these neighbourhoods. Considering the body of literature discussing the way that tourists and lifestyle migrants participate in restructuring urban developments and housing markets (e.g., Escobedo, 2020; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017; Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019; Sequera & Nofre, 2019; Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2015; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018), it is also worth considering how and where offshore service workers find their homes. Offshore service workers often arrive in Athens with a relocation package provided by their employer, including flight tickets and a two-week stay in a hotel. This affords the workers some time to find an apartment upon arrival; as with some other lifestyle migrants, existing ex-pat networks are important in terms of finding housing (van Noorloos & Steel, 2015). Teleperformance offered some help to find a home through real estate agents, but it was repeated during many of the interviews that it was not of much help: The competition was simply too high. Thus, flats and rooms were found through other Teleperformance workers, through Airbnb, and via two Greek real estate websites, as well as a variety of Facebook groups. The Facebook groups "Teleperformance: Moschato, Pireos Tavros, Kallithea" (178 members) and "Teleperformance flats and roommates" (more than 3,000 members) are very active, with posts from landlords, real estate agents, and people looking for roommates. According to the Greek newspaper *I Kathimeri*, in addition to being a major employer, Teleperformance also generates a demand for rental apartments. Consequently, there is a lack of available housing in neighbourhoods close to its offices (Bellos, 2019). Most of the posts in the two Facebook groups would support this argument, as the majority of the flats posted are located in such neighbourhoods. The lack of housing was also emphasized by the respondents. Those who had stayed longer in Athens had typically found a place to stay more easily than those who arrived in 2019–2020. There was also uncertainty as to whether it was beneficial to be known as a Teleperformance worker looking for housing. Those who had stayed longer in Athens typically emphasized that Teleperformance workers were considered to be reliable tenants. However, several respondents also told of cases when especially very young Teleperformance workers left suddenly, leaving their rent unpaid. This had—to some extent—damaged the reputation of the newcomers, as one respondent emphasized:

> I now prefer to say I work fulltime, not that I work for Teleperformance. (Respondent 8)

This respondent had left a fairly good job in Finland and her own home and was struggling to find a flat. If

she had been able to afford it, she would have gladly stayed in the central neighbourhoods, but she had lowered her expectations and just wanted to find a decent affordable home of her own. She and another respondent mentioned that some landlords highlight in their apartment advertisements that they do not rent it to Teleperformance workers. This seemed to be a new phenomenon and may be related to the overall recovery of the economy which may allow landlords to be more selective. Flat-sharing is a phenomenon mostly connected to students, but it is also a new way of living as a response to increasingly precarious economic conditions (Tegan, Bergan, Gorman-Murray, & Power, 2020). While many of the respondents had hoped to find a place of their own, many shared flats, typically with other Teleperformance workers.

Regarding housing issues, different mobilities seemed to overlap and also interplay (Novy, 2018, p. 434). In Athens, touristification and the expansion of the Airbnb market, as well as increasing (foreign) investment in real estate property, have led to a significant lack of affordable housing, with rents in many areas now being at levels that neither local nor offshore service workers can afford to pay. Indicatively, during the period 2016–2018, rent prices increased on average by almost 15% across the whole region of Athens and, more precisely, by 20%, 26%, and 30% in the southern, western, and central areas, respectively (RE/MAX, 2016, 2017, 2018). Almost all the respondents mentioned that the rents had recently increased significantly:

> It is really in the air now the discussion about rising rents. (Respondent 8)

> Everyone is horrified because salaries are not keeping up with the increasing rents. (Respondent 4)

> It´s becoming impossible….Average-income people can´t afford the rents in better locations anymore. (Respondent 7)

Most of the respondents talked about Airbnb hiking up rents and also noticed that rents in the previous years had been very low in comparison to other European cities. This would indicate transnational gentrification, and the argument put forward by Sigler and Wachsmuth (2015) that mobility creates new possibilities for housing investment also in Athens, as there is a growing demand for housing by non-locals who can pay higher rents. However, transnational gentrification in Athens may not be solely connected to leisure-driven migration, but also to other forms of migration, such as that of offshore service workers. This makes the effects of transnational gentrification more widespread, as more neighbourhoods in different locations become attractive for investment, not only those in touristic destinations. Nevertheless, there was some doubt as to whether Athens would be able to continue competing for workers with its current salaries and the rising rents: “Soon, they won´t get anyone here anymore” (Respondent 8). The investments by foreigners were also prevalent in the sample as almost half of the respondents were renting from a foreign landlord, and many had rented several flats from fellow foreigners including Chinese, Spaniards, Israelis, and French.

7. Everyday Life in the Neighbourhood

Multi-local (transnational) practices become specifically visible at the level of the neighbourhood. Apart from changing the housing market dynamics, migrants also challenge social co-existence. While it has been emphasized that tourists and lifestyle migrants contribute to processes of gentrification, how did the everyday life of respondents look like at the neighbourhood level?

As already mentioned, few of the respondents had settled in the tourist neighbourhoods of Athens. This was related to the rent prices, which were inaccessible to those on Teleperformance salaries. Therefore, the location criteria for the respondents were related to accessibility to work as well as to safety. Considering the large-scale employment that companies such as Teleperformance offer, it is important where these companies locate. Their workers are highly dependent on public transport and housing in connection with these places.

Most respondents expressed a feeling of attachment to their neighbourhood: A place for everyday activities such as buying groceries, going to the gym, or going for a daily run. In Athens, a large number of small businesses closed down during the crisis, but a significant number of new (different) businesses have also opened up during the last few years. They have been mainly low-cost and accessible businesses, such as coffee shops and restaurants or, more generally, catering and leisure businesses (Belavilas & Prentou, 2015). This has to do with the low average incomes in Greece, which do not support the consumption of expensive services and goods. In any case, new local businesses were found to be frequented not only by locals but also by the offshore service workers, who often bought a coffee to go or ordered food. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that the presence of offshore service workers has somehow contributed to the closedown and/or displacement of older local businesses, as happened in the case of lifestyle migrants in other countries (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020). Greece is often emphasized as a particularly suitable touristic destination because of its food culture, but interestingly, the respondents were not especially keen on Greek food. In fact, some expressed that they would have liked a better variety of cuisine in their neighbourhood. This kind of supply has become available in some of the gentrified central neighbourhoods of Athens, as well as in the less central and multi-ethnic neighbourhoods. Those respondents who lived in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, typically really appreciated the ethnic grocery stores in the area.

According to Meier (2014, p. 9), migrant professionals typically learn about new cities through inclusion in specific social networks and organizations of migrant professionals. Likewise, Erasmus students typically spend their everyday lives primarily among their peers (Calvo, 2018). This also seemed true for the offshore service workers, the workplace being the most important source of social networks among Teleperformance workers. A few respondents had no Greek friends; nevertheless, some were interested to get to know Greeks, although an older respondent, who worked for a small Finnish company, and thus did not have many colleagues, emphasised that there were not many opportunities to do so:

> It´s not so easy to get to know them. They tend to sit together in cafés and bars. (Respondent 2)

Some of the respondents had found partners in Greece but only one had a Greek partner; the others had partnered either with non-western migrants or a Greek with an immigrant background. Only three of the respondents knew Greek, while some were learning, and some knew basic Greek. The interest in learning at least basic Greek stemmed out of the need to be polite and show respect. At the same time, it was emphasized how well Greeks speak English compared to many other Southern European countries:

> Here you can really get by 100% in English, that really surprised me compared to other countries. (Respondent 4)

This respondent had spent a longer period in Spain, where the lack of a common language had been an obstacle for closer contact with locals. English enabled social contact and encounters in the neighbourhood as the respondents could easily briefly chat in shops, kiosks, and with taxi drivers. The small shops in which the salespeople had quickly started to recognise their customers and where it was easy to have a quick chat were important to many of the respondents:

> Sometimes I stay and talk in the kiosks for half an hour. (Respondent 5)

This reflected a general stance brought up by many, that the informal relationships built in the neighbourhood were something worth mentioning, perhaps because they are not so usual within the Finnish context. All respondents said that they greeted their neighbours, while a few also slightly knew their neighbours. This is consistent with earlier research findings that show that relationships (between Greeks and immigrants) in the city's neighbourhoods, but also within the same residential buildings vary, and, more precisely, cover the whole spectrum of interethnic relationships from (formal or close) relationships of neighbouring, friendship, mutual help, and solidarity to relationships of alienation, distance, rejection, and racism (e.g., Balampanidis & Bourlessas, 2018). One of the respondents was living in the same building as his landlord, who would make an effort to make his tenants feel welcome. Another respondent told of a local who had helped him get accustomed to Greece:

> The guy next door has lived in the same building his whole life, and now he is around 45–50. He has really shared things with me about Greek culture. (Respondent 5)

Based on the descriptions of the respondents, the neighbourhood was an important place in which to explore and experience Athens, both as a multi-ethnic place and as a place of Athenian neighbourhood life. Nevertheless, the narrations reflected an ordinary everyday life rather than one of touristic experience.

8. Live Like a Lifelong Tourist?

While the article has demonstrated some similarities in the motivations for mobility between lifestyle migrants and the offshore service workers, there were differences in the ways that their everyday lives played out in the new location. This has to do with the neighbourhoods they stayed in, as the article has shown, but also with the character of the work that they do abroad. Earlier research has demonstrated that call-centre work is typically considered to be highly routinized and under strict surveillance (e.g., Richardson & Belt, 2001). In this way, it differs significantly from the work of digital nomads. According to Reichenberger (2018), digital nomads perceive work as another leisure activity that is both motivating and fulfilling. The offshore service workers talked about the strict working hours, strict timing of breaks, and the rules prohibiting them from having their mobiles or even paper and pens with them at their desks. Moreover, many emphasized the lack of challenge in the work. It was clear that the work provided an opportunity to make a living abroad. The paradox between looking for personal freedom and a lifestyle change alongside the strict routines of the work, particularly at Teleperformance, often resulted in only short periods of employment being sustained. This particular company had typically offered a three-month contract, to begin with, with some ending their contract after this and some only continuing with one more three-month contract before leaving. For others, though the opportunity provided by Teleperformance was important in their current economic situation, and it was a means to an end of staying in Athens and Greece, especially for those who had partners in Athens.

The job advertisements for the offshore workers emphasized the various opportunities for free-time activities and for participating in touristic activities. However, the daily lives of the respondents of this sample mainly revolved around work. The majority worked from

09:00 a.m. to 05:00 p.m., consequently spending their day between the office and their home in the neighbourhood. They emphasized that they had very little energy after work to pursue anything:

> It´s tough to do work on the computer for eight hours per day. Often in the evening, you do not have the energy to do much more. (Respondent 1)

This respondent had also worked in customer service in Finland, so he was used to the nature of the work, but preferred spending his evenings at home, ordering takeaways, and going jogging in the neighbourhood. The everyday lives of the respondents did not appear touristic because of the lack of time and energy, with most of their free time being spent in the (non-touristic) neighbourhoods. Visiting and spending time in the historical city centre and the historical sites was not the reason for them to be in Athens (as could be expected in the case of tourists), nor did it play a specific role in their everyday life. Nevertheless, when asked about their favourite place in Athens, many mentioned places around the historical city centre. Similarly, to what could be expected from the locals, the respondents did not visit the city centre on a daily or even weekly basis.

During the weekends, some tourism-related activities, such as sightseeing, did occur. Some respondents had visited the nearby island of Aegina and seen some of the important ancient sights in the centre of Athens. Some had also visited the beaches of Athens once or twice. However, these were activities optional to just relaxing and hanging around with peers. For most of the respondents, another obstacle to living like a tourist was the lack of money, deriving from low salaries:

> After taxes and rent, I´m not left with a lot of money. I have to really count my pennies. (Respondent 8)

9. Conclusion

This article has shed light upon the still marginal, but growing and yet unexplored group of transnational migrants from wealthier countries relocating for low-income jobs in popular tourist destinations. It has claimed that, although lifestyle consumption through locality was used as a means to render low-paid offshore service work attractive to employees from wealthier regions, the imaginary of Athens as a lifestyle destination was not an important reason for Finnish employees to relocate. The locational decision was rather driven by the availability of low-threshold employment, that is, temporary employment offered without specific requirements for education or work experience. Low-threshold employment enables those who are typically unable to engage in remote work to have a lifestyle involving work-based migration experiences. As such, this article has broadened the understanding of lifestyle migration, showing that the offer of low-threshold work is also significant for enabling lifestyle migration. The promise of living like a lifelong tourist, as suggested by the advertisements of offshore service work employers, was not fulfilled in the everyday life of these workers. Nonetheless, although the aspirations and motivations of lifestyle migrants from wealthier countries to Southern Europe may be similar, the salaries and working conditions of the offshore service workers became a factor distinguishing them from other lifestyle migrants. They neither had the freedom, energy, nor the money to live like tourists in Athens. While the Finnish offshore workers drew higher salaries than their Greek colleagues, their relative privilege in terms of income played out differently than that of other lifestyle migrants in the housing market. The increasing rents, due to processes of touristification and transnational gentrification, hindered the Finnish offshore service workers from accessing the same neighbourhoods as other migrants from wealthier countries. An interesting question is why so many respondents mentioned the difficulty of finding housing, especially as Teleperformance workers: the largest offshore service company. It would suggest that the rental market in Athens is becoming differentiated even among privileged and relatively privileged migrants, as suggested by Jover and Díaz-Parra (2020) also in the case of Seville, Spain.

Although the respondents did use local businesses such as cafés and restaurants, there was no evidence indicating that these practices have displaced businesses used foremost by locals or contributed to any process of major or violent neighbourhood change. Rather, many local businesses in Athens had already disappeared as a consequence of the economic crisis. Neither did we find evidence that local businesses had specifically addressed lifestyle migrants, a process well acknowledged in the case of neighbourhood touristification (e.g., Sequera & Nofre, 2019). The article nevertheless showed that cafés, restaurants, grocery, and convenience stores were significant for the offshore service workers in terms of building local ties in the neighbourhood. They were typically the places were the respondents had contact with the locals. This way, the article has contributed to an understanding of the integration processes and how international lifestyle migrants' local ties are developed, as requested by Torkington (2010), Eimermann and Kordel (2018), and Escobedo (2020).

As the article has demonstrated, the locational decisions of large offshore service work companies impact local urban development, putting pressure on infrastructure, such as public transportation, housing, and the availability of spaces of consumption. It also creates prospects for transnational gentrification (Sigler & Wachsmuth, 2015) in non-touristic neighbourhoods, as it generates new demand for rental housing from migrants with potentially higher incomes than the locals. Thus, the effects of transnational gentrification become more widespread in the city. It has been shown here that offshore service workers in Athens, with their lower in-

comes and different consumption patterns, differ from the gentry typically connected to transnational gentrification such as privileged lifestyle migrants and luxury tourists (Escobedo, 2020). For those northerners who lack the educational and financial privilege that other lifestyle migrants carry, offshore service work creates possibilities to move abroad, experience something new, build relationships, and attach to touristic cities such as Athens. Overall, transnational migration flows between Northern and Southern Europe prove to be rather ambiguous, diverse, and multidimensional, and above all they are dependent on the very specific local context.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material for this article is available online in the format provided by the author (unedited).

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Article

Migrants and Refugees: Bottom-Up and DIY Spaces in Italy

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Abstract
The term 'arrival city' was notoriously introduced by Saunders (2010) to indicate all places which provide first access to the city. For Saunders, migrants from rural third world villages confront the same challenges in their home country or abroad. The informal neighbourhood in developing countries is thus advocated as a model for cities in western countries. Through an ethnographic approach, the article considers emerging practices of refugees and migrants in the centre of Milan and in a small town on the outskirts of Rome investigating a varied set of reception models. In conclusion, the article revises the model of the arrival neighbourhood while criticizing the underlying assumption of informal development. Instead, it insists on the need for understanding the specific requirements of arrival places for better regulation of the reception of migrants.

Keywords
arrival neighbourhoods; cities; informality; migration; pubic space

Issue
This article is part of the issue "Urban Arrival Spaces: Social Co-Existence in Times of Changing Mobilities and Local Diversity'' edited by Yvonne Franz (University of Vienna, Austria) and Heike Hanhörster (ILS—Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development, Germany).

1. Introduction

This article explores the contradictory spatial organization of migrants and refugees in two different cases of arrival neighbourhoods in Italy. Since the arrival of migrants in Italy, the engagement of associative and informal actors has become a permanent feature of local Italian policies, while governments have tried to disperse asylum seekers following more or less pondered demographic criteria.

Between the opposing logics of concentration and dispersion, urban policies struggle to grasp the emerging spatiality of migrants. It is to address this issue that recent analyses have focused on the role of particular urban neighbourhoods as places of 'arrival' (e.g., Saunders, 2010; Schrooten & Meeus, 2019). Despite the differences, these studies refer to the entanglement of objects, spaces, social networks, practices and resources, necessary for newcomers yet only found in particular portions of the broader urban environment. In particular, Saunders coined the concepts of 'arrival neighbourhood' to indicate urban zones that function as 'entry points' for newcomers to establish themselves in a new context and later transition into the 'mainstream society' (Saunders, 2010). Such transition areas, that he infers from cities in the South, combine networks of migrants, community monitoring, gradually upgraded jobs, homes and density in the cities core or the periphery. A common occurrence in developing cities of the South, nonetheless these informal neighbourhoods could represent the answer for the arrival cities also in the North.

The article initially discusses the apparent contradiction between planning and informality and the embarrassing tension created by Saunders appraisal of informal

ethnic neighbourhoods that exemplifies both the interest and the risk of adopting a 'southern' view on 'northern' issues (Cremaschi & Lieto, 2020).

Second, the article contextualizes the specific features of the Italian case and in particular whether migrants and refugees share the same space and the same spatial logic. The following sections present two studies: The first study addresses the emerging practices of welcoming refugees in Milan; the second one presents the local arrangements of migrants and foreign-born residents in the case of a small town on the outskirts of Rome. Both cases have a form of sustained informal production of arrival space in common; however, they represent two different facets of it. In conclusion, the article suggests a critique of the model of the arrival neighbourhood and the need for urban planners to develop a better understanding of the regulation of informal welcoming.

2. Planning, Informality and Immersion

Although arrival neighbourhoods are often considered as low-cost settlements, it is hard to consider them as the result of a spontaneous movement of citizens who re-appropriate urban spaces, or secluded political space, naïvely excluded from all political transactions. As argued by Hall (2013), global immigration has rapidly changed urban neighbourhoods, which are becoming increasingly diverse and transnational (Ley, 2004), sometimes challenging social cohesion (Phillips, 2006).

This article analyses such process of change, the establishment of novel routines, in two case-studies of arrival space considering various political, technical and social dimensions: actors involved in creating such arrival spaces, define, adapt and negotiate 'projects' based upon capacities as well as materiality and uses. Even more importantly, public and community actors—NGOs, associations, activists—have strongly interacted with migrants, inhabitants, policymakers, addressing all the usual resources and constraints of the social and material assemblage of different actors. The analysis is aimed at understanding the emergence of novel practices and how the actors related to each other. We explore the different forms of planned and informal developments that are involved. In this sense, informal projects are not the opposite of a plan or a project; they rather disclose and explode the contingencies that characterise all planning processes.

Planning scholars have become increasingly concerned with informality, acknowledging the structural role it plays in the economic and urban development processes (Cremaschi & Lieto, 2020). Widely studied in the global south (Roy, 2005), it is still often considered as marginal in the north, apart from a few historical cases. In particular, it is useful to consider "a multidimensional 'continuum' between more formal and more informal neighbourhoods" (Altrock, 2012, p. 187). In this approach, we consider that the "discrepancy between the regulative system and its implementation" (Altrock, 2012) make possible both bottom-up and Do-It-Yourself (DIY) activities.

Selected cases are emblematic of different types of arrival neighbourhoods. Rome and Milan are the main metropolitan areas in Italy. Both entail multifaceted arrival practices, from the inclusion of foreign-born residents to the reception of new arrivals. Moreover, unlike arrival neighbourhoods' literature, which has long focused exclusively on big cities and thus ignored the dynamics at the fringe of urban zones, they allow us to look at two how the practices of a whole series of actors constitute 'arrival infrastructures' (Schrooten & Meeus, 2019) in both the core and fringe of urban zones.

These cases, even if seemingly diverse, highlight a peculiarity of Italian policies for migrants: a lack of interest from national bodies and the outsourcing of settlement and welfare policies to local authorities and civil society's organisations (Caponio, 2008). Whereas sometimes such responsibilities are entrusted directly to local authorities, more often the civil society activates spontaneously to fill the gaps left by the national government (Caponio, 2008). Against this backdrop, these two cases allow us to shed light on the forms of informal activation from civil society actors: On the one hand there are NGOs, ethnic organisations and voluntary associations that put in place informal but organized bottom-up practices; on the other hand, individuals or groups who mobilized through DIY practices of use of space.

The two case studies are the result of an in-depth ethnographic immersion work parallel to two doctoral studies (Albanese, 2016; Artero, 2019). The intermix of these two cases represents an example of purposive settings sampling (Gobo, 2008), with the juxtaposition of sites with particular and complementary attributes (see also next section). The Milan case accented the interpretive aspect and the immersion; the Roman case investigated materials and sites involved and the relationship actors they established in assembling the situation. The methodology of the case study is based in both cases on overt observation in loco and in-depth interviews with volunteers and operators. The empirical materials draw mainly from interviews with key informants that are people who have first-hand knowledge. The selection process identified and solicited the input of a wide range of informants: migrants and residents, as well as local decision-makers, and members of local voluntary groups. In particular, the fieldwork in Marcellina, that took place between 2014 and 2015, enabled us to gather materials from 15 interviews with informants whereas Milan's case is based on in loco observations during the summer of 2015 and interviews with 11 experts conducted between 2017 and 2018. The understanding of the relationships between the participants derives from the interpretation that the authors of the interviews made of the case study and the materials collected. To this aim, we adopt an 'immersive' point of view that acknowledges that such space is the outcome of the interactive and recursive practical engagement of field workers, activists,

migrants themselves as well as a variety of street-level bureaucrats and policymakers. In other words, we adopt a 'political ethnography' approach (Dubois, 2015) that focuses intentionally on situations to uncover the situated construction of broader categories and practices. Ethnography allows in fact for an understanding of how categories, like legal norms and political directives, are translated into actions and, the other way round, of how practices can inform our knowledge about issues, standards and procedures (not only in the informal domain). The adjective 'political' points to the collective dimension and the interaction between a plurality of actors, and the structured character of the arena that is neither independent from interests nor excluded from the competition for public resources.

3. Working Definitions: Migrants and Refugees

Geographers have insisted on the difference between the spatial behaviour and patterns of diverse groups of migrants, forced migrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Though most live in large cities, an increasing number is now located in either small cities or the countryside (Balbo, 2015). Italy has a particular, hybrid organisation of the reception system, based upon a mix of central and local actors, both public and private. This is a crucial question from the Arrival concept. For instance, migrants tend to disperse spontaneously, following a general trend in suburbanizing and the offer of housing; while the relocation of refugees and asylum seekers is a specific policy objective and follows national criteria and directives. Thus, the spatial coincidence of refugees and migrants in the same neighbourhood, a basic tenet of the concept of the arrival neighbourhood, is far from guaranteed.

The label of 'migrants and refugees' is often blurred and the exercise in categorizing is awkwardly incomplete. Combining diverse criteria, a distinction is often made among foreign-born residents, asylum seekers (or refugees) and undocumented migrants, which allows for a better understanding of their distinctive geographies. Scholars have criticised this distinction (Crawley & Skleparis, 2018), as people can belong to more than one category or move from one to another. Labels are the result of states controlling national boundaries (Agier & Madeira, 2017). However, a provisional distinction can be useful for defining the logic of territorialisation:

1) Refugees, including asylum seekers: The first term indicates people who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution, are outside their country of nationality, while the latter refers precisely to those who undertake the process of formal determination of their refugee status (EMN, 2014).
2) Statistically, migrants, or foreign-born residents, are those having resided in a foreign country for more than one year for all combined reasons, often because of the search for a better job and access to welfare.

Italy occupies a specific place in this double transition: foreign-born residents are five million, about 8.5% of the total population, half of whom originated from European countries. Romania, notably, after joining the European Union in 2007, became the first country of origin (in 2019, 23% of foreign residents were Romanians). Italy is however characterized by a scarce presence of large cohesive ethnic communities.

In Milan and Rome, the average proportion of migrants is 14,5% and 12,8%; however, more than 50% of foreign-born residents live in smaller municipalities (Balbo, 2015). This new geographic location of migrants partially follows a suburbanization process that pushes a slice of the population towards the smaller metropolitan municipalities (Albanese, 2016), and partially a ruralization process that sees the insertion of many foreigners in the 'fragile areas' (Osti & Ventura, 2012).

Contrariwise, compared to most other European countries, the migrants' inflows coincide with the restructuring and the crisis of the Italian industrial model. Flows are not (anymore) commanded by firms and industrial jobs, as they were in the post-war period when migration was mainly an interregional process. Of late, economic pull-push factors and the rural industrial divide seem less influential on the global movement of international migrants (Pastore & Ponzo, 2012). The access to jobs in all sectors, from care to commerce and agriculture, rely mostly upon urban ethnic networks. The particularity of immigration in Italy, therefore, leads to the definition of different insertion models, due in part to specific geographical characteristics (Pugliese, 2002). In addition to being more attractive in economic-working terms, medium and small municipalities are more porous and welcoming. Regardless of national governance levels and policies, it is usually the responsibility of the municipalities to help the refugees with housing, education, jobs, integration etc. Overall, the governance system and the public discourse are particularly weak and contradictory, with a strong divide apparent between the largely national (anti)immigration policies, and the often mainly local welcome initiatives (Balbo, 2015; Caponio, Jubany Baucells, & Güell, 2016).

At the same time, some notable initiatives at the local level have reached significant success, like those launched by the Protection Service for Asylum Seekers and Refugees (SPRAR) intending to aid refugee integration in the local community. The article now introduces two different cases, one about refugees in the metropolitan core of Milan, the other about migrants in a small municipality at the metropolitan fringe of Rome.

4. Refugees In Milan: From the Bottom Up

With a population of 1.4 million, Milan is Italy's second-largest city. Capital of the Lombardy region, since the 1980s it witnessed a rapid growth of the foreign population, now accounting for about 20%. The recent arrival of refugees has further strengthened the relation-

ship between Milan and international migration. Indeed, from 2011 to 2017 there was a particularly high influx of refugees, during the so-called 'refugee crisis.' Some arrived 'formally,' by following their distribution in national asylum system reception centres, as decided by national and local authorities; most, however, arrived more spontaneously to Milan's Central Railway Station, along the transit route from Southern Italy to Central Europe. In this period, the city of Milan assisted roughly 170,000 refugees coming primarily from Syria and Eritrea (Artero, 2019).

Under the incitement of an 'emergency,' Milan developed and structured its welfare sector to accommodate up to 2,000 people a day, during which Milan emerged as an 'avant-garde' for migrant integration (Bazurli, 2019). This 'Milan model' spread internationally and depicted Milan's response as resulting from the local administration's determination to tackle effectively the 'refugee question,' with a municipal delegation invited to the European Parliament (Bazurli, 2019). However, the 'Milan model' mostly represents the accomplishment of the efforts and expectations of a set of actors in a constant discussion (also with disapproving tones) with the local administration. Some guiding principles and operational strategies were, indeed, shaped by and even introduced 'from below' (Artero, 2019), through a series of networks of actors constituted by pro-migrant supporters of various kinds (from NGOs to political activists) activated at different scales.

Importantly for us, supporters' groups operated and even emerged at the micro-scale. During the en-masse arrival of refugees, many of these grassroots associations, volunteer groups and civil society networks mobilised to assist incoming migrants in particular neighbourhoods of the city. Alone they were just 'minor' expressions of solidarity but taken together formed infrastructure of welcome, less formalised than the one constituted by the Municipality but equally important, shedding light on the critical role that urban neighbourhoods have for migration dynamics. Refugees' visible presence in public spaces has provoked expressions of discontent by some residents and shopkeepers. At the same time, Milan's neighbourhoods have also proved to be able to represent welcoming contexts. In particular, the strong presence of bottom-up social capital in some of these areas have been capable of creating a certain degree of 'solidarity' toward the newcomers, that expressed through the activation of groups of residents or local associations—groups that confronted the mounting discontent, in some cases successfully (Bazurli, 2019).

In what follows, we illustrate the successful case of Porta Venezia, a historical neighbourhood near Milan's centre. Porta Venezia is an 'antique' arrival neighbourhood, the point of reference for Eritrean exiles in the 1970s, which thanks to a strange 'alliance' of descendants of those Eritreans and Ethiopians who first arrived in this neighbourhood in the 1970s and the middle class that inhabits now this part of the city proved to be able to regain its function of welcome space. What is more, Porta Venezia is paradigmatic of how the welcome of refugees is not simply 'given' or bestowed, but is actively 'made' from the 'bottom-up' initiatives in neighbourhoods that embody the idea of cities as "strategic frontier zone for those who lack power" (Sassen, 2013, p. 67). The arrival of refugees produced tensions as well as the activation of a set of refugee supporters that confronted the strong discontent by some residents and shopkeepers, envisioned a route to refugees' reception opposing the securitisation of the neighbourhood, and tried to act as an interlocutor with the local administration.

4.1. Porta Venezia: The Neighbourhood and the Contention over the Public Space

Located just north of Milan's historic centre, Porta Venezia is an important shopping area and the city's 'gay village.' Thanks to large affordable housing stock, this neighbourhood represented Milan's arrival neighbourhood for the first Eritrean migrants in the 1970s. Even today, although gentrified, Porta Venezia retains a certain recognition as the heart of the Eritrean community in Milan (Arnone, 2010). This neighbourhood, indeed, has been the target of economic and symbolic investment for Eritreans and Ethiopians, with the opening of many ethnic shops and restaurants flanking their 'Italian' counterparts.

During the so-called 'refugee crisis,' from 2013 to 2016, furthermore, Porta Venezia has assumed an important role in the geography of migration. Italy was affected by a surge of seaborne migration that brought many people to its coast and among them also a significant number of Eritreans and Ethiopians. Milan was an important stopover for thousands of refugees from Eritrea who were waiting to leave and continue to Central Europe—a waiting period that many Eritrean refugees used to spend in Porta Venezia (Grimaldi, 2016). Following on the steps of their predecessors, in effect, Eritrean refugees were attracted to Porta Venezia hoping the informal ethnic networks could help them to find accommodation and orientation. The ethnic community was unable to 'absorb' the unparalleled number of newcomers (reaching 300 a day) (Grimaldi, 2016). In a short period, the public spaces became crammed with de facto refugees, meaning refugees who have not yet undertaken the process of formal determination of their refugee status, who usually escaped from reception facilities and were without a place to sleep. In particular, 'taking advantage' of its public nature, refugees utilised the nearby park as shelter. Thus, full of people, the flowerbeds along Viale Vittorio Veneto became dotted by makeshift beds. Porta Venezia, and in particular the green area surrounding the Viale, soon became the stage of a 'battle' between an association of local shopkeepers and residents, who argued that the use of the public spaces should be forbidden to vagrant refugees, and pro-migrants groups.

As advanced by Brivio (2013), the social use of public spaces by immigrants, that is divergent from that of the Italians, often causes outcry and exacerbates the stigma on migrants. In this case, some the residents and Italian shopkeepers vocally expressed their anger toward the use that Eritrean refugees made of the park. They promoted an anti-immigrant initiative, led by members of the League Party, and a neighbourhood watch initiative, 'infiltrated' by right-wing politicians; they also requested the deployment of police agents to prevent refugees from sleeping out within the neighbourhood. While the municipality limited its response to acquiesce to security-driven demands, the work of assistance was delegated to civil society groups, in particular to a group constituted mainly by second-generation young Eritreans with links with far-left activism (a group that later on became formally established as Cambio Passo, henceforth CP) and to volunteers linked to local parishes and led by members of Sant'Egidio (SE), a well-known catholic voluntary organisation. This situation of indolence from the municipality is well-painted by Zeghé, one of the leaders of CP, when remembering the context of their initial intervention:

> For us, the inability of the municipality to talk with local leaders of the Eritrean population was depressing. [At that time], the municipality's only interlocutors were some residents and shopkeepers with a strong demand for securitarian interventions….So much so that the only action from the municipality was to send in policemen to move migrants off of certain streets. With no noticeable results, since migrants temporarily moved to return to their previous location.

Both CP and SE were engaged in offering humanitarian assistance to the migrants in Porta Venezia: mainly food, clothes, and accommodation for the fortunate few. These activities were at first mainly carried out in the space of contention, the public gardens where refugees used to spend the night and from which anti-immigrant groups wanted them removed. Soon, however, they aimed to spread their activities throughout the area and involve as many residents as possible. One of them is Caterina, a long-standing resident of Porta Venezia that joined the volunteers of SE. She recalls the outcry that the presence of many black men generated in the area:

> There were many hostile people among the residents that organised the distribution of flyers here. They said that migrants were too many, that they carry some serious disease….But I think that the main problem was the fact of being young men, young black men in particular.

As observed by Amin (2013), due to 'phenotypical racism,' the visible nature of migrants often fosters the perception of socio-geographical 'transgression' at the local level. The visibility of migrants' presence as well as the work of assistance carried out by civil-society groups, however, represented also a trigger for many residents to join CP and SE. To promote a virtuous circle, residents were involved not only in humanitarian relief but also in activities whose goal was self-promotion and recruitment of new volunteers. Caterina recalls, for example, the neighbourhood festival that she organised with other volunteers. This work of "solidarity-spawning"—as it was called by Luca, the leader of SE—pursued also another goal: dampening the hostility and getting residents' and policymakers' consensus by showing the welcoming spirit of the neighbourhood.

4.2. The Strategic Alliance in Porta Venezia: Local Actors and Political Negotiations

As illustrated above, the joint efforts of CP and SE made possible the arrangement of a set of services aiming at satisfying refugees' basic needs and easing the tension in the neighbourhood. These actions, however, saw the acquiescence of the city government that at first adopted a strategy of tolerance and then expressed active support. In effect, providing voluntary services and obtaining permission for neighbourhood festivals required extensive negotiations. In particular, strategic considerations drove mutual interactions between CP and SE, on the one side, and the local politicians, on the other; such negotiations brought together an alliance that strengthened each other's positions in the face of an otherwise hostile environment. In Porta Venezia, these groups used different tactics to get the attention of the municipality and public opinion; tactics as the ones described by Luca:

> Our first goal is to interest residents and parishioners….This is fundamental since the involvement of volunteers outside our organisation is a means to generate further solidarity. For this, we appeal to the city as a whole, through interviews with newspapers and interventions in media outlets.

Against this backdrop, claims have moved from the 'level of the street' to the institutional level. The city government first legitimised some CB and SE demands, once the municipality started considering them as valid interlocutors. This introduced an important shift in the municipality's action, from a securitarian to a more humanitarian approach. As narrated by Zeghé, indeed, the municipality limited the deployment of police officers and started to meet (partially) the demands for the provision of services to migrants as expressed by the civil-society groups:

> Our demands to the municipality were for more services: more public toilets, more cleaning services, and presence of Eritrean mediators that inform and orient migrants. This when the dominant frame was securitarian….Over time, however, the municipality has increased the services for refugees, starting with more toilets and the assistance of Eritrean mediators.

What is more, while adopting a confrontational attitude toward the Municipality, CP and its leader, Zeghé, sustained continuous dialogue with the municipality, showing a partial success. CP, for example, actively campaigned for two initiatives endorsed subsequently by the city government: the opening of the city's reception centres to Eritrean de facto refugees and the establishment of a 'reception hub' from which to manage incoming people. In the accounts of interviewees, in this period the pro-migrant movements of the city felt encouraged to upscale their demands: CB, for example, endorsed the emerging local branch of No One is Illegal movement and its precise requests for a change in national and local policies on asylum.

At the same time, in such favourable contexts, the municipality has felt legitimised by a large sector of the civil society in articulating a line conflicting with national positions. Indeed, albeit the central government was also led by PD, the same centre-left party, its Milanese branch has most often maintained a pro-migrant stance while the national government took an increasingly restrictive approach. As a result, its local leaders felt isolated; as revealed by a public official, "since…the national government did not understand nor reply," Milan resolved to maintain a pro-migrant stance.

Ultimately, the pressure on the city government enacted by committees, groups and supporters in different neighbourhoods of the city (in particular, other than Porta Venezia, in the district of Ghisolfa and Central Station; see Artero, 2019; Bazurli, 2019) pushed the municipal agenda closer to their demands and proved critical for shaping the response of Milan to the arrival of refugees. Though Saunders (2010) depicts arrival spaces as rather spontaneous, neighbourhoods like Porta Venezia indicate how arrival neighbourhoods are the outcome of the interactions of a variety of actors with projects—the arrangements of political negotiations, rather than the triumph of informality. Besides, the events following the en-masse arrival of Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees in Porta Venezia have shown how urban neighbourhoods can (re)turn into welcoming sites for migrants by establishing new connections and alliances.

This example, set in the metropolitan core of Milan, illustrated the important function that social network and civil society exerted on the forging of arrival contexts. In the next section, we will focus, instead, on an arrival context in the eastern metropolitan area of Rome. Public space in it is seen as an opportunity for informal gatherings and exchanges, creating, therefore, a chance for stronger inter-ethnic bonds.

5. Migrants in Rome and DIY Urban Spaces

Rome, capital of Italy and the Lazio region, contains the second-highest number of migrants (after Lombardy) with 683,000 foreign-born residents in 2019. The province of Rome (now a Metropolitan City) hosts 82% of the regional foreign-born population. During the last twenty years, the attractive role of the city has decreased favouring suburbanization towards the small municipalities, as much as towards the other Provinces. The centrifugal movement of migrants and the decentralization process is a widespread phenomenon throughout the country, as demonstrated by the growing amount of empirical research that focused on the settlement of those foreign-born in small and medium-sized Italian suburban centres (Balbo, 2015; Fioretti, 2016) and no longer only those in large urban centres.

Public and collective spaces are important assets in contemporary cities for promoting the daily encounter among diverse people. Urban space is one of the main places of visible coexistence. However, it emerges from literature and field research the great importance of every public space in social inclusion processes due to the creation of positive relationships between natives and new arrivals (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). The public space which will be referred to later includes both open urban spaces and welfare spaces. Scholarly research emphasises the importance of 'welfare spaces' concerning the issue of migration (Fioretti, 2016); indeed, public facilities and open spaces open to dialogue and recognition of differences, playing a key role in building up a shared feeling of citizenship. Besides, migrants tend to revitalize some abandoned urban contexts, not only by taking over jobs which Italians no longer want but also by proposing new uses of the public space (Briata, 2014).

In the following case, some DIY activities of use and re-use of spaces are presented. The label of DIY urbanism includes different practices, from flash mobs to squatters' movements (Iveson, 2013). Migrants take it upon themselves to shape the places they need either in a DIY way or in the form of more organised self-help urbanism. In the same vein, informal housing has alternatively adopted the model of collective movements or individual mobilisation (Cremaschi, 2020).

5.1. Between Suburbs and Countryside

In this section, we illustrate the case of Marcellina, a small town with a population of 7,000, in the eastern metropolitan area of Rome, 37 km from the capital that hosts a large number of migrants. Marcellina is indeed one of the municipalities in the Lazio Region with the highest incidence of foreigners (nearly 20%) of which approximately 80% are of Romanian origin and mainly arrived before 2007. Their presence is largely due to the greater access to the local labour market and affordable housing options. But it is also due to its proximity to Rome and the convenient railway connection to the second most important station in the city. In recent years, the emerging and most prominent issue is certainly that of refugees and asylum seekers reception. Even Marcellina has been involved by hosting a small reception centre.

Beyond the thorny management of the recent refugee crisis, the local administration of Marcellina

seemed unable to promote social inclusion even of those migrants, such as Romanians, who have been living in Italy for decades and are experiencing a more stable phase in their settlement process (compared to newly arrived refugees and asylum seekers). As often happens, Romanians living in Marcellina have kept the jobs abandoned by Italians. According to interviews and the available information, men usually have started as agricultural workers and they have then moved on to the more profitable building and construction sector (nowadays about 90% of the Romanian residents of Marcellina work in these sectors); women, instead, mostly work as caregivers, also due to the lack of recognition in Italy of degrees and qualifications obtained in Romania.

Even in the locational choice, they seem to fill in Italian's blanks: Many Romanian families live in the small historical centre, reusing empty housing units, as publicly described by Pietro Nicotera, the centre-right mayor in 2015:

> The apartments in the historical centre of Marcellina were rented by Romanian citizens. They have restructured them. They concentrated right in the historical centre for two reasons: First, some houses were uninhabited; and secondly, these are old buildings and therefore the prices are more accessible. In general, however, there is no concentration of immigrants in some areas, such as ghettos. Furthermore, we are currently renovating the facades of the historic centre.

The concentration of foreigners in the run-down centre, despite not being such a thing as a ghetto or ethnic neighbourhood, has still resulted in growing stigmatisation and division between migrants and indigenous population. Moreover, although the families who settled in the historical centre have renovated and maintained—often informally—the abandoned houses, however, for the work done by the public administration on the facades, there was no involvement of the residents and no collaboration has been promoted by the administration. In this case, the dialogue between formal and informal is made of silent indifference between actors: The mayor ignores the work of migrants and they rearrange the houses with DIY solutions. The difficulties encountered in the process of inclusion of migrants are tangible (Albanese, 2016). They strongly depend on the social and economic dynamics that affect in turn the intercultural relations, and on the peculiarity of the territorial and urban fabric of the small town. Marcellina is stuck in between metropolitan growth and rural decline, not yet a suburb but no longer a small town. It could be considered as a dormitory suburb where public urban spaces are not well frequented and there is a lack of spaces for aggregation.

Below three examples of significant public space (a church, a square and a sort of park) are presented. These are useful for debate about the role of space's materiality and those of the local actors dealing (or not) with social inclusion. The first example highlights that when public authorities are absent or unable to meet the specific needs of foreign-born residents, other actors come into play as supporters. Indeed, for their own specific needs, migrants often resort to DIY solutions. For instance, the large local community sought to identify an appropriate place for the Romanian Orthodox Church. Proving the administration, however, unable to respond adequately, the Orthodox congregation rented and redecorated a garage to celebrate their functions, as remembered by the Orthodox priest of Marcellina:

> Initially we celebrated mass in the municipal library. This space was made available by the Municipality [also thanks to the intervention of the Romanian municipal councillor]. However, the space was inadequate and we still had to pay the rent. We asked the municipality to sell us land where we could build a church. But he told us that there are none. So we, the Romanian Orthodox community, rented a garage with our money and set it up like a church.

As mentioned by the priest, Marcellina for two years (2009–2011) had an elected municipal councillor of Romanian origin, Leontina Ionescu. She was elected in a centre-left civic list and she was the first Romanian-born councillor in Italy. Although her election may seem an opportunity, actually Ionescu dealt mainly with legal and social counselling for individuals. Little was done for the community and its need for public spaces during the short time she was in charge. Despite the presence of a foreign-born member in the municipal administration, local public policies remain inadequate to address the specific needs of the foreign-born population, making DIY practices necessary.

The second public space considered is Piazza 4 Novembre, the central square of Marcellina. Public spaces in town are often abandoned or underused, even though Marcellina is not suffering from depopulation. The central square, due to an unfortunate rearrangement of the 1990s and the displacement of the market that was held there every week, is today stripped of its social and urban functions. This space is mainly used by Romanian mothers and their children when leaving the adjacent primary school, a rare possibility of exchange with other parents of different nationalities. Although they did not declare an interest in using such space, Italian mothers displayed intolerance towards Romanian women, accusing them of spending too much time sitting on benches. Some Romanian women interviewed in the square, have reported the discomfort caused to them by these discriminations:

> The four of us…meet here in the square when the children come out of school and, when possible, we stay a little outdoors with them. It is something that Italian mothers rarely do. However, even this simple habit has created tensions with local women who complain

> that they never find free benches because they are occupied by Romanian women. For us, this square is the only place where we can be together.

This woman's words highlight the fact that, as Valentine (2008) underlines, mere proximity does not suffice to generate social relations and change, while 'meaningful contact' is needed. A common sense of belonging can be fostered, for instance, via playgrounds where parents from different backgrounds can meet each other and share common needs and concerns. In doing so, they can overcome prejudices. Unfortunately, playgrounds in Marcellina are either degraded or in peripheral areas of town.

To overcome this lack of public spaces and nice parks, the foreign-born residents of Marcellina have the habit of spending Sundays and holidays in a few clearings in the nearby mountain woods, named Prati Favale—this is the third example—where the public space is used in a similar way to that of some large parks and gardens in Rome. As Peters, Elands, and Buijs (2010) states, parks can play a positive role in building interactions between different groups and in building social cohesion and cooperation. However, strangely enough, Prati Favale is almost exclusively frequented by the foreign population (mainly Romanians, but also Moldovans). A Romanian woman described the situation as follows:

> Today is the day of Orthodox Easter….Many Romanians went to celebrate it by picnicking on the mountain because we have a strong bond with the countryside and nature….During the rest of the year, on Sunday, many Romanians go to barbecue….There was an equipped area, with benches and more, but someone destroyed it. Some say it is the fault of some Romanians who got drunk; but also some Italian boys from Marcellina often spend the nights there drinking.

Although uninterested in using mountain meadows, the locals restrain from barbequing and listening to music in the open air, habits that also generate growing friction. Frictions occurred when the alternative use that Romanians propose deviated from the habits of the natives, and were perceived as inappropriate (Brivio, 2013). This demonstrates how cohabitation is a question related to the use and appropriation of spaces by different populations (Tosi, 1998).

Finally, it is believed that the flexibility of public spaces, their opening to different and multiple uses, is a requirement for them to be capable of offering opportunities for meeting and therefore the possibility of creating inter-ethnic bonds (Fioretti, 2013). A flexibility that is expressed in the reception of different activities, and the ability to accommodate functions not foreseen at the start. Immigration, like all social phenomena, is in fact in constant evolution, and continually proposes new needs to which urban policies and public space must respond. Lacking dedicated local public policies, these are only DIY spaces: A few Romanians residents occupied and partially restored some buildings in the historic centre, reused public urban spaces (square and parks) and converted a garage to a church. While these actions respond somehow to direct group or individual needs of the foreign-born population, they did not interact with the local natives.

6. Discussion and Conclusion: Regulating the Arrival Places

This article engaged with two Italian 'arrival neighbourhood' to explore the emerging practices of welcome and inclusion of refugees and migrants. Mixing civil society or the state, the Italian model of reception emphasizes the interrelations among actors that lay at the core of the 'infrastructuring practices' (Schrooten & Meeus, 2019). Different social-cultural contexts and degrees of metropolitan centrality influenced our cases. However, we noted several similarities.

Different forms of mobilization occur in the metropolitan core and the periphery. Milan constitutes a temporary entry point for refugees thanks to the bottom-up mobilisation of social actors; migrants' associations were involved and groups of supporters have not only taken action to welcome newly arrived people but also forged an alliance with formal authorities.

Rome instantiates the occasional outcome of incremental and individual DIY involvements in a peripheral location that play the role of arrival contexts for stable settlement. In Rome, the migrants themselves are the ones setting up the spaces they need pursuing individual forms of 'self-urbanism.' DIY shows that immigrants invest in public space as well as in housing and jobs. As Finn (2014) notes, DIY offers quick and sometimes innovative solutions to urban issues rather than a long-term answer. However, individuals and small groups match needs and actions giving both strength and some sort of legitimacy to their claims.

Both cases share forms of spatial 'porosity': Even though in different stages of the migration process (transit or settlement), both Eritrean refugees and Romanian migrants tend to slip into interstitial spaces, public ones or housing, taking possession of them and sometimes reinterpreting their meanings. Such 'transgressive' use of spaces led to conflicts with the local population, such as residents and Italian shopkeepers in the green area of Porta Venezia, or Italian mothers in the central square of Marcellina. These conflicts need attention and mediation since people in receiving areas are potentially equally deprived (Eckardt, 2018).

Some actors played the role of supporter for the reception and socio-spatial inclusion, such as CP and SE in Porta Venezia, or the orthodox priest and the Romanian councillor in Marcellina. A strong set of regulation, almost unexpectedly, fostered some forms of compensation and stabilisation between formal and informal arrangements,

seen more clearly in the difficult case of Milan, but also in an 'ordinary' way in the suburban Roman case.

The model of the arrival city correctly pinpoints the informal aspects of the spatial arrangements that foster complementary initiatives of integration: Informality, however, hardly applies at the level of policy-making. Thus, this article suggests a major limitation of the model when it implies both informal place and informal governance. We suggest instead that the 'arrival city' is not a natural output of informal arrangements; it results from the situated political arrangement of different actors in neither a random nor determined way.

These arrangements and the lack of planning do not necessitate that practices are not regulated, as the Italian mixed reception system has shown. They rather bourgeon when social actors activate novel practices and governments do not implement their regulatory powers. Actors engaging in welcoming practices interact with political institutions, bending regulation in one sense or the other. Thus, informal practices shape and channel the process of arrival and, at the same time, the forms of regulation. In doing so, they explode the political contingencies that characterise all planning processes.

This is even more important when planners are facing elusive and normative aims as hospitality. In supporting arrival places, we have argued that urban planners should learn from practices and their capacity to shape arrival and be careful in praising the arrival model as if self-generated practices and self-urbanism were always successful and sustainable.

Building on recent debates on urban planning and informality, we argue that urban planning should consider these practices to learn how to better shape and regulate arrival places. This probably requires repositioning planning between formal and informal practices (Cremaschi & Lieto, 2020). Adding to this literature, our argument emphasizes that both social interactions and the 'institutional memory' of places shape these practices informally; however, these latter are not the result of a 'natural' process. The risk is in fact that cities and planning feel exempted of taking sides in the process of arrival, the issues at stake being how, and not if, to intervene.

Urban planners can learn several lessons. First, the doorway between formal and informal regulations is never secured, and passages are frequent; hence the need to monitor and interpret these doings. Second, access to basic or secondary resources take always place somewhere, often encroaching upon the public space; the regulation of public space is, therefore, a key in shaping welcome practices. This is even more important when considering that public space is often subject to general and abstract design rules that rarely adapt to rapidly emerging needs. Third, as the Italian case shows, informal practices pop up in different social and physical settings, making it hard to define ex-ante the ideal features of an arrival district. Hence the importance of delving into bottom-up and DIY urbanism as sensors of both latent conflicts and possible solutions.

Informal and formal regulation are both at work in the arrival spaces that respond to different logics of action: New regulatory patterns result from the cooperation between local and political actors that produce empowering, fit-for-size regulation. The 'arrival city' requires regulation, though a specific, empowering one.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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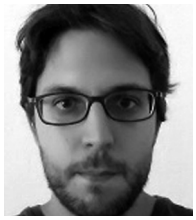

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