URBAN PLANNING

Between the "Structural" and the "Everyday": Bridging Macro and Micro Perspectives in Comparative Urban Research

Edited by Nadine Appelhans and Sophie Schramm

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Editorial

Between the "Structural" and the "Everyday": Bridging Macro and Micro Perspectives in Comparative Urban Research

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Abstract
The discussion around placing cities within a larger network of cities and the criteria by which they are assessed has recently gained new momentum. Consideration of Southern, disadvantaged, or "peripheral" geographies previously neglected in comparative approaches are now being considered and have opened up new perspectives on the wider urban context. This thematic issue, thereby, explores the practical challenges of how comparative urbanism across a broadening range of dissimilar places across the globe is handled. The collection of empirical studies presented will lay out the challenges and insights gained into applying comparative methodologies to the real-world context, thereby contributing to the advancement of empirical tools for complex and multi-scalar research environments.

Issue
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For informed decision-making, cities gain from a comparative view that enables an understanding of their position within larger networks of cities (Nijman, 2007; Robinson, 2011, 2023; Tilly, 1984). This thematic issue takes inspiration from current debates around, and approaches to, comparison in this crucial moment, where postcolonial thought considerably challenges more traditional ways of seeing and analysing sociospatial change. As scholars have argued in the past decades, much of urban and planning studies have restricted themselves to cases from the North Atlantic regions to build theory and to identify expected as well desired futures of cities, while Southern cities have mostly been disregarded as more or less deficient places that reflect backwardness rather than innovation and creativity (Robinson, 2011). Southern urban scholars increasingly criticize this stance, particularly in terms of claims of universal validity of theories and concepts derived from an empirical base that is actually often limited to the global Northwest (e.g., Watson, 2009). The related call for a stronger research focus on hitherto largely neglected places has led to an increased emphasis of comparison of dissimilar places across the globe (e.g., Tuvikene et al., 2017).

It is not least this renewed attention to comparison across contrasting cases that requires strategies that are able to bridge scales and integrate insights from different "structural" institutional framings and individual "everyday" urban experiences. One approach is to study cities from a macro-perspective, to examine structural aspects, be they economic forces, technological innovations, or social changes as explanatory factors for the evolution of individual cities and regions, termed "encompassing" research by Tilly (1984) or "generative" research by Robinson (2023). This approach lends itself to comparative research as it identifies broader trends

that might have similar impacts in individual places. Another approach to understanding cities is to study them from the bottom-up, focusing on everyday practices of actors shaping urban life and form. Tilly (1984) has referred to this as "individualising" or "variation finding," while Robinson (2023) recently introduced the term "genetic comparison." Related methods lend themselves to understand the particular, place-specific characteristics that make every city unique. While these have occasionally been framed as opposed to each other or even mutually exclusive (Berking & Löw, 2008), we argue that all forms of comparative urbanism implicitly have to consider institutional and/or theoretical frameworks as well as particularities of the case at hand (see also Healey, 2012). As Nijman (2007) has explained, the process of globalized urbanization comes with aspects of convergence and aspects of divergence in urban development simultaneously. While research may focus more on one or the other, cities remain places where broader structural trends and place-specific, everyday activities constitute one another.

This thematic issue presents studies that feature comparative research designs and empirical work straddling these different scales. Contributions to the thematic issue mobilise specific concepts and approaches that illuminate the manifold interrelations of the everyday and structural aspects and allow for a comparative study of these interrelations. Thus, this thematic issue contributes to recent calls for studies that enable comparison across different cases within various contexts; as well as meaningful generalization, while acknowledging the situatedness of place-specific constellations and experiences. Taken together, the contributions to this thematic issue respond to the challenge of linking everyday experiences and structural processes in comparative research.

In his methodological reflections on ways to comparatively study *housing pathways of "missing" people of public housing and resettlement programmes*, Raffael Beier studies three cases: Gauteng City Region, South Africa; Casablanca, Salé, Morocco; and Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Beier elaborates on the innovative methodologies he applied in order to find these "hidden" people, who are often not only spatially dispersed but also subject to stigmatization and therefore less willing to participate in research. He mobilises the concept of housing pathways to link individual agency with broader social structures in order to understand how these structures, influence and, indeed, constrain individual agency of often marginalized populations in their housing choices. He shows how changes in housing affordability results in many people either moving out of public housing schemes or never arriving there at all. Specifically, his cross-country comparison allows him to analyse how structural aspects matter for individual decision-making beyond contextual specifics.

Sander van Lanen (2023, p. 289) combines recent insights from political economy and urban studies to construct a "spatial political economy of everyday life" in order to illustrate the ways in which structural changes and everyday life co-constitute one another. Using an embedded comparative approach, he presents an intranational comparison of two settlements in Ireland in order to shed light on the various ways that austerity politics matter for young adults' everyday lives in different places. This approach enables him to reveal that the ways in which young adults living in Knocknaheeny, Cork and Ballymun, Dublin experience different spheres— work and income, housing, and community and voluntary engagement—are affected by national austerity and the global financial crisis and at the same time by local circumstances, namely the organization of neighborhood regeneration and the presence or absence of community services.

In their contribution to *suburban struggles of everyday life*, Marius Mlejnek and Petra Lütke mobilise the concept of everyday struggle to bring to the fore the multiscalarity of suburbanization dynamics and socio-spatial change more broadly. Referring to the debate on planetary urbanisation, they call for a deeper engagement with everyday experiences and local peculiarities in order to gain a more differentiated understanding of sub/urbanization dynamics. Thus, their in-depth study of residents' struggles in the area Widdersdorf-Süd at the edge of Cologne, mainly in terms of restricted mobilities, serves to add nuance to the broader concept of suburbanization in its multiple iterations across the globe.

Through the common entering point to the study sites through international university teaching programmes, Juliana Canedo and Hassan Elmouelhi explore the concept of *spatial integration of refugees* in Berlin, Germany and Irbid, Jordan. While working under significantly different administrative structures in their comparison sites and encountering different policies and accommodation structures for migrants in the two cities, the approach of entering the spaces through the teaching programmes equips them with a common lens. Using the migrant perspective and the results from the micro-level teaching engagement inductively, the framework allows them to come up with a general agenda and policy recommendations towards a post-migrant approach.

Grischa Frederik Bertram and Gerhard Kienast study *planning-related protest as a key to understanding urban particularities*. To arrive at this variation finding between German urban municipalities, they set up a quantitative repository of cause related conflict, feeding into the analysis of the history and nature of planning related protests in the different sites. Working under the common institutional framework of German planning legislation, the comparison aims for a systematic approach and comprehensive understanding of the situated protests by developing a protest data mining method. The method developed can thereby not only deliver insights on the relation of planning and protest, but also serve as a template to adapt for research on public planning discourse and other social

movements in cities working under a common governance framework.

Using the concept of *water delivery configurations*, Christian Rosen and Nina Gribat build a reference framework which allows them to compare *hybrid urbanisms* under specific governance systems in Sunyani, Ghana and Arequipa, Peru. In their article, they discuss how unpacking their findings through the concepts of "structural" governance and "everyday" practice allows them to shed new light onto the nature of the governance, infrastructure, and practices around water. This is a departure from their previous conceptualisation of discussing the data along "formal and informal" framings. Consequently, they gain new perspectives on the interrelation of different scales of water delivery and the decision-making behind it that go beyond mono-scale framings and entanglements of local governance.

Margot Rubin, Lindsay Blair Howe, Sarah Charlton, Muhammed Suleman, Anselmo Cani, Lesego Tshuwa, and Alexandra Parker (2023, p. 362) come up with a unifying concept of "indifferent ruins" to discuss governance responses to mobility infrastructure requirements in Gauteng City Region and Greater Maputo. They focus on macro-processes within the regions, such as the influence of modernist planning ideals and positivist thinking towards infrastructure, while simultaneously engaging in granular studies. Their approach is "radically inductive" (Söderström in Rubin et al., 2023) in order to take the "everyday" experience as a starting point to question the "structural" governance decisions based on empirical findings and comparative analysis. For them, the comparative and trans scalar method provides an opportunity to gain a refined understanding of transport infrastructure in general.

Koen Faber, Simon Kingham, Lindsey Conrow, and Dea van Lierop present a quantitative study of active travel—walking or cycling—of immigrants in two different countries in order to understand how far individual travel behaviour and preferences are influenced by the specific context immigrants experience: the availability of transport modes, travel cultures, and other factors. By comparing a country with an active travel culture, the Netherlands, and a country with a less active travel culture, New Zealand, they show how immigrants—in the case of New Zealand from the Netherlands—either adapt to the new context with its infrastructures and norms, or rather maintain their customary travel behaviour. Their contribution shows the complications of comparing across different institutional governance settings and offers explanations for the ways in which individual behaviour may be changed by a broader national context, in this case in terms of infrastructure and cultural norms.

While all contributions reflect a conceptualization of the structural and the everyday as co-constitutive, they feature different foci in terms of the comparative angle. Some contributions' comparison serves to understand individual agency and behaviour and the ways they are influenced by broader social structures and norms, thus furthering our understanding of the ways in which structural aspects matter beyond specific contexts (Beier; Bertram & Kienast; Faber et al.; Rosen & Gribat). Others employ a more encompassing perspective, emphasizing how individual experiences, struggles, and local situations may help to add nuance to broader phenomena, such as suburbanization or austerity (Mlejnek & Lütke; van Lanen). Meanwhile, a third group uses inductive approaches gathering data from the everyday to interrogate institutions and governance structures, thus arriving at normative assessments (Canedo & Elmouelhi; Rubin et al.). All contributions thus elaborate on the knowledge gained through comparison in terms of the interrelations of the everyday and the structural. We, therefore, argue that approaches with a focus on structural dynamics and everyday practices can not only be merged but they should also be combined for a better understanding of cities.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Housing Pathways of the "Missing People" of Public Housing and Resettlement Programs: Methodological Reflections

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Abstract
This article deals with methodological challenges and presents solutions for the study of people who depart from state-subsidized housing in Ethiopia, Morocco, and South Africa. Having sold or rented out their units, these people have left and now live at dispersed locations. Assuming that many "missing people" leave state housing because of project-related shortcomings, studying the reasons for their departure is crucial to understanding standardized housing programs. "Missing people" urge scholars to emphasize the afterlives of housing policy interventions as a necessary analytical dimension. However, such research is confronted with three major methodological challenges: How is it possible to approach and study people who have disappeared from the area of a housing intervention? How can one link exploratory, in-depth qualitative accounts, rooted in subjective perceptions of the everyday, to potential structural deficiencies of standardized housing interventions? What kind of methodologies may help take into account the temporalities of displacement and resettlement? In order to overcome these challenges, the article presents innovative forms of purposive sampling and discusses analytical strategies, which—based on Clapham's framework of "housing pathways"—bridge relational and structural perspectives to housing programs.

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1. Introduction

Since the turn of the millennium, public housing and resettlement programs (PHRP) have been through a renaissance in several African countries and beyond (Buckley et al., 2016). Such government-driven, typically national programs seek to provide subsidized housing to those on a low income, requesting that they leave their previous dwellings and, except for cases of in-situ resettlement, move to another, more distant place. Most often, PHRP are merely called "housing programs," and are supposed to move so-called beneficiaries to better quality and socially more accepted forms of housing. However, by avoiding the term resettlement, such unilateral notions ignore important challenges for people of adapting to a new place and way of living—even if it

is close to where they lived before (Beier et al., 2022; Deboulet & Lafaye, 2018; Koenig, 2018). Classic scholarly work studying the effects of PHRP on low-income people typically focuses on lived experiences, challenges, and opportunities of those who live in state-subsidized houses on respective resettlement sites (Beier, 2023a; Coelho et al., 2012; Harroud, 2019; Hassen & Soressa, 2018; Herath et al., 2017; Nikuze et al., 2019; Patel et al., 2015; Reddy, 2018; Salcedo, 2010). At first glance, it seems convincing and evident to study the effects of PHRP at the actual sites where the houses are constructed. Methodologically, it sounds straightforward to talk to people who live at the resettlement site and to ask them about their relocation and rehoming experience. However, such common practice contributes to a biased analysis as it leaves out an important group: those who

could not access resettlement housing and those who no longer live there.

In many studies on PHRP, it is acknowledged that some housing units remain either vacant or are not (permanently) inhabited by their original "beneficiaries" (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, pp. 1765–1766; Charlton & Meth, 2017, p. 94; Choi, 2015, p. 586; Coelho, 2016, pp. 123–124; Koster & Nuijten, 2012, p. 193; Patel et al., 2015, p. 249; Planel & Bridonneau, 2017, p. 32). In francophone research contexts, such a phenomenon is known as *glissement*, referring to a "dropout" of intended beneficiaries from housing programs (Le Tellier, 2010, p. 63; Navez-Bouchanine, 2012, p. 170). The extent of the phenomenon varies from context to context but tends to be significant. In extreme cases such as Ethiopia, authorities estimate that far more than half of the original beneficiaries no longer live in their resettlement units (Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017, p. 177). However, very few studies have explicitly dealt with this group of people who are "missing" at the resettlement site (Beier, 2023b; Charlton, 2018). This is mostly because of practical, methodical reasons. Such people are likely to live in dispersed locations, so they are hard to find, contact, and interview (Herath et al., 2017, p. 567; Lemanski, 2011, p. 66). However, without integrating the perspectives of non-resident "beneficiaries" (whom I will refer to as the "missing people" of PHRP), any study of the effects of PHRP tends to produce biased results, likely resulting in an overly positive portrayal.

Rather than presenting and discussing the results of empirical research about "missing people" of PHRP, this article's interest is methodological. The principal objective is to discuss methodological strategies to integrate perspectives of "the missing people of resettlement sites" into studies of PHRP. Based on my own experience with field research about "missing people" in Ethiopia, Morocco, and South Africa, I will elaborate on practical questions of sampling, outlining strategies to find, contact, and interview what I call an "unconsciously hidden population." Beyond that, the article shows how such methodological practice, which is necessarily of a qualitative and exploratory nature, can bridge between its deep embeddedness into (different) subjectively perceived contexts and the ambition to complement more structural analyses of large-scale and standardized PHRP. For this purpose, the article will outline the "housing pathway" approach (Clapham, 2005) as a suitable analytical framework to grasp the shifting meanings people attach to their different dwellings over time, one which is embedded within a dialectical interplay of structure and agency. Housing pathways can contribute to a biographical understanding of how resettled dwellers perceive and experience the (attempted) provision of state-subsidized housing over a longer period. In addition, and beyond a contextual understanding of such housing pathways, the article advocates for a comparative analysis of housing pathways of people missing from PHRP in order to discern typical patterns and to under-

stand how specific characteristics of PHRP complicate the inhabitation of new dwellings.

While focusing on methodological questions and challenges, the article reflects on my own experiences with field research about people missing from PHRP in the growing capital regions of Ethiopia (Addis Ababa), Morocco (Rabat/Salé), and South Africa (Gauteng City Region). To increase the variety of investigated cases in Morocco, 10 additional interviews were conducted in Casablanca, the country's economic capital. In total, the author conducted 101 narrative interviews across all three case studies. Representing typical examples of a millennial renaissance of PHRP in the Global South (Buckley et al., 2016), all three countries have implemented large-scale housing and resettlement programs to cater for a growing need for affordable housing. At the same time, all three PHRPs are part of national agendas to reduce the number of people living in informal, self-constructed housing and shacks (cf. Huchzermeyer, 2011). Whereas the Moroccan PHRP is only about the direct resettlement of residents of *bidonvilles* (shanty-towns), the other two programs use waiting lists in addition. In the latter case, they are open to all people who do not own property and fall below a certain income threshold. Another significant difference concerning the phenomenon of "missing people" is the fact that despite the South African PHRP, the target population has to make a financial contribution to be able to access their new dwellings.

In the following, I will first briefly introduce the concept of "missing people," arguing that it is crucial to integrate them into analyses and evaluations of PHRP. After that, I will focus on sampling challenges and discuss practical ways to cope with the hidden nature of the target group. Finally, I discuss the methodological framework of a housing pathway as a way to grasp the subjective reasoning behind decisions not to stay in new PHRP units—without ignoring the structural constraints.

2. The "Missing People" of Public Housing and Resettlement Programs

The phenomenon of people who depart from state-subsidized housing in the context of PHRP, which I am here referring to as the "missing people" of PHRP, can be divided into (1) those who depart after they have actually lived in resettlement housing and (2) those who have never accessed the units. The first category includes people who either sell or let their resettlement-housing unit—a contested practice, which I show below. Households belonging to the second category might have been unable to prove official eligibility criteria, which is, for example, common in the Indian context (Bhan & Shivanand, 2013, p. 57), or unable to afford relocation due to financial constraints and still high prices despite subsidies, common, for example, in Morocco (Le Tellier & Guérin, 2009, p. 662). In both categories, PHRP have forced people to leave their place of

residence (i.e., in an informal settlement). As they are not living in resettlement housing (anymore), both categories of missing people are now living in an unknown third place.

The missing people of PHRP are of both analytical and practical significance. As outlined briefly above, analytical significance relates to the inability to draw an accurate analytical picture of the effects of resettlement without including those who no longer live in resettlement housing at the precise moment of field research. Related to this, it is relevant to ask to what extent housing projects reach their intended target group and, beyond this quantitative interest, to understand whether and how standardized housing is improving the living conditions of resettled people. Why is it difficult for some people to access or stay in state-subsidized housing? Practically, such information could help to improve future PHRP. From a public finance perspective, a high share of non-intended residents at the resettlement site may signal gentrification and, hence, an undesired diversion of public money to less vulnerable population groups who would not be eligible for state support (Le Tellier, 2010, p. 64). Moreover, it is crucial to understand where the missing people have moved to and why. Most PHRP have the goal to reduce or even eradicate informal settlements (Beier, 2021; Dupont & Gowda, 2020; Erman, 2016; Hassen & Soressa, 2018; Meth, 2020; Planel & Bridonneau, 2017; Salcedo, 2010). If formerly resettled people return to informal settlements, this may thwart such political objectives. In Morocco, for example, high numbers of *glissement* of up to 50% have led to the introduction of some participatory planning elements in the early 2000s and a third-party scheme a few years later to improve resettlement acceptance and affordability, ultimately to prevent people from returning to informal settlements (Navez-Bouchanine, 2007, p. 418; Toutain, 2016).

As such, departure from state-subsidized housing is a deeply moralized phenomenon, which renders missing people prone to criticism and accusations. Especially if people are assumed to have returned to informal settlements, wide parts of society—notably politicians, housing activists, and other low-income people waiting for a house—see departures as signs of betrayal and profiteering by people who neither *need* state assistance nor *deserve* state housing (Anand & Rademacher, 2011, p. 1765; Beier, 2023b; Lemanski, 2014, p. 2947; Zaki, 2005, pp. 65–67). Consequently, many states that run PHRP—including all countries of this study—have introduced temporary resale bans that should prevent quick cash-ins of state housing. Even if resales happen on a legal basis, they often remain morally contested. In South Africa, public authorities conducted occupancy audits to check whether the original owners actually lived *in* their state houses, threatening non-occupants with sanctions, although many practices of non-occupation had never been unlawful (Lemanski, 2014, p. 2947). Because of that, many resales happen informally, which

lowers the price while increasing the risk (Beier, 2021; Mbatha, 2022).

Other than blaming people who depart from state-subsidized housing, some scholars tend to passivize missing people, assuming that they are forced—typically for financial and locational reasons—to move out and accept worse conditions as a consequence of downward raiding and gentrification (Lemanski, 2011, 2014; Navez-Bouchanine, 2012, p. 170). Notwithstanding the existence of severe constraint and force, such accounts leave little room for peoples' own perspectives and rationalities (Anand & Rademacher, 2011; Charlton & Meth, 2017; Doshi, 2013). Moreover, they do not aim for an in-depth understanding of what happens *after* people acquire state housing (Beier et al., 2022; Meth et al., 2023). In the next sections, I outline methodological pathways toward including the missing people of PHRP, focusing on both advanced methods of sampling and a people-centered framework for analysis.

3. Sampling and Interviewing an Unconsciously Hidden Population

It is widely acknowledged that finding and researching the "missing people" of PHRP at dispersed, unknown locations is challenging. Exemplarily, Lemanski describes her frustration with the impossibility of locating people who had left state housing (so-called "RDP houses") in Cape Town:

> Tracing previous owners (i.e., RDP beneficiaries who had sold or let their houses) proved impossible because current residents were reluctant and/or unable to provide specific locations for previous owners….I suspect that the problems I encountered in finding these people is linked to concerns surrounding the illegality of selling RDP houses. (Lemanski, 2011, p. 66)

Accordingly, the missing people of PHRP fulfill all criteria of a hidden or hard-to-reach population: "No sampling frame exists, so the size and boundaries of the population are unknown; and second, there exist strong privacy concerns, because membership involves stigmatized or illegal behavior" (Heckathorn, 1997, p. 174). Hidden populations have become a subject of discussion related to studies on HIV, drug addiction, sex work, and illicit activities. However, unlike these classic "hidden populations," the missing people of PHRP do not necessarily form a conscious group with shared interests and clearly defined attributes (e.g., HIV infection, drug addiction, previous incarceration, etc.). This complicates research, as typical access points for field research, such as specialized NGOs, anonymous support groups, medical centers, illegal vending spots, etc., hardly exist. The shared group attribute ("departure from state housing") is also less likely to stir specific support networks with strong social ties, as most people depart individually. Furthermore,

missing people of PHRP rather pursue ordinary lives that do not look different from those of their current neighbors, who might not have departed from state housing. Thus, I refer to missing people of PHRP as an "unconsciously hidden population," which creates further challenges for sampling.

For people that are hard to reach, nonprobability purposive sampling is more suitable than probability sampling, which aims at statistical representativeness. Concerning hidden populations, chain-referral sampling (typically snowball sampling) is a classic, useful, and frequently applied sampling strategy (Ellard-Gray et al., 2015; Goodman, 2011; Heckathorn, 2011). In the absence of better alternatives and besides general weaknesses of nonprobability sampling, researchers have to deal with specific shortcomings of snowball sampling, including a potential referral bias that may lead to undesired sample homogeneity and self-selection bias, as well as the difficulty of reaching isolated respondents. However, concerning the study of people who leave PHRP, the above-mentioned characteristics of unconsciously hidden populations lead to three additional challenges for snowball sampling. First, as illustrated by the quote from Lemanski (2011) above, initial access can be difficult as typical access points are lacking. Second, effective snowball sampling is difficult when interviewees are unwilling to identify other people who are missing from PHRP due to the (perceived) illegality of state housing resales. Third, if we assume that departure is a rather individual practice and unlikely to inspire the formation of specific local support networks, missing people might not even know each other. Hence, interviewed people might be not only unwilling but also unable to identify others, and sampling chains are unlikely to be long.

Because of that, and based on my sampling experience with missing people of PHRP in three countries, I argue the diversification of access points and strategies for snowball sampling is even more relevant than for classic "hidden populations." This requires a comprehensive understanding of local contexts and especially the social structures that shape the ways people depart from state housing, their destinations, and which group of people would be able and willing to identify them. For example, in South Africa, some people rent out their so-called RDP houses. A typical access strategy, as outlined by Lemanski above, would then be to ask tenants for the contact details of their landlord. Initially, my research assistant and I tried the same strategy, and through several leads, we found a tenant who gave us their landlord's contact details, whom we subsequently interviewed on the same day. However, because of occasional (rumors about) sanctions by public authorities, many people in South Africa falsely believe that renting out an RDP house is illegal (Gordon et al., 2011, pp. 44–48). Although we ensured strict confidentiality and explained the purpose of our research several times, later, relatives of the landlord convinced them that the tenants wanted to betray

him to get his house, which made him consider evicting them. Only after another visit to the site did the issue begin to slowly calm down.

This experience made us reconsider our strategy. To reduce failure and mistrust, and to avoid escalation, two strategies seem to be most effective: (1) insider snowball sampling and (2) anonymous and individual contacting via publicly available phone numbers. Combinations and repeated adaptions of both methods (see below) may help overcome bias and achieve a diversified sample covering a solid spectrum of realities.

The first makes use of trusted insiders. In the Gauteng case study, this was a person, who belonged to a state housing community, aware of implicit risks and fears, and known to be trustworthy. She contacted former neighbors who had sold and current community members who were in the process of selling, planning to let, or staying in the area while renting their house out. Unlike leads from people outside the community, the contacted missing people were less concerned that third persons might find out they were not using the house in a "morally appropriate" way because they knew that community insiders would know which original owners still lived in their houses. Moreover, unlike renters who are hierarchically dependent on their landlord, the intermediate did not fear personal consequences. However, such insider strategies only work where some sense of community exists, which is not necessarily true in state housing communities.

In Morocco, insider snowball sampling did not concentrate on communities at the resettlement site but focused on established networks among former neighbors in now-demolished *bidonvilles*. While, in general, the neighborhood plays an important role in identity construction in Morocco, neighborhood pockets within *bidonvilles* are characterized by even stronger social ties (Arrif, 1999; Beier, 2019; Zaki, 2007). I built on previously established relationships with two resettled residents of two former *bidonvilles* in Casablanca and Salé with whom we tried to identify former neighbors who no longer lived in resettlement housing. They spread the word and contacted them via phone or through other contacts. There was very little reluctance to talk and widespread willingness to share further contacts of other missing people. However, social networks may erode with time if people live at dispersed and isolated locations. Whereas in Salé, about one year had passed between the demolition of the *bidonville* and field research, in Casablanca, it had been at least four years, making it more complicated to find interlocutors. In Morocco, 37 out of 39 interviews resulted from insider snowball sampling, compared to nine out of 27 interviews in South Africa.

In Ethiopia, people's reluctance to talk was less due to widespread and negative public discourses about departure from state housing. Instead, people were concerned about commenting on housing policies in general, as Addis Ababa's physical expansion is partially fueling

violent ethno-political conflicts (Alem, 2021). Therefore, also in Addis Ababa, trust was an important condition for successful snowball sampling. However, Ethiopia's capital's comparatively high share of departure (approximately 70% according to government estimates; Keller & Mukudi-Omwami, 2017, p. 177) offered the advantage that it was rather simple to find "insiders." Through personal contacts of my research assistant and others, we found a relatively large number of people who had got a so-called condominium and were no longer living in it. For respondents, the initial contact with the help of people they knew marked the trustworthiness of the researcher and helped to overcome initial skepticism. The interview often enhanced trust and—unlike in the case of South Africa—subsequently enabled us to pursue rather classic chain-referral sampling. In total, 31 out of 35 interviews could be realized in this way.

Thus, chain-referral sampling may be more likely to fail in contexts with greater mistrust and stigmatization around the departure from state-subsidized housing. Because of that, except for Ethiopia, where snowball sampling was most effective, my research assistants and I applied an alternative, more anonymous, and individual access strategy by calling people who had publicly advertised their housing units for sale or rent. In South Africa, this happens mainly on online platforms such as Facebook but also on blackboards in supermarkets. In Morocco, people write their numbers either on house walls or on electrical boxes on self-build plots. Notwithstanding comparatively high reluctance and refusal, this worked for 11 out of the 27 interviews in South Africa and two in Morocco. However, in South Africa, many people sell via agents who, except for one case (additional two interviews), did not share the contact details of their clients. Three other interviews in South Africa were realized by randomly talking to people in the streets—a tactic employed at different places while waiting for interviews. Through the same tactic applied in one resettlement community and one other further place in Addis Ababa, we were able to also generate four additional interviews in Ethiopia.

4. Comparing Housing Pathways of the "Missing People"

Another methodological challenge of the study of the missing people of PHRP is to produce knowledge that can fill the gap and complement existing research on the impact of PHRP on resettled dwellers in a meaningful way. As research about people's rationales behind departure (for technical reasons explained above) is necessarily of qualitative nature, research on missing people faces limitations for generalizations. However, suppose the interest is to enlighten general black spots of existing quantitative and qualitative research as well as to inform policy. In that case, the challenge is to move beyond empirical particularism: How to make use of in-depth data, which is inextricably linked to people's everyday

lives, for a more structural critique of PHRP? How to be mindful of people's agency without ignoring structural constraints (e.g., exclusionary program designs, widespread unemployment, or state-enhanced insecurity of tenure) that may push people to leave PHRP?

To address these challenges, I suggest comparing the housing pathways of people who depart from state-subsidized housing across contexts. The analytical framework of "housing pathways" goes back to Clapham (2002, 2005), who sees it as an approach that foregrounds the interactions that shape and the meaning that individuals attach to housing, how they change over time, and how they interrelate with other aspects of life, including employment and family matters (Clapham, 2005, p. 27). Epistemologically, the housing pathway approach is rooted in social constructivism, but—mindful of a potential overemphasis of micro-level interactions and individual agency—builds on Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration, emphasizing social practices as dynamic products of a dialectical and inextricable interplay of structure and agency. For Giddens, human activities may not be seen as purely individual practices but are embedded within space and time. He argues for an analysis of *social practices* that are shaped through individual agency yet always occur within the structural framework of social systems that such practices may reproduce and alter over time. Focusing on the dynamic everyday of regular, often routine-like social practices, he conceives individuals to be knowledgeable and reflexive agents who know—sometimes unconsciously—about the social systems in which they act and who may articulate their reasons for action (for a detailed review of the theory of structuration, please refer to Held & Thompson, 1989). Translating Giddens' time-sensitive notion of social practices to the field of housing, Clapham's analytical framework of a housing pathway sits at the interface of structure and agency, best designed to understand *why* people choose particular kinds of housing at a certain time under certain conditions at a certain place. Housing pathways always mark the dynamic analytical link between households' housing-related decision-making and its wider social structures, shaped, among others, through housing policies and related discourses (Clapham, 2005, pp. 29–32).

From a methodological point of view, biographical and narrative interviews are best suited to grasp the dynamic meanings that constitute housing pathways (Clapham, 2005, p. 240). As demanded by scholarship on urban resettlements, biographical interviews may be suitable longitudinal methods to grasp meanings related to changing environments over time (Beier et al., 2022; Beier & Strava, 2020; Meth et al., 2023). Likewise, biographic narration may represent a helpful way to forward the decolonizing project—especially if such methods invite marginalized and largely unheard urban groups to voice their stories and alternative readings of hegemonic urban policies (Ortiz, 2023). Thus, in my own research on missing people, people's narratives contained reflections

on all previous places of residence and future plans. This approach not only allows the collection of the reasons for people's departure from state housing, but in line with the theory of structuration, biographic reasoning further enables us to understand unconscious aspects of decision-making anchored in people's implicit contextual knowledge, their embedded experiences, and housing aspirations. Borrowing the words of Clapham (2005, p. 240), the aim is to "explore the unconscious meanings and actions, bearing in mind the constraints and opportunities that structure them."

Concerning the interview analysis, I suggest combining a more thematic analysis (practically, this may be done through open coding and categorization, as inspired by grounded theorists such as Charmaz, 2003) with elements of a more sequential and reconstructive approach rooted in the work of Schütze (1983) and Riessman (1993). Such a combination is relevant because of the practical limitations of thematic-oriented coding to understand—in its hermeneutic sense—the more implicit meanings within longer narrative accounts of decision-making (Riessman, 1993, p. vi). While thematic analysis helps to grasp and structure meanings in relation to the subthemes of housing (access to employment, quality of shelter, community, etc.) as well as structural frameworks (e.g., housing policies), reconstructive analysis allows for more time-sensitive and in-depth interpretation of subjective reasoning related to variegated notions of progress and setback. If the number of housing pathways to be analyzed is relatively high, it is possible to integrate sequential and reconstructive approaches into analysis by creating schematic representations of pathways. As shown by Figure 1, these schematic representations capture all places of living (including type of dwelling) since birth, the most significant meanings respondents attach to each of them, as well as reasons for moving from one place to another.

Schematic representations may function as a first step towards a comparison of individual housing pathways and as a basis for typification. Developing typologies is an accepted practice in qualitative research that could function as a further bridge between the "everyday" (individual housing pathways) and the "structural" (e.g., housing discourses and policies, macroeconomic conditions, etc.). They represent careful generalizations that are indispensable to inform and criticize policymaking (Clapham, 2005). To give an illustrative example, community belonging was a major factor in Morocco, influencing both people's desire to depart and their search for appropriate alternatives, highlighting the adverse effects of Morocco's PHRP-driven individualization (Beier, 2021, 2023a). In South Africa, a repeated pattern was people's emphasis on the possibility of departure from state housing as a way to increase their resilience against potential shocks such as the sudden loss of their job during the Covid-19 pandemic (Beier, 2023b). In Ethiopia, the research reflected a severe housing crisis in the capital. Several people considered their condominiums a protection against future displacement from their desired neighborhoods due to rent increases and eviction. Anchored in the research objectives, typologies may set different thematic priorities, such as notions of subjective progress and relegation, major reasons for departure, types of destinations, and relationships to housing policy.

A last step towards an effective use of housing pathways of missing people for an advanced understanding of the effects of PHRP is comparative analysis across case studies. As the aim of the research project is to complement a larger gap in research about PHRP, a comparative analysis could help to identify more structural deficiencies of resettlement and large-scale quantitative housing supply—beyond contextual specificities. Thus, if housing pathways could help to identify structural frameworks that influence and constrain individual agency concerning place and time, a comparative analysis across contexts may help to discern repeated patterns of departure and to see missing people as a more structural phenomenon of PHRP. This could help to identify specific characteristics (or deficiencies) of PHRP that may promote the non-inhabitation of new dwellings. Robinson (2016) noted that such generative comparative analysis is useful to generate and revise concepts while being open towards a multiplicity of (previously underestimated) perspectives that may challenge dominant discourses. Again, it is possible to use certain recurrent themes and types of pathways to draw comparisons, for example, by focusing on the different expressions of the crucial relationship between housing affordability and departure. For example, in a first step, if the data were

demolition of the informal settlement

Place A (past)
(since birth until …)

own dwelling (informal)

the most significant meanings attached to place and dwelling

Place B (current)
(from … until …)

rented room

the most significant meanings attached to place and dwelling

Place C (future)
(time if foreseeable)

own apartment

the most significant meanings attached to place and dwelling
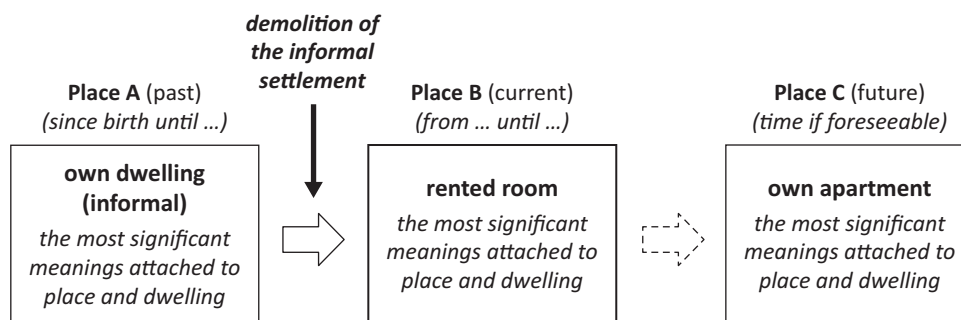
Figure 1. Possible schematic representation of a housing pathway.

to suggest that among all respondents of all case study samples, housing affordability issues were a major reason for departure. In a second step, one may analyze different expressions that could be linked to housing policy, such as the impossibility of affording access to state housing in Morocco versus the impossibility of affording continuous presence in state housing in South Africa or the impossibility of affording a desired life in rental accommodation outside state housing in Addis Ababa. The cross-case comparison increases the significance of repeated observations and allows for careful generalizations about the implications of particular modes of PHRP policy and implementation (including effects of resale bans) on people's inclination to depart, as well as their practices and destinations. Here, any attempts at generalization benefit from the analytical advantages of housing pathways as interfaces between people's everyday realities and structural conditions, showing how people who are missing from PHRP interact with policy discourses and frameworks.

Careful generalizations based on sound comparative analysis can serve to not only relativize the statistical representativeness of samples and findings of classic studies on the effects of PHRP but may offer multiple possibilities to further describe potential bias. The latter may be combined with basic descriptive statistics, such as counts of destinations and major reasons for departure, to increase the significance of results further. As such, it might be possible to argue why, for example, it is too simplistic and potentially stigmatizing to assume that people would return to informal settlements.

5. Conclusions

The departure of "beneficiaries" from PHRP is an under-researched but crucial phenomenon. This lack of attention may result from methodological challenges in finding the missing people of PHRP at unknown, dispersed locations. Being part of a larger research project about the missing people in housing programs in Ethiopia, Morocco, and South Africa, this article has proposed methodological strategies to integrate "missing people" into research on PHRP. Addressing sampling challenges, it discussed two innovative sampling strategies adapted to access an "unconsciously hidden population": snowball sampling through the help of insiders (local residents, former neighbors, personal contacts) and a more anonymous approach of making contact through house sellers' publicly available telephone numbers. Beyond sampling, the article sought to outline methodological strategies to understand the individual reasons for departure and how they relate to more structural conditions such as housing and urban renewal policies and affordability constraints. Therefore, the article foregrounded Clapham's "housing pathway" framework as a useful analytical tool inspired by Giddens' theory of structuration. In particular, the cross-case comparison of different housing pathways may offer a chance to bridge people's subjective and con-

textually embedded lived experiences and more structural deficiencies of housing programs. Comparative analysis makes it easier to enlighten the gaps in existing research on the impacts of PHRP and to put their findings up for discussion. As such, it is possible to link affordability, which appears across all case studies as a crucial structural constraint explaining departure, with people's own notions of unaffordability and the coping strategies that they employ, including the possibility of departure. In addition, the identification and establishment of typologies and repeated patterns (e.g., unaffordability) offer the chance to point at a significant bias of classic PHRP studies that focus only on the current inhabitants of resettlement sites.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Article

Structural Transformations and Everyday Spatial Consequences in Austerity Ireland: An Embedded Comparative Approach

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Abstract

Urban research often focuses on aggregate characteristics of macroeconomic performances or in-depth case studies of everyday urban phenomena. However, this dichotomy risks alienating two perspectives that can constructively illuminate spatial developments together. This article extends the "political economy of everyday life" approach, borrowed from political economy, to connect the local and everyday to global structures. The aim is to make this perspective sensitive to geographic differences and develop a "spatial political economy of everyday life." To operationalise this approach, I discuss the multi-scale analysis employed in a comparative project on austerity and urban youth in Ireland that sought to ground everyday consequences in a structural context. This project combined three methods: (a) a theoretical analysis of the global structures of the 2008 financial crisis, (b) a policy analysis of the impact of Irish austerity policies on youth, and (c) a comparative qualitative analysis of the everyday consequences of crisis and austerity on youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Cork and Dublin. This embedded comparative approach identified how the global financial crisis shaped national policies and how geographic differences shaped everyday spatial and personal consequences. This embedded comparative approach conceptualises cities as places where the structural and everyday constitute each other. It illuminates how this mutual interaction creates spatial particularities and common trends. In doing so, an embedded comparative approach contributes to developing a "spatial political economy of everyday life."

Keywords

austerity; comparative urbanism; deprivation; embedded comparative approach; everyday life; Ireland; neighbourhoods; political economy of everyday life; urban geography; young adults

1. Introduction

Comparative urbanism often walks a tightrope between generic urban theory and the empirical uniqueness of cities. Some urban planners and geographers are interested in particular cities, while others seek to contribute to general urban theory. Some focus on cities' position within global structures, while others investigate everyday places and practices in distinct localities (Healey, 2011). Empirically, these different interests translate into using aggregate characteristics of macroeconomic performance and global connectivity or in-depth case studies of everyday urban phenomena (e.g., Maharawal, 2017; Trincado-Munoz et al., 2023). However, presenting

these interests as clear dichotomy risks alienating two perspectives that can constructively illuminate urban developments together. This article contributes to the challenge of bridging structural and everyday perspectives to understand how global and local urban issues influence, constitute, and complicate each other.

This article presents the "embedded comparative approach" as a strategy to tackle this challenge for comparative urban research. This approach employs inter-scalar and inter-place analysis to understand places within their overarching context and structural developments. To do so, I engage literature from "political economies of everyday life" (PEEL), which studies "how political economy is enacted and performed at the local

level, by non-elites and via various cultural practices" (Elias & Roberts, 2016, p. 787). This article adds a geographical sensibility to its methods and approach by bringing it into conversation with comparative urbanism to construct a spatial "political economy of everyday life". Then, the embedded comparative approach is illustrated by empirical material on everyday austerity in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods in Ireland.

This article makes two contributions and one invitation. First, it develops the embedded comparative approach as a comparative strategy that bridges the structural and the everyday. Second, it applies the embedded comparative approach to a study of austerity experiences in Ireland, illuminating that the interference between local and national rollback-rollout neoliberalisation shapes everyday austerity experiences. Finally, it invites urban scholars and planners to apply the embedded approach upwards and downwards to identify and change the constitutive relationships between everyday practices and structural dynamics.

1.1. Comparative Urbanism

Since the mid-2000s, urban scholars debated comparative urbanism's theoretical and empirical advantages and disadvantages (Dear, 2005; Jacobs, 2012; Nijman, 2007). The discussion started with the post-colonial attempt to decentre Eurocentric urbanism and embrace global differences (Robinson, 2002, 2016). Critics countered that focusing on the differences and uniqueness of cities in different regions would result in endless empirical descriptions of particular cases instead of constructing theory (Peck, 2015). These critics argued for purposeful comparison to build theory beyond the comparative cases (Jacobs, 2012; Ley & Teo, 2020). This focus on the "why" of comparison created a predominantly theoretical debate on the (im)possibility of general urban theory amidst endless geographic differences (Nijman, 2015; Peck, 2015). Therefore, two critical comparative issues received less attention: scale and methods (Gough, 2012).

Its post-colonial origins resulted in comparative urbanism's focus on international comparisons between different world regions (Schmid et al., 2018; Waley, 2012). For example, Robinson and Roy (2016) argue that comparison could illuminate the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical value of cities in the Global South and their difference from Northern cities. Although some criticised the "regionalisation of cities" (Ren & Luger, 2015; Tuvikene, 2016), where cities represent post-socialist, Asian, Latin-American, or other global regions, such classifications regularly feature in comparative urbanism debates (Follmann et al., 2023). Although some intra-national and intra-urban comparisons exist (McFarlane et al., 2017), their contributions occupy a minor position in the debate. Nonetheless, Robinson (2011) acknowledges their value in the "encompassing strategy" of comparison and similarity-based case selection. This article provides an intra-national comparative strategy—the embedded comparison—to connect urban theory to a comparative approach.

Methods, too, received less sustained attention because of the theoretical nature of the comparative urbanism debate (Brill, 2022a; Harrison & Hoyler, 2018b). Methodological contributions that exist, such as from the Global and World Cities network, centre on aggregate data on economic activity and connectivity (e.g., Van Meeteren & Bassens, 2016). Recently, explicit attention to comparative urbanism, including qualitative methods focusing on everyday cities, is emerging in books and journal articles (Brill, 2022b; Harrison & Hoyler, 2018a; Robinson, 2022). The embedded comparative approach employs scholarship on PEEL to contribute to this emerging trend by providing methodological approaches to fully exploit comparative urbanism's theoretical and epistemological benefits.

1.2. Political Economy of Everyday Life

Debates in PEEL similarly stress the relationship between general theory and particular everyday experiences and practices. PEEL critiques "regular" political economy of underestimating the importance of the mundane and everyday (Elias, 2010). PEEL studies "the mutually constitutive nature of global markets and households, families, relations of social reproduction and gendered socio-cultural practices" (Elias & Roberts, 2016, p. 788). Painstakingly studying local and mundane situations helps to interrogate how people, places, and phenomena are impacted by higher-scale structural processes to create local variations (Elias & Roberts, 2016; Hall, 2019). Recently, Elias and Rai (2019) explicitly propose "space"—together with "time" and "violence"—as a critical concept for a feminist everyday political economy. Therefore, PEEL's attention to relations between scales and between the everyday and structural can inspire comparative urbanism to deal with the tensions between global universality and the local uniqueness of cities.

PEEL is not explicitly comparative but carries a comparative sensibility. Elias and Roberts (2016, p. 792) stress PEEL's focus on "commonalities between different sites of everyday gendered social change, while at the same time recognising the need to historicise these socio-economic transformations within particular political context." PEEL scholarship presents comparative contributions on export-processing zones, bingo, and debt (Bedford, 2016; Gunawardana, 2016; Vargha & Pellandini-Simányi, 2021). PEEL thus illustrates how comparison can analyse local specificity in overarching transformations like neoliberalisation and financialisation. Cities are neither autonomous from (inter)national developments nor are planners only constrained by local government. Both are entangled in a world of interconnected scales and places that shape local possibilities. Like PEEL, urban research requires "careful

place-based analyses of the connections between global markets, states, individuals, households and/or communities" (Elias & Roberts, 2016, p. 793). Taking this comparative sensitivity and expanding the call to understand the role of space, this article applies PEEL methodologies to study austerity across scales.

2. Everyday Austerity: An Embedded Comparison

The embedded comparative approach combines comparative urbanism and PEEL to bridge structural developments and everyday experiences. Comparative urbanism provides a comparative epistemology to grasp particular cases and phenomena; PEEL present an epistemology that connects everyday experiences to structural forces. This section develops the embedded comparative approach to study the particular in relation to structural transformations and applies it to the everyday consequences of austerity urbanism following the 2008 financial crisis (Peck, 2012). The neoliberalisation of space unfolds in a rollback-rollout dynamic (Peck & Tickell, 2002), where the state retreats from places (rollback), only to return by roling-out neoliberalised solutions to self-created problems. Austerity intensified this neoliberalisation of space; transforming an already-neoliberalised terrain. Peck (2012) identified three processes characterising austerity urbanism: (a) destructive creativity—amplifying neoliberalism's creative destruction; (b) deficit politics—a focus on controlling public expenditure; and (c) devolved risk—the decentralisation of responsibility to local authorities, actors, and agencies. A comparative element enables understanding everyday experiences within neoliberalism's cultural, economic, and political context (Brenner et al., 2010b), thus allowing the study of interactions between neoliberalisation and everyday experiences.

2.1. Cases and Methods

The embedded comparative approach is illustrated using empirical material from a project on the consequences and experiences of austerity by disadvantaged urban youth in Ireland (van Lanen, 2017). This project combined an "encompassing strategy" with a "variation-finding strategy" for comparison (Robinson, 2011). An encompassing strategy compares different cases within one overarching systemic process—in this case, two neighbourhoods under Irish austerity. The variation-finding strategy uses a "most similar selection of cases" (Robinson, 2011) to study similarities and differences between the neighbourhoods to uncover the role of space in the austerity experience. Therefore, the comparison of Knocknaheeny (Cork) and Ballymun (Dublin) aims to understand austerity and its impact on young adults in deprived urban neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood selection followed Sassen's (2014) subterranean trends argument; developments affecting urban conditions are most visible among populations most vulnerable to auster-

ity and its associated spatial transformations (Peck, 2012; Verick, 2009). The project, thus, compared austerity experiences in deprived Irish neighbourhoods to investigate everyday austerity and the role of space in that experience.

This project used a literature study, policy analysis, gatekeeper interviews, and in-depth interviews with 33 young adults. These methods investigated how the global financial crisis and Ireland's austerity policies transformed young adults' everyday places and lives in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun. Knocknaheeny is located in northern Cork—Ireland's second city—and has roughly 4,000 inhabitants. The neighbourhood predominantly contains social housing (58% in 2016) and is known for its historic concentration of unemployment and poverty, which has worsened since the crisis (Haase & Pratschke, 2017). Despite overall deprivation, a sense of place is strong in the neighbourhood, and its inhabitants feel relatively safe (Coakley, 2003). Throughout the years, multiple regeneration programmes contributed to renovation without significantly reducing the social housing share. Ballymun is located on Dublin's northern edge and houses around 80,000 persons. It is Ireland's only modernist high-rise estate, which initially delivered high-quality housing (Power, 1997). However, the lack of amenities, the flight of better-of inhabitants, and stigmatisation soon induced economic, physical, and social decline (Power, 1997). Deteriorating conditions and community-led activism triggered full-scale redevelopment plans in the 1980s (Boyle, 2005). Eventually, the tower blocks were replaced by single-family dwellings, and private rental overtook social housing as dominant tenure. However, the financial crisis interrupted the ambitious regeneration plans and many of its amenities—a metro, a new shopping mall, a swimming pool—never materialised.

The embedded comparative approach, applied to Knocknaheeny and Ballymun, neither essentialises these neighbourhoods as radically different (Jacobs, 2012) nor provides a homogenised account of austerity. The embedded comparison embeds comparative analysis in a scalar understanding of crisis and austerity. As such, it satisfies the three challenges of comparative urbanism (Peck, 2015). First, it stresses both commonalities and differences through theory-informed case studies. Second, rather than positioning austerity as exogenous, it provides a scaled analysis showing how local practices interact with national and international developments. Third, it provides a relational understanding of the local experience of austerity and neoliberalisation. The following section discusses relevant development at three scales: international, national, and the neighbourhood.

3. Austerity Experiences in Ireland

In a globalised world, any comparative study must map international developments affecting its cases.

To prevent essentialism, an embedded comparative approach traces global connections (Sayın et al., 2022). The feasibility of engagements depends on the study and whether it focuses on understanding the cases or a phenomenon (Aalbers, in press). In this article, the global perspective is the 2008 financial crisis that ultimately led to austerity (D. Harvey, 2010). This global perspective derives from an academic and professional literature study of the financial crisis, urban neoliberalisation, and financialisation (Aalbers, 2009; French et al., 2011).

In 2008, the Lehman Brothers collapse sent shockwaves through the global financial system, and states intervened to prevent a systemic economic collapse (Brenner et al., 2010a; French et al., 2009). At heart was a lingering financialisation-driven proliferation of complicated financial risk-distributing instruments (Aalbers, 2009). Once this risk materialised, the global financial relations created by neoliberalisation and financialisation started to unravel. Mortgage foreclosures in Florida and California went global; its risks trickled down to localities worldwide, such as a Norwegian municipality forced to cut elderly care budgets, reduce fire services, and close schools (Aalbers, 2009). So a global phenomenon—the 2008 financial crisis—had local, regional, and national consequences. This example illustrates the necessity of a global perspective to understand what happens locally. While a detailed description of global developments is gargantuan, it is more feasible to relate local occurrences to international developments.

Ireland adopted a neoliberal open economy in the mid-1980s, which resulted in two decades of extraordinary economic development and an acute vulnerability to international economic shocks (Kitchin & Bartley, 2007). Four historic factors shaped Ireland's neoliberalising trajectory (Kitchin et al., 2012). First, entrenched cultural-political emphasis on home ownership and private property development facilitated intense real-estate financialisation. Second, a weak planning system provided little public power to control financialised real-estate interests. Third, political dominance by two centre-right conservative parties—Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael—prevented ideological contestation. Fourth, Ireland was an early adopter of an open, liberal economy, creating an emphasis on international competitiveness through low wages and taxes. During the early 21st century, intensified financialisation amplified these neoliberal tendencies (Kelly, 2014; Ó Riain, 2012). As a result, Ireland's economic position focussed on financialised real estate investments and a competitive business environment; low tax, low wages. Various waves of rollback-rollout neoliberalisation transformed the Irish economy and its institutions (Peck & Tickell, 2002), setting the stage for a new round of austerity rollback.

In 2008, Ireland's economic prosperity dramatically ended as the deflation of its national property bubble coalesced with the global financial crisis (Kelly, 2014; Ó Riain, 2014). Afterwards, Ireland embarked on an austerity journey to rebuild competitiveness and regener-

ate its economy. This focus on competitiveness meant budget cuts, wage reductions, and labour precarity, while corporation tax and investment climate remained untouched (Fraser et al., 2013). Ireland's specific global position, and pathways of neoliberalisation and financialisation, created its vulnerability and austerity trajectory.

3.1. Spheres of Experience

Three dominant spheres emerged in the austerity experiences of young adults in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun: work and income, housing, and community and voluntary services. This section sets out the national context for these experiences.

First, austerity amplified the vulnerability of young adults in work and income (Verick, 2009); youth unemployment (ages 18 to 25) rose faster and remained higher than for the general population (van Lanen, 2020a). Public sector austerity included a hiring moratorium between 2009 and 2014, last-in-first-out redundancies, intensified competition for employment, and a one-year minimum wage reduction in 2011. Without much seniority and experience, young adults were more likely to lose jobs and least likely to secure them (Murphy & Loftus, 2015). Additionally, unemployment benefits (jobseekers allowance) were reduced specifically for persons under 25 €100/week for 18–24 and €144/week for 25. After these initial rollback dynamics—cuts to wages and social welfare—training and education programmes, which sometimes provided humble welfare top-ups, were rolled-out. However, in 2013 these top-ups were reduced in an attempt to increase their efficiency. After initial rollbacks, a "destructive creativity" rollout-rollback dynamic intended to reinvigorate a competitive economy where low-cost workfare pushed young adults into precarious jobs.

Second, austerity amplified transitions towards private housing provision, thereby amplifying the inaccessibility of suitable and affordable housing to young adults. First, austerity cut social housing budgets by 88% (Byrne & Norris, 2018), rapidly increasing waiting lists by 60% between 2008 and 2013 (O'Connor & Staunton, 2015). Second, stricter mortgage criteria required higher minimum deposits (Central Bank of Ireland, 2015). Third, private sector rents rose sharply as households excluded from social housing and owner-occupancy increased competitive pressure. At first, the rolling back of social housing investment reduced public spending and created rental investment opportunities to reinvigorate Ireland's property markets. Later, amidst an exploding affordability crisis, rolled-out housing supports consolidated investment interests; first-time buyer tax benefits drove up house prices, and the Housing Assistance Payment subsidised private rents, thereby favouring landlordism and institutional investment in Ireland's rental sector (Hearne & Murphy, 2017).

Thirdly, from 2008 to 2012, austerity reduced voluntary and community sector funding by 35% overall,

and 18% for services directed at disadvantaged youth (B. Harvey, 2012). The closure, service decline, and centralisation of community and voluntary services happened while their demand rose in the recession years. After the rolling back of funding, competitive funding mechanisms rolled out a transformation of the sector towards employability-focused services (Forde, 2020). Following an earlier rollback, rollout dynamic, where voluntary and community organisations took on welfare tasks (devolved risk), another round of destructive creativity saw their funding diminished and their role transformed.

3.2. Sphere 1: Work and Income

Youth unemployment was high in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun before, during, and after the 2008 financial crisis (van Lanen, 2020b). In these neighbourhoods, territorial stigmatisation amplified young adults' vulnerability in the labour market (Verick, 2009; Wacquant et al., 2014). During the Irish crisis and recovery, Ballymun youth unemployment rose more than the national average; 54% of 15–24-year-olds in Ballymun were unemployed in 2011, compared to 39% nationally (European Commission, 2016). For Knocknaheeny, which has comparable unemployment levels to Ballymun, such detailed data is unavailable (Central Statistics Office [CSO], 2017).

Comparative analysis of everyday austerity experience reveals that work and income featured more prominently in Knocknaheeny than in Ballymun. Knocknaheeny contained fewer activation services, educational facilities, and training programmes, which means unemployed youth were less likely "absorbed" in programmes with potential welfare top-ups:

> I came out of college, and I was, just turned 18, going to college…but there was no jobs in that sector, and I tried, ehm, applying for jobs, but nothing came back. Got a few interviews, didn't get the jobs, that was it, there was really, really nothing….So I was on a 100 euro a week, on the dole, social welfare, for four years, and I got paid on the Monday, so I never had a weekend life, never, so, I was at home all the time… (Simon, Knocknaheeny, 24)

> When you're on social welfare for five or six weeks, and then they are ringing you up, sending you letters, pushing to interviews, they want you to do something, which is good…still, though, like, it's not great… (Sean, Knocknaheeny, 18)

Simon was unemployed most of his adult life; limited income prevented him from having a weekend life, which he expected from his young adult years. Sean voices similar frustrations with life on benefits; apart from having low spending power, he was frustrated by a proactive and "pushy" welfare system associated with being inactive on benefits. Participation in training programmes,

such as YouthReach, could provide some extra income, a sense of purpose, and reduce external activation pressure by the welfare system. Like Simon and Sean, young adults from Knocknaheeny often regretted having nothing to do and lacking a sense of purpose or direction. In Knocknaheeny, interference with employment, welfare, and community sector rollback and workfare rollout made work and income a dominant austerity experience.

Better employment prospects alone—resulting from the Dublin-centred economic recovery—cannot fully explain the lesser importance of work and income in Ballymun austerity narratives. Contrary to Knocknaheeny, the presence of public, voluntary, and community services played a role here, providing purposeful activities and, sometimes, social welfare top-ups:

> I actually started as an intern, so I done a nine-month internship and that was part of the Youth Guarantee Scheme…and that finished in January, and since then they kept me on full-time… (Sophie, Ballymun, 25)

> I made CVs up in the Job Centre, the Ballymun Job Centre, and I went around shops…so I went to the Job Centre, and they helped with a mock interview and stuff, gave me tips and stuff. (Donna, Ballymun, 23)

Donna and Sophie used training and support services to get experience and find employment—opportunities more readily available to Ballymun youth through, for example, a neighbourhood-specific YouthReach facility, the Ballymun Job Centre, and the Ballymun Regional Youth Resource. These facilities could provide additional income, a sense of purpose, and a future perspective (van Lanen, 2021). Their presence follows partly from a larger population, the neighbourhood's reputation as an unemployment hotspot, and a history of community activism pushing for public interventions (Boyle, 2005).

Furthermore, the work and income experiences that emerged in Ballymun often concerned household income—rather than personal income in Knocknaheeny. One explanation might be the higher living costs, including rents, in Dublin (Private Residential Tenancies Board, 2015). In both neighbourhoods, participants often contributed to household expenses, which were often insufficient in Ballymun:

> For twelve years, I'd seen [my father] in work all the time, and now that, from then, he had no job, that was the first kinda time I saw the recession hit bad, yeah. (Josh, Ballymun, 21)

> There was times when it did get hard, like, with me mom's hours being cut, and losing her job, and a lot going on at home…it was kind of hard for my mom to…financially support three kids and a grandchild…herself, and a fiancé… (Tara, Ballymun, 18)

Josh and Tara discuss problems with household finances following employment changes for one of their parents, elsewhere describing impacts on rent and food. Josh and Tara were active in training and culture initiatives, which for Tara provided extra personal income and fulfilled a passion for Josh. Where both did encounter income restrictions was in their household. In Ballymun, the interference of a quicker employment recovery, higher prices, the earlier rollback of social housing, and the rollout of services mediated the personal work and income sphere.

In its everyday experience, austerity is more than fiscal and economic policy (Hall, 2019; Hitchen, 2016). However, a comparative analysis of Knocknaheeny and Ballymun illuminates how the interference of rollback-rollout dynamics shapes locally specific austerity experiences. While the overarching austerity measures impacted both neighbourhoods, local circumstances like the availability of services or (dis)investment in social housing shape the sensitivity in which these national dynamics "touch down" in everyday lives of young adults. Embedding a comparative analysis in global and national developments illuminates how national austerity emerges in localities and how interferences between national and local rollback-rollout dynamics shape everyday austerity experience.

3.3. Sphere 2: Housing

Real estate and housing were at the heart of the Celtic Tiger and the Irish economic crash. Ballymun and Knocknaheeny youth could hardly benefit from the wealth-generating opportunities of financialisation, but its disruptions did affect them. Social housing divestment, pressure-induced private rent increases, and, to a lesser degree, stricter mortgage regulation and rising house prices put affordable and suitable housing out of reach for most young adults from these neighbourhoods. Housing, therefore, played an essential role in everyday austerity experiences.

Most participants lived with their parents. Their main concern was the inability to find suitable housing to leave their parental home (van Lanen, 2022). Long public housing waiting lists and high private-sector rents frustrated their housing aspirations:

I'd prefer not to live at home, cause, like, I share a room with my sister and she is twelve, that's hard. And then the two boys are sharing like a box, and that is really small. So, like, and my brother is 18 nearly, and then the other is 13....So, I'd like to move out, but it's just, I just don't have the money. (Ciara, Knocknaheeny, 21)

But I wouldn't live with me dad, that's for sure, the house is crowded, there's about eleven people in that house, and there's only four bedrooms, it's mad, it's crazy. (Tara, Ballymun, 18)

The inability of young adults, such as Ciara and Tara, to move out of their parental house created overcrowding conditions, which reduced the homely qualities of rest or privacy. This situation was present in both Ballymun and Knocknaheeny; however, they surfaced more intensely in Ballymun.

The dominance of housing in Ballymun follows its regeneration process, where tenancy and physical transformations put the tangible and intangible aspects of housing centre stage. At the time of the crisis, both neighbourhoods underwent regeneration. The organisation of these projects partly shaped their outcome and the experience of housing under austerity. Ballymun Regeneration Limited, founded in 1997, is a private corporation responsible for regenerating the neighbourhood by reinvesting profits from land values, enterprises, and market-rate developments into physical, social, and economic improvements (Ballymun Regeneration Limited, 2005; Power, 2008). The rollback of the state, trusting regeneration to a public-private partnership model, made this regeneration vulnerable to crisis (Hearne, 2011). Private partners pulled out, and while some physical upgrades were realised, Ballymun Regeneration Limited failed to provide the promised social and economic regeneration. It did accomplish its intent to reduce social housing from 80% in 1997 to 43% by the end of regeneration. In 2016, the census recorded 33% of Ballymun households in social housing (CSO, 2017). Devolved risk to a private organisation created market vulnerabilities, resulting in youth exclusion from adequate housing.

The Knocknaheeny Regeneration Programme also launched in 1997, aiming to improve housing, infrastructure, and amenities (Mansfield, 2011). In this programme, accompanied by the 2001 Revitalising Areas by Planning, Investment, and Development Programme, the state was actively present in housing and facilities. Most importantly, it committed to maintaining social housing levels, remaining at 58% in 2016 (CSO, 2017). The 2014 Cork North West Quarter Regeneration Plan kept this commitment, aiming to renew the social housing stock, the town centre, and construct a new library. Contrary to Ballymun, the Knocknaheeny regeneration depended less on market forces and could safeguard social housing; its only significant adjustment to crisis and austerity was downscaling additional retail space. Keeping control at an earlier stage protected Knocknaheeny from intensified rollback dynamics during crisis and austerity.

The organisation of regeneration in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun had two consequences for housing as a sphere of austerity experience. First, more pronounced physical transformation in Ballymun—from high-rise apartment blocks to single-family housing—while its crisis disruption meant vacant fields and unrealised facilities. In Knocknaheeny, more piecemeal and phased housing renovation disrupted the visual, and physical environment less. Second, the tenure transformation

was more pronounced in Ballymun; the share of social housing declined by over 40% points in favour of private rental and owner-occupancy. In Knocknaheeny, the decline of social housing was less pronounced, guaranteeing affordability once young adults would acquire enough time on waiting lists. Dublin City Council committed to more devolved risk and destructive creativity, creating localised vulnerabilities to housing exclusion for Ballymun youth.

The embedded comparative approach embeds experiences in both neighbourhoods within a political economy of neoliberalisation and financialisation; it compares these experiences within their local context. This approach shows the influence of local regeneration plans; Knocknaheeny succeeded in maintaining social housing's dominant tenure states, and large-scale tenure transformations in Ballymun made housing a dominant sphere of everyday austerity experience. A more entrepreneurial approach to regeneration in Ballymun reformed housing through destructive creativity and devolved risk to a market actor, all inspired by deficit politics looking for low state costs for renewal (D. Harvey, 1989; Peck, 2012). National neoliberalisation of housing interferes with local government approaches to shape how austerity is lived and felt in everyday life.

3.4. Sphere 3: Community and Voluntary Sector

The third sphere of austerity experience was the community and voluntary sector. Both Knocknaheeny and Ballymun contained several community and voluntary organisations, such as the Ballymun Job Centre, Plough Youth Club, and Poppintree Youth Project in Ballymun, and the Canteen and the Youth Justice Project in Knocknaheeny. As mentioned above, Ballymun had more, and more varied public, community, and voluntary organisations. This initial position influenced their role in everyday austerity experience, although organisations in both neighbourhoods dealt with increasingly competitive and conditional funding (Forde, 2020; B. Harvey, 2012).

As a sphere of austerity experience, the voluntary and community sector was more present in Ballymun. Partly, this follows the more prominent institutional presence and, thus, exposure of such organisations in Ballymun. This presence is explained by Ballymun's larger population and recent history of community activism (Boyle, 2005). These services were not uncontested; the feature-length documentary "4th Act" shows service rollout and replacement leading to the closure and centralisation of community organisations under stricter municipal control during Ballymun's regeneration. Nonetheless, many Ballymun participants appreciated what the community and voluntary sector used to offer, including leisure, training, and general support:

> POBAL…decided to cut their funding, because they couldn't afford to have the Ballymun partnership, so

now they've given their funding…to the Finglas Tolka Area Partnership, and now they have to take over Ballymun as well, which is not fair to them, they have to take more strain on because their area is widened, but it's not fair to this community either, there were so many opportunities for young people. (Hannah, Ballymun, 19)

> I know what good work this building does, like, but it's only so much it can take in, like, and as I said with budget cuts and stuff like that…this building could offer a lot more but it wouldn't, it would be working out of his means then…that's kinda about the results of the cuts… (Michael, Ballymun, 24)

Despite positive experiences with, in this case, the Ballymun Partnership (Hannah) and the Ballymun Regional Youth Resource (Michael), these and other services closed, centralised, or diminished their services in response to austerity. After earlier local rollout, the rollback under austerity reduced the capacities of these and other organisations, which rippled through everyday austerity experiences, expressing a sense of loss, limitation and missed opportunities—both for participants themselves and the community to which they feel they belong.

In Knocknaheeny, available services were always lower or concentrated on the city's north side rather than the neighbourhood. As a result, the closure, centralisation, and limitation of such services were less acutely felt. This did not mean there were no issues. Still, these were expressed as a continuous experience of nothing to do, particularly for young adults. Impacts on voluntary and community organisations fitted into a narrative of slow abandonment, the long-term rollback of services that preceded austerity. However, budget cuts might have intensified it for some time:

> Cause like the clubs now only go on throughout the school year. They need them during the summer as well, like. They need more things happening during the summer. (Ciara, Knocknaheeny, 21)

> There is not enough for young people around here, like, we have a football pitch around here, but it's a stride. Over drinking and fires and stuff, like, people starting fires….More places, like, for young people to go out by day, like, something for them to do… (Billy, Knocknaheeny, 18)

Ciara and Billy both claim that there is not enough for people their age in Knocknaheeny, especially not at the times this is most needed—weekends and evenings. However, these concerns are less directly linked to austerity compared to Ballymun. Instead, the relative absence of facilities is narrated as a lack of attention and opportunities for and in the neighbourhood. These experiences feed into the work and income sphere, as young

adults from Knocknaheeny sense a structural disadvantage that makes it hard to gain an adequate income to support themselves or their households.

The voluntary and community sector experienced a rollout-rollback dynamic. During the Celtic Tiger period, these organisations took over welfare state functions. First, after the crisis, competitive and conditional funding devolved the risk of implementing these functions to these organisations, downloading failure of service provisions in the shadow of a retracting welfare state. Second, in destructive creativity, austerity targeted and reformed previously outsourced welfare functions, shaping the everyday austerity experiences of disadvantaged urban youth. As such, the voluntary and community sector became, at times, an actor in guiding unemployed youth into precarious work. The comparative analysis shows that the everyday experience of these dynamics emerges in interference with local rhythms of rollback-rollout neoliberalisation. Local rollout in Ballymun amplified the disappearance of community services in everyday austerity experiences. Simultaneously long-term rollback in Knocknaheeny resulted in a more continuous experience of decline. The embedded comparative approach can explain differences in everyday austerity experiences due to these neoliberalisation interferences.

4. Discussion

The analysis of everyday austerity experiences in Knocknaheeny and Ballymun explores the embedded comparative approach. This approach consciously connects developments at different scales, such as the global financial crisis, the Irish austerity regime, and local austerity experiences. The analysis shows that local differentiation in the experience of national austerity results from the interference between national and local rollback-rollout mechanisms (Peck, 2012; Peck & Tickell, 2002). Irish austerity policies in the three dominant spheres of austerity experience—work and income, housing, and the community and voluntary sector—display moments of rollback, the cuts, and rollout neoliberalisation, reforms in partial response to austerity-induced policy failures. In the everyday austerity experiences of young adults from Knocknaheeny and Ballymun, however, local developments with their own rollback-rollout mechanisms intensify or soothe the experienced impacts of national policy.

The interference of neoliberalisation processes results from local history and geographies interacting with processes operating at a higher scalar level—such as national austerity or the international financial crisis. In the case of Knocknaheeny and Ballymun, two elements were of particular importance. First, the entrepreneurial or managerial organisation of neighbourhood regeneration (D. Harvey, 1989). The entrepreneurial, public-private regeneration model of Ballymun amplified the housing vulnerability of young adults. In contrast, the more managerial social-housing-oriented regeneration

of Knocknaheeny soothed but did not prevent housing from emerging as a vital sphere of austerity experience. Second, the presence and disappearance of public, voluntary, and community services. In Ballymun, local community organisations created a more profound presence of public, voluntary, and community services in the neighbourhood. Local political history thus amplified a national rollout dynamic of financing such organisations to provide certain welfare functions. This interferential high of rollout presence provided a sharper contrast with the austerity rollback of funding compared to Knocknaheeny, thereby launching these services as a dominant sphere of austerity experience in Ballymun.

The embedded comparative approach enabled documenting rollback-rollout mechanisms at different scalar levels (embedded) and in different places (comparative). Embedding the everyday experiences within overarching developments, inspired by PEEL scholarship, structurally connects these experiences to global and national events (Elias, 2010). Comparing everyday experiences between two distinct neighbourhoods, inspired by comparative urbanism, prevents simplistic generalisation beyond cases (Peck, 2015). Together, an embedded comparative approach embeds everyday experiences both in local context and overarching development, thus presenting a structured approach to understanding places, in this case, Ballymun and Knocknaheeny, and phenomena, here austerity and neoliberalisation.

5. Conclusion

The embedded comparative approach is a strategy to compare everyday phenomena and experiences in two (or more) specific case studies while remaining attentive to the structural transformations that drive them. The embedded approach employs PEEL to contribute to debates about methodology and scale in comparative urbanism (Brill, 2022b; Sayın et al., 2022; Tuvikene, 2016). Using everyday austerity experiences in Ireland, this article illustrated a comparative analysis sensitive to different scalar levels and places. In this way, this article presents two contributions and one invitation to comparative urban studies.

First, the embedded comparative approach provides a template to analyse the relations between structural developments, mundane practices, and everyday experiences in comparative urban studies. The presented analysis links a global phenomenon, a national response, and a local experience; an inter-scalar analysis documenting common origins and local geographies that explain austerity experiences in different places. This approach balances structural theory and analysis with specific manifestations (Nijman, 2015; Peck, 2015), illuminating interferences between national and local neoliberalising processes to understand localised austerity experiences and the overarching origin of these experiences. This integration of place and scale in the analysis initiates a "spatial PEEL."

Second, empirically applying the embedded comparative approach to austerity experiences in Ireland shows that national austerity accentuates existing spatial inequalities. Austerity in Ireland impacted young adults in three dominant areas: work and income, housing, and community and voluntary services. These areas were significant in both Knocknaheeny and Ballymun. Nonetheless, the relative intensity of these areas was given by the interference of national and local rollback-rollout neoliberalisation, embedded within local governance and institutional geographies. The "topologies and topographies of Ireland's neoliberal crisis" (O'Callaghan et al., 2015, p. 31) are shaped by these interferences from above and below, which forge the manifestation of structural austerity in everyday experience.

Finally, this article invites urban scholars to apply the embedded comparative approach "upwards and downwards." The downward application, presented here, works from global and structural developments "down" to local experiences. Future research could apply embedded comparisons upwards, taking further inspiration from PEEL. Starting with local, everyday practices and tracing their impacts to national and global structural transformations. It also invites urban planners to use an embedded comparative approach as a tool to understand how local interventions amplify or soothe larger-scale developments. As the above examples show, the institutional design of urban renewal or planning for public services can shape the intensity of everyday political and economic change. In the future, upward application could exemplify how local interventions can influence national or global developments. In this way, the embedded comparative approach can be a tool for both analysis and change.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

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Article

The Interweaving of Everyday and Structural Perspectives: Exploring Suburban Struggles of Everyday Life

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Abstract

Everyday life is a central element for understanding the (sub)urban. Broader forces shape the (sub)urban and manifest in both its geographical structures and everyday life. These forces also shape globalized and complex urban contexts. Recent debates have addressed the question of which research designs best decipher this interplay. We argue that the struggles of everyday life could be a fruitful starting point for (sub)urban studies. Our research on socio-spatial changes in suburbia shows that these struggles emerge in a multidimensional field of tension. The concept of struggles of everyday life simultaneously acknowledges the relevance of the everyday and the impact of structural forces. We demonstrate this with our research design, the essential elements of which are literature work, narrative-episodic interviews, expert interviews, vignettes, and a hermeneutic, iterative research process. Conceptually, our research is based on the epistemological framework of planetary urbanization and Henri Lefebvre's perspective on everyday life. We outline which conceptual and methodical approaches are useful for deciphering the interweaving of everyday life and structural forces, through the example of a suburb of the City of Cologne, Germany. Thereby, we provide remarks on recent questions of comparative urbanism in conceptual and methodological terms.

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Between the 'Structural' and the 'Everyday': Bridging Macro and Micro Perspectives in Comparative Urban Research" edited by Nadine Appelhans (TU Berlin) and Sophie Schramm (TU Dortmund).

1. Introduction

Cities are places that are particularly well suited for the observation and study of social change. Therefore, in urban research, a variety of different approaches are being used to explain social changes. Practices of everyday life are the central elements for understanding the (sub)urban. At the same time, broader forces are shaping the (sub)urban, manifesting in its geographic structures and everyday life, and producing globalized, wide-ranging, and complex urban contexts. In order to analyze the structural configurations, dynamics, and local practices of transformations in urban life, it makes sense to bridge the gap between approaches that focus on the "structural" and approaches that focus on the "everyday" while simultaneously combining micro and macro approaches.

These transformations can be brought together through the perspectives of postmodern urban development and regional urbanization (Soja, 2000, 2011, 2013). In recent years, there has been a substantial focus on urban peripheries, resulting in notions of planetary/extended urbanization, and much consideration of our planet as a suburban planet (Brenner, 2013; Keil, 2018). The suburban can be understood through three different approaches: first, from a perspective that emphasizes physical-territorial entities and in which the term is used as a descriptor for bounded, physical entities or places, for example, political-administrative boundaries; second, from a processual perspective that focuses

on the dynamics of urbanization and suburbanization; and third, from a more socio-cultural perspective, in which the qualities and characteristics of suburban forms of life come into focus (Mlejnek & Lütke, 2022). Using this perspective, we are able to decouple the suburban from spatial "containerizations." This seems particularly relevant given the apparent boundaries between urban and suburban are increasingly dissolving and that the urban and the suburban can become visible anywhere in the urban context, the suburban being a part of the urban. However, any view of the suburban would be incomplete without considering the spatial context. Therefore, the approaches are not mutually exclusive, but productive, mutually influential perspectives.

According to Keil (2022, p. 407), "the periphery, which had heretofore been described as unalterable and stable, is the place where change is most profound and where urban society experiences a redefinition." As our planet is a suburban planet, it seems necessary to move away from focusing only on certain spatial units, such as the urban, when studying socio-spatial changes. Broader forces and processes, such as demographic changes, individualization, changes in migration and the housing market, the flexibilization of working environments, and recent crises, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, do not stop at specific spatial categorizations. Furthermore, debates about suburbia running out of personnel (Häußermann, 2009), the suburban being found in urban areas (e.g., Frank, 2018), and the urban expanding into suburban areas (e.g., Mlejnek et al., 2020) have already articulated the need for research into socio-spatial changes focused on the suburban. If the suburban "had heretofore been described as unalterable and stable" (Keil, 2022, p. 407), it seems even more interesting to explore why that is. Following this argument, it seems to be a worthwhile task to put the urban context in perspective by starting with the suburban (see, e.g., Phelps, 2021; Phelps et al., 2023).

In this article, we address the need for a more in-depth study of the suburban and suggest a way to analyze socio-spatial change on the everyday level by focusing on the struggles of everyday life. The article, therefore, deals with socio-spatial change from a methodological-conceptual point of view and contributes to the wide-ranging research being undertaken on the suburban in present years—see, for example, the Global Suburbanisms project (https://suburbs.info.yorku.ca)—by providing a qualitative, exploratory study on Widdersdorf, Cologne, in Germany. Thereby, we aim to explore the dynamic interplay between broader forces and daily life by exploring the struggles of everyday life. The widely discussed theory of planetary urbanization (Brenner & Schmid, 2011) offers a fruitful approach for this purpose that we have applied to our research on German-speaking suburbia. Expanding these thoughts, we argue that understanding the context of everyday struggles is at the heart of observing transformations of social change in urban studies. Struggles of every-

day life simultaneously reflect the relevance of the everyday (micro) and the impact of structural forces (macro). In our research, which aims to understand the different manifestations of socio-spatial change in suburbia, these concepts reflect the idea that these manifestations take place in multiscalar shapes and forms. We conceived our contribution within a broader understanding of planning. Empirical social research on social change provides important contributions to planning (see, e.g., Allmendinger, 2017; Schäfers, 2018). In particular, exploratory basic research is an important tool for preparing planning decisions. Thus, a scalar conceptualization of socio-spatial change in everyday life that merges the "structural" and the "everyday" in an analytical framework (for comparative research) is much needed (Mlejnek & Lütke, 2022).

Everyday struggles illuminate the intertwining of everyday and structural perspectives. As such, we contribute to the understanding of current issues in comparative urban research. As the world is no longer an urban but a suburban planet (Keil, 2018), it is necessary to study the urban peripheries in places other than North America, which has provided the stereotype for suburbia for a long time. To date, the field of suburban studies has turned its attention to African, Asian, South American, and European suburbs, but there are still many more suburbanisms to discover (see, e.g., Keil & Wu, 2022). The Global Suburbanisms project has revealed an almost infinite diversity of the suburban, opening a dialogue between perspectives from the Global North and the Global South. This has led, in particular, to a demand for comparative (sub)urban studies through which one can focus on the commonalities and differences of the suburban in various parts of the world or through which one could find an interpretation or concept of the suburban from elsewhere speaking to anywhere (Robinson, 2022). In our study, we transfer the planetary urbanization perspective to German-speaking suburbia discourses through the case of Widdersdorf, which we use to decipher socio-spatial changes and how they are currently dealt with. The objective of the article is, therefore, conceptual and methodological in nature, as we show how our analytical framework and methods enable the interweaving of micro- and macro-perspectives and how such a concept could expand the scope of comparative criteria when centering struggles of everyday life.

In the next two sections, we explain the theoretical and conceptual foundations of our study in order to provide insight into our points of departure. In Section 3, we present our analytical framework and methods. In Section 4, we then identify the recent struggles of everyday life that we encountered in our study. In Section 5, we discuss our results with regard to our analytical framework and finally, in Section 6, summarize our core results and offer our perspective on possible future research.

2. Struggles of Everyday Life

We anchor our research on socio-spatial changes in people's everyday life. Generally, everyday life is understood as "the ordinary and regular practices that people engage in day in and day out" (Rodgers et al., 2013). However, there are very different interpretations of everyday life. From a sociological perspective, in 1978, Elias (2009) compared what could be understood as everyday life and what its corresponding opposite would be. For him, it was important to draw attention to the fact that researchers must clearly state what they mean by the term. Furthermore, he emphasized that everyday life takes place on both structural and individual levels and that, as a result, both perspectives must be taken into consideration (Elias, 2009; Perulli, 2016). This is especially true when seeking to understand socio-spatial change.

Henri Lefebvre is another well-acclaimed theorist of everyday life whose works combine everyday life with social changes. According to Lefebvre, everyday life is the starting point for all social change and his concept of everyday life is based on the idea that everyday life is formed by economic-technological imperatives and subjected to economic reality. This is reflected in the societal and economic developments that occurred after the Second World War and were later known as Fordism (Schmid, 2022; see also Gardiner, 2000; Ronneberger & Vogelpohl, 2018). Lefebvre was interested in the banal and trivial of everyday life, which, for him, embodied a "revolutionary potential" for socio-spatial change. It is the place, where the "production" of society takes place and, therefore:

> Exposes the possibilities of conflict between the rational and the irrational in our society and our time, thus permitting the formulation of concrete problems of *production* (in its widest sense): how the social existence of human beings is *produced*, its transition from want to affluence and from appreciation to depreciation. (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 39, emphasis in the original)

However, everyday life itself appears to be largely inconspicuous. Thus, he observed that the "quotidian is humble and solid, what is taken for granted and that of which all the parts follow each other in such a regular, unvarying succession that those concerned have no call to question their sequence" (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 24). Therefore, the unique contribution of Lefevbre's perspective is to explain society by analyzing its ordinary everyday life (Schmid, 2022).

For Lefebvre, everyday life is about recurring gestures of work and recreation. Iterations can be seen in actions but also in elements of time and space. Practices of everyday life, as a result, can be re-produced or modified. He explains:

> Thus we assert our decision to explore *recurrence*. Everyday life is made of recurrences: gestures of

labour and leisure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic, hours, days, weeks, months, years, linear and cyclical repetitions, natural and rational time, etc.; the study of creative activity (of *production*, in its widest sense) leads to the study of re-production or the conditions in which actions producing objects and labour are re-produced, re-commenced, and re-assume their component proportions or, on the contrary, undergo gradual or sudden modifications. (Lefebvre, 1971, p. 18, emphasis in the original; see also Lefebvre, 1987)

So, it is in the day-to-day routines or, more specifically, in the struggles that people encounter in their everyday lives that socio-spatial changes can be traced. In regard to Lefebvre's vision of an urban revolution, one might think about struggles in a strictly revolutionary sense. Yet a "struggle," in a generalized and conceptually open sense, can be understood in various ways, for example, as a fight, a difficulty, a great effort, or a resistance. Struggles can be traced in the passive, seemingly trivial events of everyday life, as points of friction or markers that indicate the presence of cracks in socio-spatial structures. Furthermore, the strategies affected people use to address those struggles do not necessarily culminate in a "revolution," rather, the everyday adaptions help people press on with everyday life. According to this interpretation, struggles appear to be systemic but manageable parts of everyday life.

In relation to the study of suburbs specifically, Keil (2022) emphasizes that suburbs and ways of living in suburbs have been "normalized" and that many studies have drawn "lines around the subject of the suburban to capture its ordered regularities and predictable trajectories" (p. 405). In light of Lefebvre's perspective on everyday life, which centers the ordinary in everyday life, the suburban seems to be a rich setting for the study of societal changes. As previously mentioned, socio-spatial changes evolve not only in urban or rural, but also suburban contexts (see Section 1 and, e.g., De Vidovich, 2022; Häußermann, 2009; Hesse & Siedentop, 2018; Mlejnek et al., 2020). In our case, focusing on recurrences in everyday life and their reproduction and/or modification helps us to decipher socio-spatial changes and descriptions of the "unalterable and stable" suburban (Keil, 2022, p. 407). As we show in Section 4, focusing on the struggles of everyday life highlights the processes of reproducing and modifying the suburban.

3. Research Design

3.1. Analytical Framework

The major strands of urban theory widely discussed in recent years include debates about planetary urbanization. Brenner and Schmid (2011, 2015, 2018) are two researchers at the heart of these debates. They argue that the urban is still "black-boxed" (Brenner &

Schmid, 2015, p. 155) meaning that we would need a new epistemological framework to address this open agenda. They provide such a framework through the term planetary urbanization, which is a reference to Lefebvre (e.g., Brenner, 2013, 2018; Brenner & Schmid, 2011; Schmid et al., 2018). As our conceptual starting point, we focus on an integral part of their concept, a nexus of three moments of urbanization (concentrated urbanization, extended urbanization, and differential urbanization) and three dimensions of urbanization (spatial practices, territorial regulation, and everyday life). Together, these elements "produce the unevenly woven, restlessly mutating urban fabric of the contemporary world" (Brenner & Schmid, 2018, p. 57; see also Brenner & Schmid, 2015, p. 171, 2018, pp. 56–59). However, Brenner and Schmid's framework has been criticized in various ways (see, in particular, two special issues focusing on their works: Oswin & Pratt, 2021; Peake et al., 2018). A central strand of this criticism focuses on the notion that Brenner and Schmid do not place enough emphasis on everyday life (e.g., Ruddick et al., 2018) or the works of Lefebvre (e.g., Buckley & Strauss, 2016) upon which their framework is based. Thus, at the end of their critically engaged discussion of planetary urbanization, Angelo and Goh (2021, p. 743) emphasize that "to expose and center everyday struggles as an inevitable part of plural, multiscalar processes."

Recently, this criticism has been taken up and developed further, resulting in a scheme that centers struggles of everyday life within a field of tension between segments derived from planetary urbanization and extended with Lefebvre's three dimensions of space (Mlejnek & Lütke, 2022). In each case, the segments cover facets of micro (*forms of life*, *daily routines and practices*, and *social and everyday experiences*) or macro perspectives (*built environments*, *territorial arrangements*, *governance systems*, and *territorial regulation*).

Table 1 shows our analytical framework centered on the dimensions in which the struggles of everyday life unfold (middle row) and structured in micro and macro

perspectives. The bottom row contains short explanations of the respective segments. Centering the struggles of everyday life within these segments provides us with a fruitful opportunity to combine micro and macro perspectives in our exploratory study. These segments are, however, not to be understood as separated, fixed, and standalone but as open and interdependent, and are only listed here in tabular form for better clarity. The interdependence of the dimensions is evident, for example, in social and everyday experiences related to the socialization of inhabitants and the experiences they gather through daily routines, territorial arrangements that relate to a specific location, and to the specific location's accessibility via infrastructure. At the same time, experience gathered through daily routines and practices interrelates with the built environment and territorial arrangements. Moreover, interconnections depend on people's living arrangements and differ accordingly. For example, families with kids have different everyday struggles than individual senior citizens do. In Section 4, we take these segments as the starting points for our analysis of the struggles of everyday life and combine them with Lefebvre's perspective on everyday life focusing on the practices of re-production and modification.

3.2. Methods

Our contribution is based on an ongoing explorative study of people living in Widdersdorf, a suburban district of the City of Cologne, Germany. With regard to socio-spatial change, Widdersdorf appears to be particularly interesting as the district has been greatly expanded not only through construction but also socio-structurally as there is a large newly developed area (see Section 4). Furthermore, Widdersdorf, being a suburban district of Cologne, is influenced by the heterogeneity of this large city and broader, globalized forces. At the same time, it is also permeated by stereotypes of suburban life. To date, 10 narrative-episodic interviews (see, e.g., Flick, 2022) have been conducted, mostly with families with children. Most interviews were conducted in person with

Table 1. Dimensions of struggles of everyday life.

	Micro				Macro			
Forms of life	Daily routines	Practices	Social experiences	Everyday experiences	Built environments	Territorial arrangements	Governance systems	Territorial regulation
Living arrangements of people/ household	Series of activities at a certain time that is done regularly (every) day	Way, form, and manner of action	Experiences based on, e.g., socialization, biography, and origin	Experiences made in daily life, e.g., through daily routines and practices	Physical structures and material objects of the environment	Relational positioning regarding, e.g., locations/site or centrality	Form/ system of regulation, e.g., participatory planning	Legislation and politics

Source: Authors' work based on Brenner and Schmid (2015, 2018) and Mlejnek and Lütke (2022).

one or two adult family members. Some were conducted as video interviews at the request of the interviewees. The audio material amounts to approximately 600 minutes. All audio materials were transcribed and analyzed using an open coding process. The citations from the interviews used in the following have been translated into English for the purpose of this article. All names and other personal information have been anonymized. In Section 4, we therefore resort to anonymizations in the form of "Interviewee 1/2 (Household A/B/C)." As triangulation was a key principle in our research, observations from field trips and interviews were gathered in field vignettes that helped contextualize and set the scene in which the interviews were conducted. Field vignettes are a form of written description of authentic situations from the field. They condense the experiences of the researcher during their field visits (see, e.g., Creutziger, 2018). Furthermore, they helped the researcher self-reflect on their own positionality. In addition, two expert interviews were conducted with professionals involved in the process of conceptualizing and planning the large newly built area, Widdersdorf-Süd. Finally, we complemented our data by adding information gathered from local reports/documents and statistics. Data collection started in January 2022 and is still ongoing. Our research process is based on the moment of iteration/circularity. That is, there are no strictly separable stages in the research process (e.g., sampling, analysis, presentation), they are all being worked on in tandem. The collected data is, thus, promptly evaluated in order to draw conclusions about the methods used and the subsequent cases to collect.

4. Micro and Macro Perspectives: Impressions From the Field

In the following, we exemplify how micro and macro perspectives are interwoven in the struggles encountered by the participants in our study. We found that the struggles of everyday life are related to very different topics including everyday mobility, housing (especially searching for a home and future plans), recreation, childcare, and domestic work, etc. In this article, we focus on some key aspects of mobility relevant to the inhabitants of Widdersdorf and present them in a more condensed and comprehensible way by highlighting the interweaving of micro and macro perspectives through the labeled segments presented in Table 1.

First, we describe our case study, Widdersdorf, by illuminating its built environment and territorial arrangement. Widdersdorf is a small suburban village on the outskirts of the City of Cologne, with long historical roots and a formerly agricultural character. It was incorporated into the City of Cologne in 1975. Since then, there have been several urban extensions, predominantly featuring new residential buildings. In terms of settlement structure, the district has no direct links to nearby neighborhoods. It is surrounded by green infrastructure and sep-

arated from the central area of Cologne by a highway (see Figure 1). It is today predominantly characterized by residential buildings but has a vibrant community life (in particular connected with the football club and carnival association).

What is distinctive about Widdersdorf is the substantial extension of the built environment. Widdersdorf-Süd, the newly built area, is known to be one of Germany's biggest privately developed areas focused on predominantly single-family homes. Widdersdorf-Süd covers an area of approximately 500,000 m^2 net and includes approximately 1,600 housing units (around 850 single-family homes and 250 apartment buildings). The whole planning area of Widdersdorf-Süd is 132 ha, including residential and traffic areas, green spaces, and a golf course. In total, 27% of the housing units in the newly built-up area are apartment buildings. The largest proportion of the housing units are single-family homes. These are divided into terraced houses (22 %), semi-detached houses (26 %), and detached houses (24 %; see Figure 2 for some examples).

The planning process of the newly built area Widdersdorf-Süd started in 1999, the development plans became legally binding in 2006, 2010, and 2012, and marketing of the plots started in 2007. The number of inhabitants of Widdersdorf rose strongly during this process, about 55% in a decade: The population increased from 8,024 inhabitants in 2010 to 12,453 inhabitants in 2020. In 2000, the district only had about 5,810 inhabitants (Amt für Stadtentwicklung und Statistik, 2018, 2020; Schäfke, 2017; Wieck et al., 2014).

Our study has identified mobility as one of the main everyday struggles. Mobility is somewhat limited in Widdersdorf compared to other parts of Cologne. In terms of the territorial arrangement, Widdersdorf is only connected to other parts of the city by two roads and bus connections. There is currently no streetcar connection, although one has been in planning for a long time. Therefore, to get to Widdersdorf, one either has to travel by car or take a bus from one of the nearby districts. However, the buses, according to some of the interviewees, are not always reliable and are mostly used by children going to and from school. Within Widdersdorf itself, most distances are walkable or bikeable.

Turning our focus to forms of life, in a manner reminiscent of "classic" suburbia, most people in Widdersdorf live with their families in some form of single-family home and approximately 38.5% of the households in Widdersdorf have children. In comparison, only 18.3 % of households have children in Cologne (Amt für Stadtentwicklung und Statistik, 2020). The everyday life of the families we interviewed is shaped by a typically hectic pace and the organizational struggles of balancing childcare, domestic work, job obligations, and recreation. Many day-to-day tasks or responsibilities require some form of transport, whether for taking the children to school or kindergarten, commuting to work, daily shopping needs, or going to the sports club. As Interviewee 2
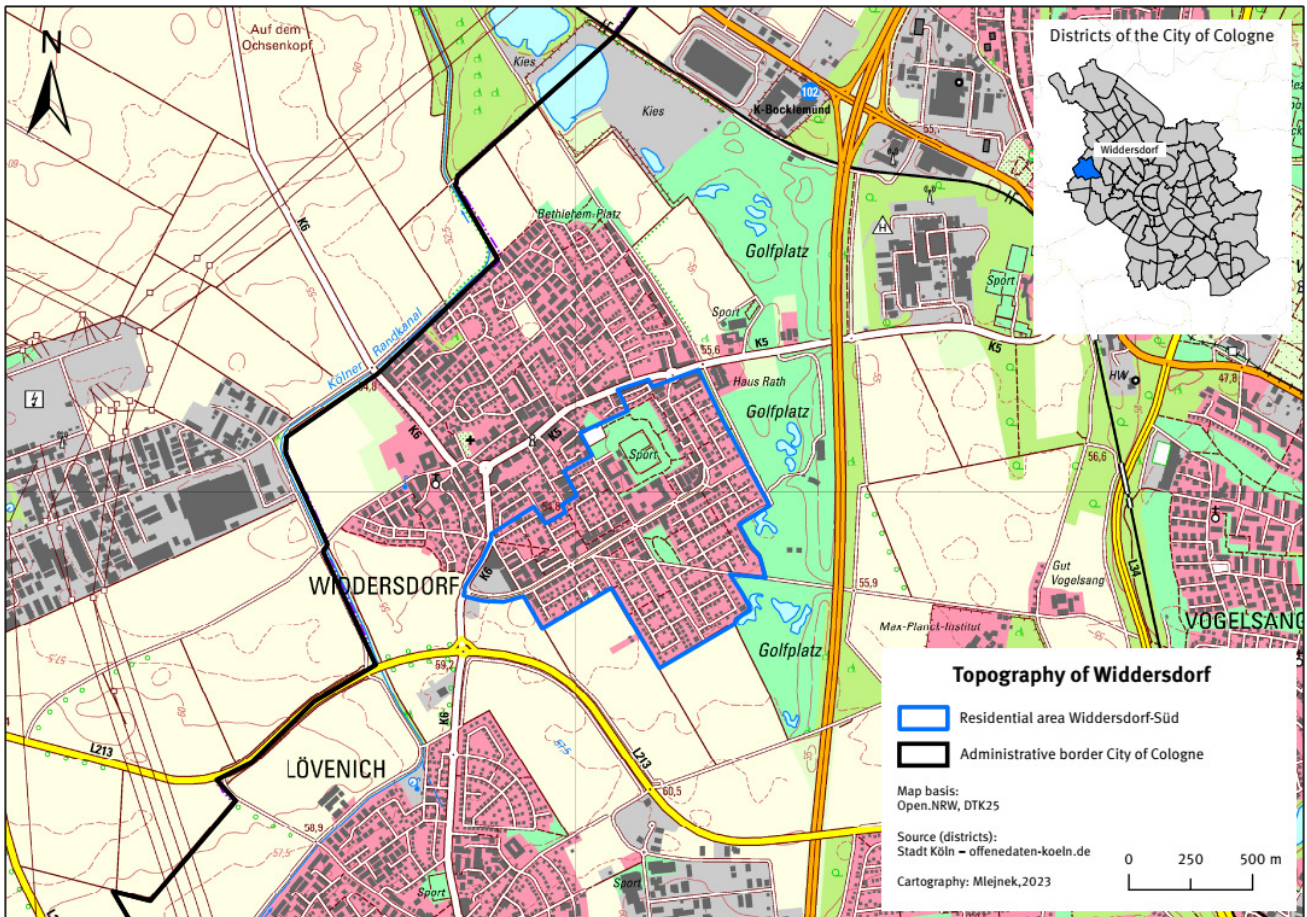
Figure 1. Overview of Widdersdorf. Source: Marius Mlejnek, 2023, based on Landesregierung Nordrhein-Westfalen (2023) and Stadt Köln (2023).

(Household E), who lives in a row house with her husband and two children, puts it: "So my everyday life consists of working, childcare, housework." This is of course different in other cases. For example, Interviewee 1 (Household G) is a single senior citizen. She lives in a cooperative women's housing project (*Beginenhof*). Her daily life has fewer obligations and is characterized more by volunteering, community, and recreation activities, which nevertheless involve commitments and transport requirements, for example, going to the theater or the opera downtown. Another respondent, Interviewee 1 (Household F), lives in a single-family home (bungalow) with his same-sex partner and no children. His everyday mobility needs are predominantly shaped by his airline job, which requires him to travel all over the world. He is only at home in Widdersdorf part-time, that is, only ever for a few days at a time.

Everyday experiences as well as social experiences in suburbia not only differ based on people's form of life but also on which force shapes the individual's everyday life. For example, as he is often away because of his airline job, Interviewee 1 (Household F) has different everyday experiences in places all over the globe while, for example, Households A, B, C, or E who are all families with kids living in Widdersdorf full-time have

everyday experiences that are highly influenced by social routines and practices within Widdersdorf. Nevertheless, their experiences of socialization influence their everyday struggles. Thus coming from a more rural area in Germany, Household E used to consider homeownership and homes with a lot of space as "the gold standard" where they came from but now, after living in Widdersdorf for six years, are feeling comfortable in their row house.

The daily routines and practices of the families in our study are geared toward the daily tasks previously mentioned. The built environment (especially the infrastructure) of Widdersdorf makes it possible to perform many everyday tasks on foot or by bicycle. With regard to the territorial arrangement, the location of Widdersdorf, thereby, supports keeping the everyday life of the families living in Widdersdorf primarily within the neighborhood: "So it's like, everyday life takes place a lot in Widdersdorf actually" (Interviewee 2, Household E). Being outside of their daily routines and outside of Widdersdorf is what Interviewee 1 (Household E) described as the opposite of everyday life: it is something special. As they do not have a theater or cinema or much gastronomy in the neighborhood, people often leave the district to engage in these recreational activities.

Figure 2. Examples from Widdersdorf-Süd (top four) and other parts of Widdersdorf (bottom two). Photos by Marius Mlejnek, 2022–2023.

Commuting to work is a good example of a daily routine related to mobility that can be a struggle for those living in Widdersdorf. Regarding the built environment and especially the transport infrastructure, there is often no practical way around driving a car to work. While an expert from the City of Cologne describes car use as part of today's *Lebensinzenierung* (life staging), the interviewees have a different perspective. Interviewee 1 (Household B) explains:

I drive, normally there's a bit of congestion most of the time, but I drive 25 minutes in the morning. If I travel by public transport, that's one and a half hours, easy. So…that doesn't pay off at all.

The place of work of Interviewee 1 (Household B) is only about 20 km from Widdersdorf but using public transportation is not a viable option for him because of the time it would take, so he drives instead. An expert from

the City of Cologne confirms this problem: "In my view, the residents, including new residents, are significantly dependent on actually driving to their workplaces by car." In doing so, he also admits that the situation would be better if there was a streetcar connection. Yet, he cannot say when, or even if, that will eventuate: "As far as I know, there are still no actual figures presented here that prove that this route…would actually be economically viable." As a result, as Interviewee 1 (Household A) noted, it is always very crowded on the street during rush hour because most people drive their cars to work in the morning and back home in the afternoon/evening. Interviewee 1 (Household E), whose workplace is around 13 km from their home, recently bought an e-bike for his commute. This, according to him, is much easier than using public transport or a car.

With regard to governance systems and territorial regulation, this is a contentious issue: Why is there still no streetcar connection when it was planned from the

beginning—even if there are no reliable economic figures right now—especially given the enormous population growth in the neighborhood and the possible future growth and denser building structures? A more strictly supply-oriented urban governance would have built a streetcar connection in the beginning as this would have encouraged people to use it. As Gehl (2010) suggested, it could be argued that we should not only build cities for people but also suburbs.

The Covid-19 pandemic was another major influence on the everyday struggles of our subjects. Looking at territorial regulation, in Germany, the regulative institutions not only initiated lockdowns, as in many other places, but there was also a duty for employers to allow employees to work remotely/from home when possible. Working from home represents a significant opportunity to better manage the struggles of everyday life and not having to commute every day supports the management of the daily routines and practices of families. Moving to Widdersdorf (before the pandemic) and struggling with childcare and job obligations, Interviewee 2 (Household B) gave up her original job in finance to work part-time as a secretary in a public institution:

> Exactly, I work three days a week and only five hours a day, so that I could even manage if my husband could not be here because of work. That I can get the kids to school and also be back when school ends.

Interviewee 1 (Household B), who has a time-consuming job in the sports industry, describes the job change as having been necessary for managing everyday life. Thus, the pandemic had such a major influence on everyday life that Interviewee 1 (Household E) differentiated between two everyday lives: "One everyday life working from home, one everyday life where we are on the road." As Interviewee 2 (Household E) articulated, everyday life is a lot less stressful for families when working from home:

> It is definitely helpful that someone is at home much more often….Not having to commute, not having to get on the highway and see if I get stuck in a traffic jam, if I'll still get to kindergarten or school on time, or if I'll get home on time. Is my daughter perhaps standing in front of a closed door because I didn't make it on time? So it certainly lessens the stress.

Everyday life before, when commuting to the workplace, required a lot more organizational effort. Furthermore, Household A used to employ a *Leih-Oma*, an elderly woman to take care of the children, who they dismissed during the first Covid-19 lockdown:

> We initially looked for a *Leih-Oma*, because he always worked in the office, never worked from home, who could take charge of the kids at three o'clock….We just don't have that problem now. So during the lockdown, the first one, we let her go immediately.

(Interviewee 1, Household A)

The former *Leih-Oma* is simply not needed anymore because either Interviewee 1 or 2 (Household A) is at home when the kids come back from school or kindergarten and can take care of them. Not having an office at home is manageable too. When working from home, Interviewee 1 (Household A) stays downstairs in the kitchen and living area. She mentioned being annoyed by having the computer in the living areas and the general need for an office; nevertheless, she likes being next to the coffee maker and being able to keep an eye on the children.

5. Reflections: Linking Micro and Macro Perspectives

5.1. Exploring Struggles of Everyday Life in Widdersdorf

In our study, we link micro and macro perspectives by starting with peoples' daily life at the micro level. Therefore, in Section 4, we provided an overview of the struggles of everyday life that we encountered in our exploratory study. By focusing on the struggles of everyday life, we turned a spotlight on the segments of everyday life in which micro and macro perspectives merge together. We have shown that individual everyday life struggles are traceable on the micro level, in people's daily routines, practices, and social and everyday experiences, and are dependent on their form of life. Nevertheless, the friction that results manifests on macro levels, in the built environment (e.g., infrastructure: streets, parking space, local supply), territorial arrangement (e.g., location: central or peripheral), governance systems (e.g., local or regional spatial planning), and territorial regulation (e.g., urban politics, legislation). At the same time, the struggles of everyday life are influenced and shaped by macro-level elements, for example, through infrastructure and policy design (see Section 3.1). The rather stable-looking image of everyday life in suburbia is framed by the built environment (primarily typical single-family houses) that, in our study, recalls suburban stereotypes.

With regard to the struggles of everyday life we encountered in our study, it can be concluded that they are typically manageable, and this is their signature characteristic: The interviewees approach the struggles of everyday life in such a way that everyday life continues with its obligatory routines. In our case, the specifics of the daily routines correlate with the forms of life, and the social and economic situation of the interviewees, which enables them to minimize their struggles so that everyday life continues to function within the usual routines. This relates to the social capital (see, e.g., Bourdieu, 1982) of our interviewees in Widdersdorf, many of who may be considered typical (upper) middle-class suburban dwellers.

The "revolutionary potential" of everyday life (according to Lefebvre) is not exhausted in our cases as

the families were able to minimize their struggles. Our results indicate that there are processes for approaching the struggles of everyday life that can make suburbs appear stable and unalterable from the outside. However, the large extensions of the built environment alone certainly do not make the suburb appear particularly stable. This rapid development highlights how areas can change a lot in a relatively short period of time. However, focusing on the struggles of everyday life, we were able to identify practices that facilitated the re-production of stable everyday routines through small modifications or accepting certain inconveniences, such as buying an e-bike to get to work because of poor public transportation and congestion or tolerating having a work computer set up in the living area. In future comparative suburban research, it could be very fruitful to start at the level of the everyday in order to decipher socio-spatial changes and how they are dealt with. Also, within the dimension of forms of life, special consideration should be given to the social situation of inhabitants, their resources, and their capability to engage with the struggles of everyday life.

5.2. Planetary Urbanization as an Analytical Framework

With this more open conceptualization of the (sub)urban, the planetary urbanization framework allowed us to analyze the struggles of everyday life in relation to broader and macro perspectives. In light of our epistemological framework (see Brenner & Schmid, 2015, 2018), Widdersdorf-Süd, as a large-scale infrastructure project, exemplifies the production of specific forms of socio-spatial transformations through moments of concentrated, extended, and differential urbanization. The privately developed massively built-up environment in Widdersdorf-Süd illustrates the processes of concentration on the outskirts of a city and the specific practices of daily routines and everyday experiences that result. For example, in Widdersdorf, the built environment and territorial arrangement have compelled people to commute to work in their cars. In this regard, Widdersdorf-Süd is interpreted as a spatial clustering of people (which has more than doubled the number of inhabitants in Widdersdorf), of infrastructure (a planning area of around 132 ha), and of investment (having been privately developed and marketed). At the same time, Widdersdorf has long been considered the residential land reserve for the territorial regulation of the City of Cologne. Located outside of the coherent settlement structure of Cologne, Widdersdorf-Süd extended these structures by activating formerly agricultural land. This included a process of valorizing less valuable agricultural land into sellable land for development, the transformation of part of the agricultural landscape into (sub)urban fabrics, and the creation of spaces for the reproduction of labor power. The struggles of everyday life we have encountered, that lead to (sometimes slight) modifications in and reorganizations of routines and practices, then resemble the transformation and creation of different socio-spatial relations and configurations and, thereby, do not result in radically new forms of life but, instead, re-produce suburban everyday life.

Based on the global suburban and the specificities of individual cities, even in an era of increasing globalization and economic forces of global capitalism, "urbanization is dependent on specific local and historical conditions and therefore does not proceed evenly across the board" (Schmid, 2015, p. 290). As we have seen in our study, the suburban unfolds in its own specificities that, in our case, include its developmental history, its socio-economic structure, and the practices through which people approach the struggles of everyday life—specificities that are interdependent (see, e.g., Lütke & Wood, 2016). These specificities are expressed differently in different suburbs around the globe, not only from a structural perspective but also in relation to their social, cultural, and political configurations. Based on our results, it seems to be beneficial to include the dimension of geographic-historical specificities in the analytical framework when focusing on the struggles of everyday life in future comparative suburban research.

Starting at the level of the everyday and using a broader conceptualization of urban theory to analyze it made the linking of micro- and macro-perspectives possible. The planetary urbanization framework ties in with other "grand theories," such as postmodern urban development (Soja, 2000), whose benefit for urban research lies primarily in their multidimensionality. Still, planetary urbanization is not used as a substantive theory of the (sub)urban, but rather as a "reading glass" to trace socio-spatial changes. Nonetheless, it is necessary to adjust and complement the concept with a perspective on everyday life if we are to decipher the struggles of everyday life. Consistent with the critical engagement on planetary urbanization, it was helpful to complement our framework with Lefebvre's perspective on everyday life and socio-spatial change (see Section 3.1. and, e.g., Angelo & Goh, 2021).

6. Conclusion

We have shown that everyday struggles illuminate the interweaving of everyday and structural perspectives and have argued that the struggles of everyday life we encountered in our study led to (often slight) modifications or reorganizations of daily routines. We achieved this by adopting Lefebvre's perspective and focusing on recurrences of the ordinary in everyday life. The epistemological framework of Brenner and Schmid (2015, 2018) allowed us to then analyze the struggles of everyday life in relation to various dimensions while combining micro and macro perspectives of socio-spatial changes.

The social and economic capital of our interviewees allowed them to minimize the struggles of everyday life. Therefore, we conclude that there should be a substantial emphasis on socio-structural, socio-cultural,

and socio-economic factors relevant to those living in the suburbs when studying suburbia. This agenda has recently been reflected in other academic contexts. For instance, there is a lively debate about poverty and the impact of the economic crises in the suburbs in North America (see, e.g., Anacker, 2015; Maginn & Anacker, 2022) that has not yet been transferred to or studied within German-speaking contexts. Suggesting that this would be a valuable activity, the people in our case study had the opposite experience. The pronounced socio-economic structure of the interviewees we encountered made the struggles of everyday life manageable. However, they may not be as manageable for people who are less well-situated economically or less well-educated. As there is no homogenous single suburbia, even in Germany, this might be another fruitful anchor point for future research.

The pandemic has not only affected everyday interactions but also called into question the order of central categories such as state, individual, politics, and society. In our study, we encountered the influence of the Covid-19 pandemic on everyday life and its daily routines and practices. The Covid-19 pandemic, like a spotlight, illuminated socio-spatial fractures and catalyzed transformations. However, it is still unclear how long-lasting the effects of the pandemic will be: Are suburban residential settlements sustainably functionally expanded by the opportunity to work remotely? Will the inhabitants, especially families, continue to have the opportunity to work from home in order to better manage the struggles of everyday life in the future? What effects can be expected with regard to suburbanization or moving to the urban periphery? To what extent will this affect families' search criteria for a home?

The analytical framework used here is not restricted to the suburban. Coming from a broader epistemological framework of the urban (see Section 3.1) and with regard to a more open delineation of the suburban (see Section 1), focusing on struggles of everyday life could also be a fruitful starting point for studying the suburban in urban or rural neighborhoods, when the interrelation of micro- and macro-perspectives is at the heart of the research. Our results provide an initial idea as to why the suburban has been widely read as stable and ordered. As demonstrated in the empirical section of the article, when focusing on the "ordinariness" of everyday life, as Lefebvre suggested, struggles do not necessarily manifest in the form of a "revolutionary fight" but, more often, in day-to-day adaptations. Using Lefebvre's perspective on everyday life and social change (see Section 2) helps highlight practices of re-producing and modifying everyday life. In our case, our interviewees provided a largely stable picture of everyday life in the suburban (see Section 4). Transferring the planetary urbanization framework to suburbia and enriching it with a stronger emphasis on Lefebvre's perspective then allowed us to combine micro- and macro-perspectives on socio-spatial change. Future (sub)urban research could engage fruitfully with this concept and these results and, by comparatively researching struggles of everyday life in the suburban, help further develop this perspective on socio-spatial change.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Spatial Integration of Refugees: Towards a Post-Migrant Approach

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Abstract

In the context of increasing social mobility, extensive global migration flows and the growing importance of understanding the diverse circumstances of urban life, ideas of a homogeneous, and stable social mainstream are decreasingly in line with social reality. Post-migrant studies understand migration as not only a force that shapes society but also as a factor in place-making. This article aims to discuss a different integration paradigm, focusing on the spatial integration dimension from the perspective of the refugees and their experiences of everyday practices. It aims to reflect on the role of the articulation between these practices with local actors that can intermediate and influence the quality of life of the incomers, either positively or negatively. The main research question we address is: Can spatial transformation in the public space foster the integration of and a feeling of belonging by refugees through collaborative processes? This analysis is developed through a critical reflection on the role of institutional actors as potential mediators between everyday practices and long-term solutions and, at the same time, as reproducers of hegemonic power relations. The proposed debate is based on collaborative teaching and research activities conducted in 2021 and 2022 in Berlin, Germany, and Irbid, Jordan, involving different groups of actors—researchers, students, and local and national institutions, as well as refugees and local residents.

Keywords

Germany; Jordan; post-migrant studies; refugees; spatial integration; spatial transformation

Issue

This article is part of the issue "Between the 'Structural' and the 'Everyday': Bridging Macro and Micro Perspectives in Comparative Urban Research" edited by Nadine Appelhans (TU Berlin) and Sophie Schramm (TU Dortmund).

1. Introduction

Every society is directly or indirectly shaped by migration. Rather than understanding it as an issue to be solved or as the outcome of failures, post-migrant studies propose taking migration as the starting point of all societal analysis (Foroutan, 2015, 2018; Weiss et al., 2019; Wiest, 2020). According to Foroutan (2018, p. 15), the post-migrant paradigm acknowledges that migration "touches all areas of social life, it also opens up the perspective of looking beyond the migration moment and focusing on social transformation in relation to negotiations that accompany this empirical, narrative and discursive act.''

In the last number of decades, migration and seeking refuge have become an unprecedented phenomenon that impacts urban life. According to Betts and Kainz (2017), from 1970 to 2017 the number of migrants around the world increased from 82 million to 244 million people, a number that represents 3% of the global population. Although migration processes are "as old as human history" (Castles, 2003, p. 17), they need to be understood and analysed in the contemporary context as both the cause and the effect of major societal transformation in the host cities. Post-colonial theories have expanded the temporality of the notion of migration and its understanding as a multiplicity of movements that go beyond moving from here to there. This view also impacts the notion of belonging and the integration of the incomers into the host communities (Mains et al., 2013).

Although there is no internationally accepted legal definition of the term "migrant," according to the International Organization for Migration (2019, p. 32), a

migrant is "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons." Among this group, there are those who are forced to leave their countries as a result of fear due to persecution related to race, religion, nationality, or political views. These people are considered refugees (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Refugee is also a legal status that is understood through the 1951 Geneva Convention (International Organization for Migration, 2019). Those who have already fled their place of residence but have not yet been granted refugee status are considered to be asylum seekers. In this article, we will focus on the group of refugees and asylum seekers, often considered to be the most vulnerable of migrants. Language and cultural barriers, as well as a lack of social connections in their place of arrival, have a great impact on their process of social and economic integration (Aksoy et al., 2020).

Post-migrant studies advocate for acknowledging refugee migration not as the exception, but rather as a constitutive part of cities worldwide and, therefore, refugees themselves should be included as part of policy making and urban development (Wiest, 2020). Despite this, refugee policies are often described from the solidarity point of view, which, on the one hand, implies a sense of superiority of those who provide the help needed and, on the other hand, hides the responsibility of the Global North countries in the global dynamics that generate the violence and poverty from which millions of people flee (Agier, 2011; Bauder, 2021). This perspective reinforces hegemonic power relations and social control by operating through institutional mechanisms of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988).

Integration has long been considered one of the most important aspects of policies related to refugees and migrants (Ager & Strang, 2008; Bach et al., 2017; Gluns, 2018). Despite this, approaches towards integration vary and the concept is often understood as an individual task and is based on a view of assimilation; in other words, the individual—or family—that migrates needs to integrate into the existing structure of the host community (Dalal et al., 2018, 2021; Weiss et al., 2019). Access to employment, housing, education, and health are considered to be the main factors for successful integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Bach et al., 2017; Gluns, 2018; Senate of Berlin, 2018). Other aspects, such as social linkages, cultural experience, and a feeling of safety and belonging are usually either disregarded or placed as secondary goals. Belonging can be understood to be a form of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) since it reflects social networks of support and an increased sense of identity and recognition by the other—here represented by the host community. Therefore, belonging and integration operate in the dimension of uneven power structures (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988).

From this debate, we aim to discuss a different integration paradigm, focusing on the spatial integration dimension from the perspective of the refugees' experience of their everyday practices. It aims to reflect on the role of the articulation between these practices with local actors that can intermediate and influence, either positively or negatively, the quality of life of the incomers. The main research question we address is: Can spatial transformation in the public space foster the integration of and a feeling of belonging by refugees through collaborative processes? This analysis is developed through a critical reflection on the role of institutional actors as potential mediators between everyday practices and long-term solutions, and at the same time as reproducers of hegemonic power relations (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988).

The article focuses on two experiences of collaborative research with refugees in the cities of Irbid, Jordan, and Berlin, Germany. In the next section, the article addresses the theoretical debate around integration and belonging from a spatial and post-migrant perspective. Thereafter, in Section 3, we describe our case studies and main methods. Section 4 looks at collaborative research as a post-migrant method and Section 5 is dedicated to discussing the articulation between everyday practices and institutional actors, focusing on a critical reflection on existing power relations.

2. A Post-Migrant Approach to Spatial Belonging and Integration

Space can only be understood through social practices, and at the same time all social practices take place in and conform to a certain space (Harvey, 2012; Lefebvre, 1992; Soja, 1985). "To be alive is to participate in the social production of space, to shape and be shaped by a constantly evolving spatiality which constitutes and concretizes social action and relationship" (Soja, 1985, p. 90). Spatiality therefore has a crucial role in the social integration and processes of belonging that both affect and are affected by refugees. The dialectic process of space as being formed by social life and at the same time as being contingent to social life (Lefebvre, 1992; Soja, 1985) is crucial for a post-migrant understanding of the spatial integration of refugees in the host communities. Spatial transformation can be both a tool for the social reproduction of existing hegemonic power structures (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988) as well as for the processes of resistance and challenge.

The right to the city, as initially conceptualised by Lefebvre (1968) and further developed and reflected on by many other authors (e.g., de Souza, 2012; Harvey, 2012; Marcuse, 2009), advocates for the right to actively participate in the production of the city. It emphasises the role of urban spaces in enabling individuals and groups to exercise their agency, access resources, and ultimately build their identities, or their role in preventing the same. In refugee studies, identity formation and its relation to space and spatial practices have become a central dimension (Brun, 2001).

Brun (2001), however, highlights the fact that relating identity to certain places is often understood from the perspective of homogenous and static cultural entities related to the idea of nation-state-based belonging. This view has a close connection to integration policies developed for refugees. The idea that displaced people are those who are temporarily located in one place but have a feeling of belonging and identity connected to another place can lead to the conclusion that they can "never belong to a territory where they are refugees, and therefore, the only solution would be either to end their refugee status by integration or relocation, or by repatriation, either forced or voluntary" (Brun, 2001, p. 18). Integration from this perspective means an assimilation process where the refugees would "neglect their 'old identity,' and absorb the culture and habits of the new place" (Brun, 2001, p. 18) and places the responsibility for integrating exclusively on the incomers. This not only considers not integrating as an individual failure but also transforms the concept of integration into one of exclusion that paradoxically acts as an obstacle to integration (Dalal et al., 2018; Foroutan, 2015). Brun (2001, p. 15) advocates for:

An alternative understanding of space and place, that separates identity from place to show that though refugees have to move from their places of origin, they do not lose their identity and ability to exercise power. This approach suggests that space is constructed from the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales.

Integration and belonging are therefore not static and cannot be permanently achieved. They are constantly being built and rebuilt through everyday practices and social networks developed in certain spaces and spatialities. In this sense, the experiences of belonging and identity are often connected to intercultural encounters in the public space (Weidinger et al., 2021). These views contradict the idea of refugees as a homogenous group of people who are purely victims and emphasise their active roles as actors of space and social transformation in the host communities.

Aligned with this debate, post-migrant studies seek to focus on the voices of the groups usually excluded from hegemonic discourses by critically approaching the power structures that built the historical narratives. They intend to shift these groups from objects of study and place them at the centre of the production of knowledge about the contemporary world (Bock & Macdonald, 2019; Foroutan, 2018; Weiss et al., 2019; Wiest, 2020). The post-migrant approach seeks to search for identities and narratives that are no longer predominantly defined through ethnicity or nationality "but rather by attitudes and ideologies towards migration, plurality, heterogeneity and diversity" (Bock & Macdonald, 2019, p. 144).

Critically reflecting on and approaching the concept of integration is crucial to consider the plurality of post-migrant societies as potential for the development of new forms of living together. Integration should be perceived as a complex process of mutual accommodation and negotiation, both of the incomers and the host society (Ager & Strang, 2008; Brun, 2001; Foroutan, 2018; Weiss et al., 2019).

Several authors have elaborated on key factors that shape the integration of refugees, ranging from economic to social factors (Ager & Strang, 2008; Aksoy et al., 2020). However, the significance of space in those processes is often overlooked, especially when considering public policies regarding the integration of refugees. Despite this, Weidinger et al. (2021) highlight the relevance of the spatial dimension, as well as the mobility and immobility of refugees, in the establishment of belonging as well as social inclusion and exclusion.

Spatiality in connection with identity and the belonging processes of refugees in host communities cannot be understood without considering the debate about power dimensions. For Foucault (1988), power should not be understood exclusively as a tool of domination and control, but could also be seen as a productive force. According to Foucault (1988), power relations exist at multiple levels and operate through a set of networks and social interactions between individuals, groups, and institutions. Similar to the theories of social capital developed by Bourdieu (1986), this view emphasises that power relations are dependent on articulation between individuals and key actors or institutions that can bring certain benefits. In this sense, power is relational and dispersed as well as inseparably linked to the local context.

In this section, we have intended to explore a different paradigm of integration and belonging, a paradigm that is connected to spatiality and everyday practices and that acknowledges the complex tale of power networks that operate both to favour and to prevent the integration of refugees into host communities. From this perspective, the process of how to learn from the refugees about their spaces and practices is as important as the data gathered. In the next section, we will describe our case studies and the methodological approach of the fieldwork.

3. Collaborative Research With Refugees in Two Different Contexts

The debate presented in this article is based on collaborative research conducted with refugees living in two different cities and contexts: Berlin, Germany, and Irbid, Jordan. By using similar methods in different contexts, we aimed to develop a possible comparative analysis that could raise issues beyond the local context, but that was still grounded in local specificities. The methods chosen place refugees at the centre of the research by inviting them to engage, participate, and actively shape their spaces. "A participant oriented approach, thus, gives them power over how and which knowledge is produced" (Weidinger et al., 2021, p. 2). It is more than giving them a

voice, however; it advocates for incorporating them into key positions of decision-making and spatial production.

3.1. First Case: Märkisches Viertel, Berlin

Berlin is praised as being a city of migrants (Senate of Berlin, 2018) and Germany is the country with the fourth-largest number of refugees in the world, according to the UNHCR (2023). Currently, Berlin has a population of 3,775 million (Senate of Berlin, 2018) and in 2022 received 14,704 asylum seekers, according to the state institution responsible for all refugee matters: Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten (2023). Between 2013 and 2022, the majority of the asylum seekers that arrived in Berlin came from Syria and Egypt (average 32%), followed by Afghanistan and Iraq (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2022). The asylum seekers are distributed around the city and are placed in different types of refugee accommodation depending on several criteria established by the Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten, and also determined by the available space in the shelters since the mobility of refugees from the shelter to the housing market faces many challenges (Dalal et al., 2021; Steigemann & Misselwitz, 2020).

Since 2015, the Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten has built several types of refugee accommodation, from container-type temporary structures to durable modular buildings called *Modulare Unterkunft für Flüchtlinge* (Dalal et al., 2021; Steigemann & Misselwitz, 2020), scattered around the city. These different types of accommodation can host up to 450 families, and, in many neighbourhoods, the arrival of this large number of refugees has generated resistance from the local residents (Wiedner et al., 2022).

For our research, we focused on the refugees living in the neighbourhood of Märkisches Viertel, the largest housing estate complex in the former West Berlin, which was planned in the 1960s to be self-sufficient. The majority of the flats in the area are still owned and managed by one of the biggest housing associations in the city, Gesobau (Hess et al., 2018; Senate of Berlin, 2019). The levels of social precarity, including child poverty and lack of access to jobs, are higher than the average of the rest of the city and the population is characterised by its migrant profile. In Märkisches Viertel, 47% of the residents have a migrant background, while the average in Berlin is 32.5%. Around 45% of the residents with a migrant background come from Muslim-majority countries (Senate of Berlin, 2019). A large part of the non-refugee migrant resident population has a Turkish background and is related to the 1960s guest work migration (Bock & Macdonald, 2019; Hess et al., 2018).

In 2017 refugee accommodation was built in the neighbourhood and currently accommodates 380 people, more than half of whom are under the age of 18. The majority of the residents in this accommodation are families from 22 different nationalities, a large number

of them from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, according to interviews with its managers. Our main partner during this research was BENN Märkisches Viertel. BENN stands for Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften ("Berlin develops new neighbourhoods") and is a programme by the Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing that aims to strengthen neighbourhoods where refugees live by promoting integration between the refugees and their neighbours. From the discussions with BENN, we developed a series of research activities in 2022 that aimed to experiment with different collaborative research tools to investigate the perceptions of integration and liveability of the neighbourhood from the perspective of the refugees.

3.2. Second Case: Assarih, Irbid, Jordan

The second case we will discuss is located in the city of Irbid, the second-biggest city in Jordan, with a population of 1,770 million people (Jordanian Ministry of Interior, 2023). The country has a history of being host to several waves of refugee influxes, which extends to recent years, most of them coming from Palestine and Syria. Although there are several refugee camps built in the country, around 80% of the more than 650,000 Syrian refugees living in the country are not living in camps, but live instead amongst the host community. Besides this, more than half a million other Syrians are in Jordan as forced migrants without any official refugee recognition (Jauhiainen & Vorobeva, 2023). Along with growing economic challenges in Jordan, social tensions between Jordanians and Syrians have increased; after a few years of the presence of Syrians in Jordan, 95% of Jordanians believed that Syrians might take their jobs (Kelberer, 2017).

Muslims make up about 97.2% of Jordan's population. A few of them are Shiites. Many Shia in Jordan are refugees from Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq (Office of International Religious Freedom, 2022). Official government figures estimate that Jordanian Christians make up 4% of the population; in a country of almost 10 million, Christians are thought to number 250,000–400,000, excluding the tens of thousands of Syrian and Iraqi Christians in the country. The area of Husn, in the south of Irbid, is predominantly Christian (Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2005).

Of Irbid's population, 92% live in urban areas. Moreover, as of 2015, the governorate hosted around 792,924 refugees, including Syrians, Palestinians, and Iraqis (UN-Habitat, 2022b). For this article, we focused on a neighbourhood in the Assarih area, situated in the eastern region of Irbid. The region attracts many Syrian refugees due to its proximity to Dara'a and to the Al Hasan Industrial Estate. Around 30% of the residents of Assarih are Syrian refugees (UN-Habitat, 2022a). The discussion that follows is based on workshops developed in cooperation with Jordanian academic partners from Yarmouk University, with contributions from UN-Habitat Jordan.

3.3. Integration in the Two Contexts

"Germany has been widely praised for its welcoming culture while heavily criticized for failures of integration" (Soederberg, 2018, p. 923). The construction of the idea of a refugee crisis, related to the arrival of a large number of refugees fleeing from the Syrian war in 2015 and 2016, focused on the failure of the individuals who came to Germany to integrate and not on the failure of the state to promote the conditions for them to be integrated. This approach contributes to legitimising authoritarian measures towards the incomers and to delegitimising various forms of agency from the refugees (Bock & Macdonald, 2019; Kallius et al., 2016; Karakayali, 2018). The programme of integration of refugees focuses on them acquiring the German language, entering the labour market, and accessing health care following a technocratic approach that often disregards the social and cultural aspects of human life (Gluns, 2018).

In addition, the settlement policy regarding refugees in Germany plays a role both in the integration of the refugees and in the perception of the local residents towards the new incomers (Aksoy et al., 2020). Germany has a strict system of distribution of refugees among its states using percentages that determine the share to be received by each state based on its tax revenues and population size (Aksoy et al., 2020). In Berlin, the refugees are placed in state accommodation according to several criteria, such as level of integration, families or single travellers, and disabilities, among others (Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten, 2023). These measures result in a complete lack of power for the refugees to decide where to live, which has a negative impact on their process of integration. According to Aksoy et al. (2020), the location where the refugees are first placed influences their feeling of belonging and therefore their integration practices.

The issue of spatial integration in the context of Syrian refugees living in Jordan assumes a different character than in the German case. Language, cultural, and religious barriers are not the issue; in fact, there is a historical exchange between the two countries, as Irbid is located only 40 km away from the Syrian border. Even so, integration is perceived as a major issue for the Syrians who have fled the war to live in Jordan, where only 18% of the Syrian refugees are accommodated in refugee camps (Hamad et al., 2017). The majority of the refugees are living in urban areas outside refugee camps and, therefore, with limited support from the main agencies present in the country, such as the UNHCR. According to Hamad et al. (2017), over 75% of Syrian refugees are considered by UNHCR to be highly shelter-vulnerable.

The precarious conditions related to poverty, unemployment, and lack of food security of many refugees in Jordan have been highly publicised, but there are still some unexplored areas. According to Hamad et al. (2017), the psychosocial and social vulnerabilities of the refugees remain invisible to the support institutions and researchers. The author emphasises the lack of knowledge about:

> How needs and vulnerabilities are shifting over time for the same households as their stay in Jordan is prolonged, as the numbers of refugees peaked (following the closure of the border in 2016) and as the policy, programming and funding landscape continues to evolve. (Hamad et al., 2017, p. 34)

From our research, we discovered that, despite the many differences in the systems in Berlin and Irbid, in both cases, refugees face many challenges to integration. Those challenges go beyond having shelter or access to the labour market and involve social practices that, as described in Section 2, cannot be understood outside the spatial dimension. Therefore, we aim to illustrate the role of space in the process of refugee integration using collaborative research activities developed in Berlin and Irbid as the focus.

4. Collaborative Research as a Post-Migrant Method

The use of collaborative methods and tools was intended to place refugees at the centre of the knowledge produced (Foroutan, 2018; Weidinger et al., 2021; Weiss et al., 2019) and to enter into dialogue about their view of the spatial dimensions into which they are placed. We conducted a mixed-method approach that combined qualitative data collection methods like participatory observation and interviews with collaborative design-and-build activities.

Our process was divided into two moments of interaction: (a) collaborative mapping and (b) collaborative designing/building. The first moment involved a visualising exercise with the refugees and other residents where the general questions "How do you see your neighbourhood?" and "How would you like your neighbourhood to be?" were addressed. In order to do this, a set of mixed methods was used, of which the main ones were (a) walking interviews, (b) focused debate groups, (c) a map of emotions (see Figure 1), and (d) a wish box.

These activities were conducted by an international group of students and researchers from the fields of architecture, urban design, and sociology. Besides the tools already mentioned, we also relied on several non-verbal tools. The non-verbal activities involved using pictures and games that made it possible for people who did not speak the same language to communicate. By using such tools, we also invited people to explore the dimensions of different discourses and to discover unexpected problems or solutions.

During the interaction with the community, the students wrote reports that provided data and information that were used further afterwards. All the information gathered during this first phase was systematised and translated by the students into drawings, maps, guidelines, and reports (see Figure 2). In the case of Berlin, the

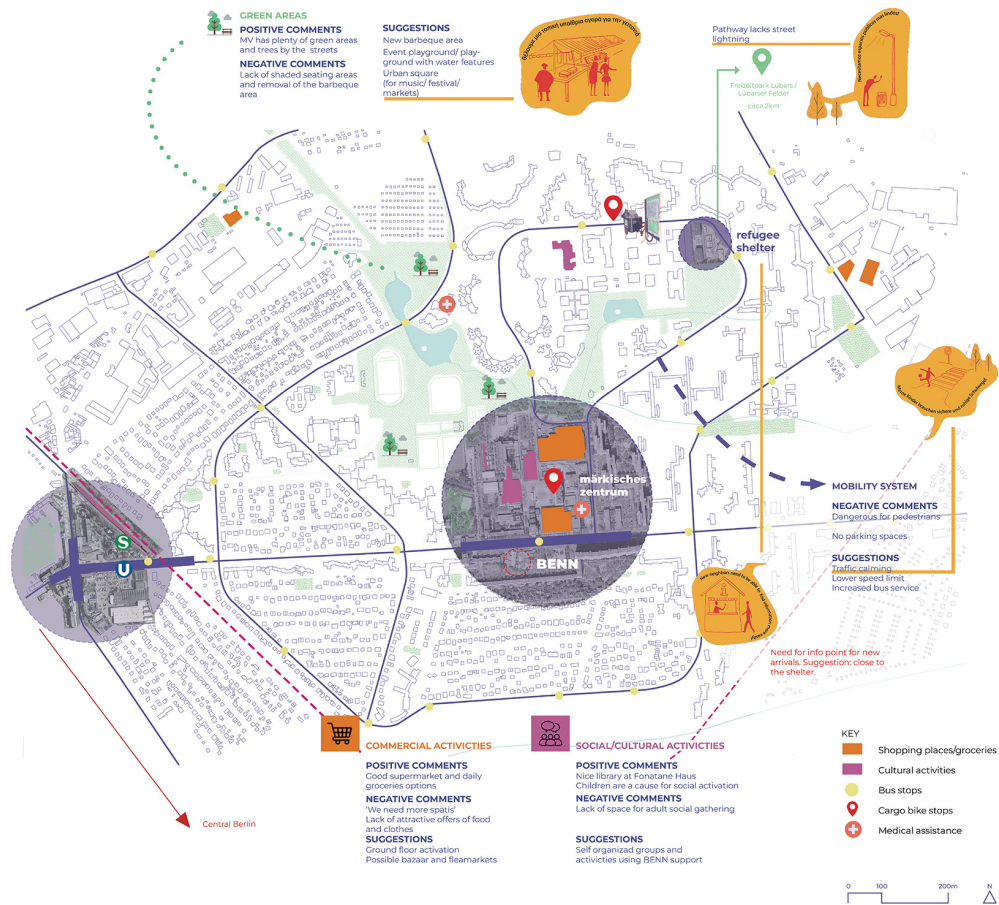**Figure 1.** Map of emotions in Märkisches Viertel, Berlin.

Figure 2. Material produced in Märkisches Viertel, Berlin.

outcomes were presented to the community and to the district office and shared with our local institutional partners. In the case of Irbid, this exchange with local institutions and residents did not happen in the same way, as we will explore further in the next section.

For this first phase, in the Berlin case, we had the participation of 33 students and researchers from nine different nationalities and 126 local residents (50 of them were children) from 22 different nationalities, with 36 refugees among them. In the Irbid case, there were 25 students from eight nationalities and 50 local residents, including 30 children, of whom around 30% were Syrian refugees and the others were local residents.

The second phase involved collectively building a small public space together with the residents. The decision on what and where to build was an articulation with the findings from the previous phase and the negotiations with our local partners. In the case of Irbid, the goal was to develop a neutral common space in an area with a mixed population of Jordanians and Syrians, to be appropriated by both communities. In the case of Berlin, the public space was developed inside a community garden.

In both cases, the main outcome of the collective building action resulted in a playground. In the case of Irbid, the playground was built on an empty public space (see Figure 3) and the proposal involved not only a space for children but also a space for collective eating and an artistic intervention on a wall (see Figure 4).

In Berlin, the playground (see Figure 5) was built inside a community garden where BENN Märkisches Viertel developed part of their neighbourhood events and other activities with refugees. In order to engage the local community, we organised two social events with activities for children that were related both to the design of the playground itself as well as to building or decorating parts of it. We organised a food event in parallel and invited the refugee women to bring traditional dishes to be shared. This event around food and children-focused activities proved to be important for building trust and creating a safe environment for exchange.

One important characteristic of these activities was the presence of students who spoke the mother tongue

Figure 3. Public park in Assarih before intervention.

Figure 4. Public park in Assarih after the intervention.

Figure 5. Playground after intervention at Beettinchen, Märkisches Viertel.

of the majority of the refugees and who acted as mediators between the students who did not speak the language. Although we relied on non-verbal tools, it was important to offer the possibility of creating dialogues in their native language and, most significantly, with others who shared a similar culture and background. We wanted to obtain information and perceptions from the residents that went beyond such techno-pragmatic issues as, for example, lack of access to housing, language skills, or income problems.

One aspect that differentiates the two experiences methodologically is the timeframe. In the Berlin case, long-term cooperation between BENN Märkisches Viertel and the residents of the refugee accommodation had been developed in a continual way for more than a year when the playground was being built. In Irbid's case, although the research with Syrian refugees in Jordan had been conducted two years prior, the playground hands-on action took place over a summer school that lasted six days in total. This difference in time was reflected in the potential use of the outcomes and particularly in the articulation with local institutions. But what was not reflected was that in Jordan the local community—although in smaller numbers—was much more engaged in the actual hands-on work and exchange with the students than in Germany.

The methods described in this research aimed to build bridges and dialogues between the researchers and the community and therefore to co-produce knowledge and information from a post-migrant perspective (Foroutan, 2018; Weidinger et al., 2021). The proposed activities required the active engagement of all partic-

ipants. At the same time, they aimed to build a safe environment to share common experiences, wishes and perspectives. This is particularly relevant in the case of refugee studies, due to the potential psychological effects the research may have on traumatised individuals (Clark-Kazak, 2021).

Seeking to avoid a hegemonic "parasitic relationship" between the researcher and the researched (Clark-Kazak, 2021), the collaborative research tools were intended to incorporate different types of knowledge and foster exchange between the different groups involved: refugees, non-refugees, neighbours, students, researchers, and local institutional actors. The combination of data collection and broader research reflections with meaningful short-term outcomes for the refugees and local actors was fundamental to the creation of mutual learning environments.

5. Between Everyday Practices and Institutional Actions: Towards a Different Paradigm of Spatial Integration

In their research with refugees, Ager and Strang (2008) show that, besides having access to housing, employment, health care, and the other usual measurements, the sense of belonging to a certain space and community was described by many interviewed as the ultimate indicator of being integrated. This goes beyond having social connections with the local residents, and, as emphasised by Ager and Strang (2008) and corroborated by our research experience, involves the possibility of developing "bonding capital" or, in other words,

the ability to experience family, ethnic, national, and religious social bonds.

Another relevant aspect to be highlighted is the "social links," defined as the individual connections between the refugees and institutional actors. This connection plays an important role in navigating the host community systems and accessing benefits and rights. To build these links and bonding relationships, refugees must encounter a friendly environment that not only acknowledges them but is inviting and open to their participation (Ager & Strang, 2008).

These practices that promote integration and belonging cannot be detached from the spatial dimension and power structures and hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988). In this section, we will explore the public space as a potential materialisation of these encounters and conflicts (Harvey, 2000; Lefebvre, 1968, 1992; Soja, 1985).

5.1. Bonding Capital and Social Links

In the two experiences analysed for this article, the articulation between refugees and institutional actors—formal or informal—can be defined as fundamental for their processes of integration into the host cities. This articulation, however, does not depend solely on the existence of this institutional support focused on refugee matters, but mostly on how those institutes operate, articulate, and connect with the incomers. This involves not only their practices but also the spatialities that arise from these practices and the potential for interaction and exchange.

In the Jordanian case, there is no official governmental entity that is responsible for supporting the Syrian refugees living outside the camps and for facilitating the process of integration, including the Assarih area. The UNCHR is present in Jordan, but they are mainly concerned with the refugees living in camps. The Syrian refugees living in Assarih are spread, formally or informally, throughout the neighbourhood. They are, therefore, not supported by any institutional body. The official and popular narrative is that they are guests and deserve to be treated in the best way according to the Arabic and Islamic culture, while, in fact, we observed during our research that there is a lot of hostility towards the Syrian refugees and from them towards the Jordanians.

In the Jordanian case, the neighbourhood social networks are sometimes more important than the institutional ones. In Irbid, the most obvious social institutions are the family coalitions. Each big family has its own guest house built with the money of the family members to serve as a meeting place and a venue for weddings and funerals. Guest houses play an important role in community articulation and are central spaces that are often also related to local conflicts or disputes between families.

This tale of social links is deeply rooted in Arabic culture and can, for example, be transported to Berlin's case relating to one very common comment we received from different people from Arab countries that we interviewed: The fact that they were forbidden to receive guests after a certain time in the shelter was one important reason why they did not feel part of the community. This is also represented in another regular comment present in most of our conversations with Islamic refugees from Arab countries: The lack of mosques in the neighbourhood was one of the first points mentioned when asked about what was missing in Märkisches Viertel. Mosques, as well as other religious institutions, have more than a religious role, they are often community spaces, where collective gatherings, cultural celebrations, and educational activities take place.

Refugees in both Berlin and Irbid lie in informal networks to be able to navigate and therefore integrate and belong to the host community. In both cases, we observed that, even when there are support institutions, refugees rely on non-formal networks to build their bonding capital and increase their possibilities. We argue that those negotiations are not separate from the spatial dimension and are related to many spatial factors, such as where and how refugees live or are settled, what kinds of existing spaces foster the social practices that are fundamental for their belonging process, and to what extent they are involved in decision making about their own social/spatial practices.

5.2. Challenging Power Structures: The Role of the University

In addition to local and national institutions, as well as informal networks, the university engagement can bring mutual learning and exchange for all involved. On the one hand, the opportunity for the students to act and deal with real and complex issues is an enriching and fundamental aspect of their professional training, especially if we aim to promote critical and innovative views of the field of urban studies and architecture. On the other hand, the experimentation and innovative character of academic work can bring different perspectives to the local context and local actors (Passos et al., 2010).

The articulation of the research activities with goals, objectives, and ongoing local projects has the potential to produce meaningful and long-term outcomes. In both case studies analysed, we aimed to combine a diverse group of students and researchers from different disciplines with key local actors and institutions to encounter common goals and increase engagement and knowledge exchange. The use of collaborative research methods aimed to promote transformation knowledge and mutual learning processes for all involved and focused on bringing awareness to the silenced voices—those of refugees, children, and women. In both contexts, the research also aimed to produce concrete outcomes for the residents in the short or medium term, avoiding a "parasitical" relationship between the researcher and the researched group (Clark-Kazak, 2021).

In the case of Berlin, our main institutional partner was BENN Märkisches Viertel, with whom we observed initial common interests, such as the integration between refugees living in the refugee accommodation and their neighbours, and went on to develop common goals and methods. In 2022, we conducted a series of activities in the neighbourhood, starting with a workshop in March, developed through a seminar combined with workshops from April to July and concluding with a summer school in September. During these activities, we had intensive discussions with BENN and developed mutually relevant cooperation whereby, on the one hand, we profited from the existing network, knowledge, and trust built by the institution and, on the other hand, producing material that they could use afterwards in discussions with the Senate and the District Office.

In the case of Irbid, the interventions developed in a public park as well as the small intervention of a children's roundabout had different impacts on the local dynamics and the expected appropriation did not occur as imagined. Even so, the intensive events developed during the workshop built, even if for a short period of time, community efforts that involved different groups that may not have worked together in different circumstances. The participation of Syrian and Jordanian children, for example, was an unexpected factor in this experience.

In the two experiences, we observed that the university can, in many cases, act as a neutral actor and even mediate conflicts to some extent. Therefore, we argue that the articulation of different levels of institutional support that incorporate refugees into their official bodies, with diverse groups from the university, along with the acknowledgement and support of informal social networks, can increase the potential for mutual integration and transformation, not only improving the refugees' quality of life but creating better cities for all.

6. Conclusion

This article aimed to propose a shift in the paradigm of the integration of refugees into host communities, by using post-migrant studies as a lens to debate the relationship between identity and place, belonging and spatial practices (Brun, 2001; Foroutan, 2018; Mains et al., 2013; Soja, 1985). Beyond acknowledging that migration is a constitutive part of most cities and therefore should be understood as a dialectical process of mutual transformation between local residents, incomers, and their practices in space, we aimed to demonstrate that different research tools and methods are needed to apprehend this complex reality. To illustrate this, the article has focused on two case studies: Märkisches Viertel in Berlin and Assarah in Irbid.

In the two experiences we observed, through active and collaborative research, that refugees relied on formal and informal networks based on spaces and, at the same time, built spatialities to develop their sense of belonging and therefore integration into the host society. The challenges reported by the refugees went far beyond the usual paradigms of integration that address issues such as access to shelter, the job market, and health care services. The role of communal spaces—which often overlap with religious ones—where refugees can meet others who share similar backgrounds and cultural practices, are often described as equally important as having a place to live and to work.

These spaces can be associated with institutional or non-institutional actors—for example, the community garden mediated by BENN in Berlin and the guest houses run by local families in Irbid. The existence of these actors and their articulation with the refugees have to be understood within the system of power relations (Bourdieu, 1986; Foucault, 1988). By using collaborative methods of research and actively engaging and interacting with the community, we added the university as a crucial actor.

We understand that the university—and the scientific field—play the role of broadening the local context and producing knowledge that can be reused to further produce other forms of knowledge. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that these processes come with many contradictions and limitations. Through hands-on work, we intended to overcome hegemonic structures of knowledge production and invite refugees to collectively produce not only space but knowledge. The existing tools, the language and cultural diversity, and the articulation with institutional and non-institutional actors were often barriers or challenges to the desired engagement of the refugees in the proposed activities.

Despite this, the intention of producing long-term concrete outcomes based on the everyday practices of the residents, that went beyond academic discourses, was central. The durability and the success of the experiences in terms of activating communal integration varied. We argue that the effectiveness of the Berlin case was grounded on the clear joint work developed with existing local actors. In the Jordan case, the lack of trust in the municipality among the different resident groups, as well as the lack of local institutions that could mediate the dialogues, created a scenario that ended in the quick destruction of the public garden.

An understanding of post-migrant societies, which recognises diverse forms of living as a constitutive part of cities worldwide, requires an understanding of engagement with refugees and migrants that goes beyond issues such as language and cultural barriers. It is crucial to include a diversity of actors in the decision-making sectors, in academic production and debate, as well as in city design and planning.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Planning-Related Protest as a Key to Understanding Urban Particularities

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Abstract

Planning-related protest is a "normal" and strategic form of political participation that manifests cause-related conflict and criticises dominant norms, situations, and institutions. It goes beyond the participation offered by the (local) state while claiming action by the state and other powerful actors. Given the multitude of such protests as well as the usually local and, therefore, often small-scale causes and claims articulated, we consider these actions by citizens as everyday practices. On the other hand, protest and movement theory has focused on structural aspects like resource mobilisation and opportunity structures. We, therefore, suggest that planning protest is one of the keys to understanding the particular, place-specific characteristics that make every city unique. Protest data mining as a newly developed method to identify planning protests in local databases, digital newspaper archives, and petition platforms in a standardised approach has produced datasets of hundreds of protests that allow for comparisons between cities. The exemplary analysis of this data allows us to discuss the structural dimension of everyday action.

1. Introduction

Possibly, the best-known planning protest in Germany in recent years is the conflict on the alteration of Stuttgart's central station including the tunnelling of all tracks, destruction of listed buildings and parts of a park, as well as redevelopment of the rail yard. After the culmination of the so-called "Stuttgart 21" protest, Selle (2013, p. 171, translation by the authors) noted that "Stuttgart is everywhere. Whenever a council decision leads to civic protest, media will append the place name with a '21'—and there it is: maximum conflict." But is this true? Do all planning protests resemble the very special case study, with up to 150,000 people shouting, "Stay on top!" in front of the station? Or does it resemble a specific political act in a particular urban setting?

In this article, we want to describe a methodology on how to explore planning-related protests as a part of everyday life in cities in Western democracies and other societies around the globe. Protest data mining (PDM) is a quantitative approach to derive data on protests in print and online media and to prepare these extracts for statistical analysis. The methodology has been developed in an ongoing research project funded by the German Research Foundation, which aims to record and analyse planning protests in eight major German cities between 2005 and 2020. For this article, only data from five cities could be used including Berlin, Cologne, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Munich with a data set of 2,075 cases in total. Beyond multiple applications to examine different types and typologies of contesting local spatial planning and claiming improvements in the built environment, the research shows that these acts of civic participation are a normal and, in this way, everyday part of planning processes. It also reveals that in protest research there is no division but reciprocity between

the structural and the everyday: Only when looking at everyday protests is the number of such processes high enough to find structure and only when applying such a structuralist approach is it possible to define common features of planning protests—and those specific in time and place.

Following some theoretical explanations of planning-related protests from a social science perspective with an emphasis on (local) opportunity structures, the PDM method will be described. After a demonstration on possible applications of protest data analysis on preliminary results from our survey in the five major German cities, the conclusion discusses possibilities and impediments in understanding and comparing cities through the everyday practice of planning protests and their structures.

2. Planning-Related Protest as Rational and Strategic Politics

Despite planning theories' contemporary emphasis on the many agents involved in the production of space, planning protest is often still perceived as a "state of emergency" (Selle, 2013, p. 24, translation by the authors) disturbing the routines of the "normal" planning process. It is therefore regarded as a protest against planning rather than a protest in planning, but as some "unconventional form of participation" (Hoecker, 2006, p. 11; author's translation). This perception has long prevented planning theory from realising to what extent protest has become an everyday action, not only for citizens involved in this rather normal participation (Geißel & Thillman, 2006) but also for planning practitioners facing opposition in town hall meetings, demonstrations, collections of signatures, and the like. However, with the rise of agonistic pluralism in planning theory (Bäcklund & Mäntysalo, 2010; Kühn, 2021; Pløger, 2004), this has dramatically changed. For the advocates of agonism, conflict—if not protest—is seen as a constant, defining element of planning processes. Yet, this turn has led to a situation where the specific characteristic of protest seems to be even less relevant as it is subsumed under those antagonistic expressions that need to be "tamed" (Bertram & Altrock, 2023, pp. 8–10).

2.1. Everyday Urbanism and Planning-Related Protest

This thematic issue of *Urban Planning* tries to link the micro-perspectives of everyday urbanism with comparative research that is mainly interested in structural configurations and dynamics. While the research presented in this article was built on other theoretical foundations (see Section 2.2 and the following), it seems pertinent to clarify its relationship with the everyday concept.

Originally inspired by De Certeau's (1984/2013) "notion of the everyday as a site of transformation and resistance" (Rusca & Cleaver, 2022, p. 2), the concept of "everyday urbanism" has been used in various contexts and with different meanings. In the US, 25 years

ago, urban designers Chase et al. (1999) used it to remind their profession of the importance of daily routines, neighbourhood concerns, and "the role non-experts play in ameliorating neglected urban environments" (Kaliski, 2008, p. 115). Since then, a fast-growing body of urban research has focused on encounters in "everyday public space" (e.g., Watson, 2009) or micro-spatial urban practices that are "resident-generated, low budget, and often designed to be temporary" (Talen, 2015, p. 135). Linking De Certeau's ideas with the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, 1968), authors like Iveson (2013) explored the potential of everyday or DIY urbanism to go beyond the transformation of urban spaces towards producing alternative cities. Everyday urbanism can therefore often be understood as planning-related protest. Meanwhile, for Appelhans (2017, p. 15), studying urban development in Ethiopia, "everyday urbanisation" also encompassed "ordinary" or "mundane" local practices undertaken "by residents, cooperatives, investors or NGOs outside of state institutions." Hence, there have also been calls to shift the analytical focus of urban and planning research to "the everyday politics of city change" (Parnell & Robinson, 2012, p. 2) and the "ordinary practices of city-making" (Lawhon et al., 2014, p. 507). If there is any common denominator between these conceptions, it is the contrast between the domain described as "everyday" and the state, which is either presumed to be absent or conceived as an antagonist "that invades everyday life from the centre or the top down" (Hilbrandt, 2019, p. 353). Especially when exploring urban particularities in Western democracies with resourceful and capable citizens like Germany, "everyday agency" should be linked to an analysis of state power and spatiality. Hilbrandt (2019, p. 352) also pointed out that, through the interaction between "everyday urbanism and the everyday state," ordinary people can "co-construct the order that takes shape."

2.2. An Analytical Approach for Research of Protest in Planning

Planning protest is still often perceived as an irrational and affective action, especially if it includes what is often pejoratively called NIMBYs (see Lake, 1993, for a still accurate critique). When analysing these civic actions, a less normative approach seems adequate. In the social sciences, from the 1970s onwards protest has been conceptualised as a collective act of public participation that is independent of participation offers made by public authorities (Herkenrath, 2011). Rational choices lead to specific political strategies; protest is therefore not collective behaviour but collective action (Tarrow, 2011), i.e., not affective but a wilful act. Having a "twin signature," protest is not only against something; protesters at least implicitly also demand social change and therefore argue for something at the same time (Rucht, 2001). Hence, they often propose and may even provide solutions where they are perceived as a problem.

Protests are genuinely political as they constitute a political strategy (Gamson, 1975/1990), aiming at the public articulation of a tangible conflict and claiming a specific solution to a perceived problem. This may be because the protesters' interests are affected by planning, but they may also be involved as a third party or fight for the common good. Protest strategy can also aim to increase influence, mobilisation and benefits for the protest group and their leaders as "some of these unruly and scrappy challengers do eventually become members [of the elite]" (Gamson, 1975/1990, p. 143).

2.3. The Specific Characteristics of Planning-Related Protest

Planning protests are distinct from most other protests as they refer to local institutions, policies, situations, or developments. They are "rooted in collectivities with a communal base and/or with the local state as their target of action" as Fainstein and Fainstein (1985, p. 189) put it. The protests examined are urban insofar as their causes are situated in a city—not necessarily because they comply with definitions of the urban by Lefebvre (1968), Castells (1972, 1983), Harvey (2012), and others.

The topic of planning-related protest overlaps, but is not congruent with, the subject matter of the Anglo-American literature on (urban) citizenship, which examines how people fight for and defend social rights alongside formal citizenship. According to Isin (2009), "activist citizenship" emerges when people demand (civil, political, and social) rights that are not (yet) granted to them by the state. Holston (1998) focuses on population groups in the Global South that are marginalised by the respective majority society and interprets their fights as "insurgent citizenship." Following Cornwall (2002), Miraftab has made this literature fruitful for planning theory by interpreting struggles of the urban poor for the right to housing and basic services as "invented spaces" (Miraftab & Wills, 2005) and described "insurgent planning as radical planning practices that respond to neoliberal specifics of dominance through inclusion" (Miraftab, 2009, p. 32). Sager (2023) has recently broadened the picture by putting these and other forms of "activist planning" into a systematic order. He distinguishes seven categories, including community-driven activist planning, activist planning by lay planners affiliated with civil society organisations, planners working for universities (practising campus outreach), and local government.

The intersections between planning protest and the latter concepts should be explored in more detail elsewhere. Here, it is important to note that the subject of this research was not delimited based on the social characteristics of the protest actors and its embeddedness in social movements or party politics. There are even hints that many planning protests have a more affluent basis and are rather pragmatic (cf. Kraushaar, 2011; see also Bertram, 2015). First of all, it attempts to gain an overview of protests that are directed at urban or spatial planning or from which tasks for this planning can be derived. The contributions to the planning process recorded in the process are manifold and of different intensities. While some protesters campaign for mere ideas of "another city possible" or argue for solutions to mitigate the negative effects of a plan, only very few will engage in some kind of "activist planning" and draw their own plans (e.g., 84 cases or 3.6% in the data set shown in Section 4). Nevertheless, in the social construction of the protest-to-be and its strategic framing (Snow & Benford, 1988), citizens interact with planners and the wider social context. Protests are related to planning either by problematising plans, demanding planners to produce or change planning policies or procedures, or addressing planning institutions. Regarding local spatial planning as a political process (Ache et al., 2017; Scharpf, 1973), the construction of a relationship between protest and planning also constitutes an additional reason to consider planning protests as political.

2.4. The Importance of Structure in Protest Theory

Although it is now common sense that informed citizens decide to form protest networks instead of masses unleashed by structural constraints in society, resource mobilisation (Lipsky, 1968) and especially political opportunity structure are still dominant approaches and even framing is analysed to find structures within the actions and expressions of protesters (Jasper, 2004). This emphasis on structures has been—and still is—important when identifying the rationality protesters show in their actions.

2.4.1. Political Opportunity Structure

The notion of political opportunity structures as part of a political process model, first formulated by Eisinger (1973), is still one of the dominant theories in movement research today. In contrast to resource mobilisation, which focuses on factors internal to the movement, it uses external conditions to study the genesis and development of protest. Unlike earlier theories, however, it is about a context for the rational action of groups and individuals, from which constraints and possibilities for action, but also potential efficacies of movement action emerge.

The basic model is that external conditions determine the chances of success for protest and that individuals decide to engage in collective political action when success is foreseeable or the incentives for protest action are great enough (Opp, 2009). In further development of Eisinger's approach, obstacles and risks are also usually considered today. These opportunity structures are mostly regarded as objectively given, but some authors focus on the subjective evaluation of the chances of success by the protesters.

2.4.2. Local Planning-Specific Political Opportunity Structure

Within local spatial planning and planning research, a contextualisation of planning processes by external framework conditions is common. It is therefore possible to amend the political opportunity structure approach into a local planning-specific political opportunity structure (Bertram, 2019). There are clear differences to protests at the national level (e.g., relatively small distance between protest subjects and objects, layperson politics, limited capacity of local government).

An essential modification of Eisinger's theory is a multi-scalar application that combines factors close to and distant from protest as well as obstacles but excludes framework conditions beyond planning or urban policy regulation to depict local multi-level politics and its range of actors. In this respect, there is still a more general, superordinate political opportunity structure beyond the planning-related one. Within the German context, activists, as well as academic literature, have often described this as neoliberal urban policy (e.g., Kamleithner, 2009; Schipper, 2010) including, for instance, property-led development, de- or re-regulation as well as austerity policies.

3. Identifying Planning Protest Through Protest Data Mining

As in most Western democracies, where an increase in planning-related protests has been perceived in recent years, it is important to accompany the in-depth knowledge of existing case studies with quantitative data analysis to get an overview of different protests. In the following section we will describe the new method of PDM to identify and analyse protest descriptions in newspaper articles and online sources. This allows us to show that everyday protests differ from the often rather special case studies presented in the literature. However, with hundreds or even thousands of protests being included in one data set, the result is necessarily a bird's eye view only. None of the cases is presented in detail and many questions usually asked in case studies cannot be sufficiently met.

The following description only includes the identification and processing of data, not its statistical or geographical analysis. Information on the specific application of the method is presented in the Section 3.1.

3.1. Integrating Online Into Protest Event Analysis

The enhanced protest event analysis (PEA; Rucht, 2001) serves as a methodological basis for our newly developed PDM method. Although PEA was developed and intensively used during the 1990s to record and analyse supra-local protests in the Federal Republic of Germany between 1945 and 1990, this method could not be applied to the object of our study: On the one hand,

Hocke's (2002) first application to local protests showed that relying only on newspapers was not sufficient, as the results were biased. In our own preliminary study, however, his proposal to integrate police data yielded little benefit and severe practical issues (Bertram, 2019). On the other hand, and even more importantly, the rise of the internet has led to a change in the field (cf. Sassen, 2011), with additional forms of action and even online-only protests arising (Bertram & Kienast, 2023). In terms of opportunity structure, some authors argue that "the Internet…appears to enable activist groups to become more effective and more powerful than ever before" (Blood, 2010, p. 160), while others point to a completely new repertoire of online protest (Schwartz, 1996; Van Laer, 2010; Voss, 2013).

Results from the preliminary study confirm the usefulness of methodological diversity. When applying the local adaptation of PEA along with a semi-structured analysis of data collected on the internet and social media sites, only a minor part of protests was found both in newspapers and online (9.6%), while most were either identified in PEA (39.7%) or websites (50.7%; cf. Bertram, 2019, p. 224). While many cases in the data set missed attributes, it also became clear that cases found in both surveys proved to be those with the highest quality and validity of data (Bertram, 2019, pp. 226–227). At the same time, it could also be established that due to its emphasis on individual protest events, the PEA in its original form is unnecessarily detailed for planning research.

3.2. Protest Data Mining as Research Design

Therefore, PDM includes basic principles of PEA but is based on the cascading approach conducted in the collection of process-produced online data. Its principal aim is to identify planning protests in print and online media in a semi-standardised way and to obtain effectively condensed protest data for statistical analysis, but at the same time to neglect the inconsistency that necessarily exists due to different sources. A circular procedure is used to identify possible cases, assess their potential, investigate these cases in different media sources, and examine the findings for inclusion into a coherent dataset (Figure 1). While the first step is only conducted once, new potential cases of planning protests are identified in all subsequent steps, and these steps can theoretically be repeated as long as new potential cases are found. Of course, in practice, an end of circulation can be declared, when the data set is saturated or may be demanded for research-external reasons (lack of resources).

Combining internet-based and newspaper research, both media are now understood as equal. This is only possible by turning away from the dedicated analysis of protest events of PEA, which, unlike in newspapers, are not consistently recognisable in process-produced internet data. The smallest element is now the planning protest. This leads to the need to continuously check
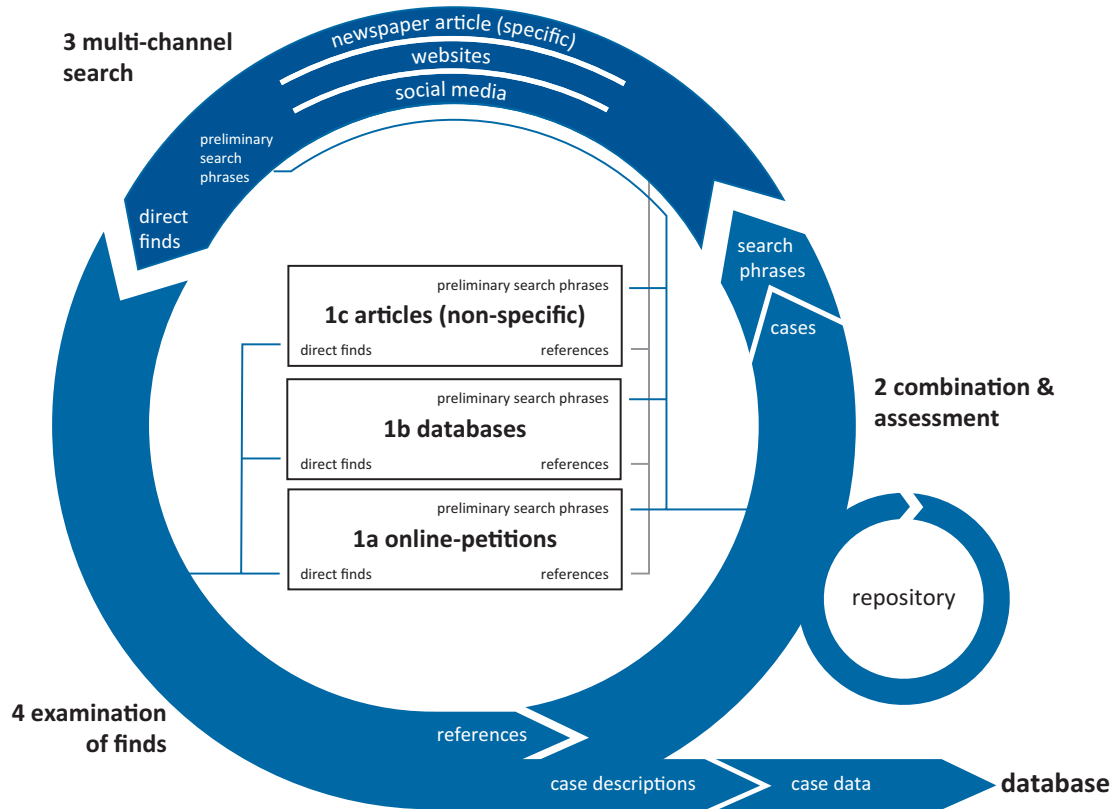
Figure 1. Circular approach of PDM.

whether the character of a protest changes over time in a way that makes it necessary to split it (e.g., due to a change of main actors, causes, or claims).

PDM produces different kinds of findings. Besides more or less detailed descriptions of planning-related protests as direct findings of primary interest, there are findings of secondary interest: Links to websites and social media sites containing potential further findings, as well as searchable denominations that can be used in subsequent searches of newspaper archives or search engines.

3.2.1. Identification of Potential Cases of Planning-Related Protest in Print and Online Media

To identify potential cases of planning-related protest, the first step of PDM focuses on three sources. First, there are internet-based platforms for so-called online petitions that provide organisations as well as individuals with a tool to collect and count signatures and send them to preselected receivers. While called petitions, the signatures usually do not have legal status and are addressed to any kind of institution and even individuals who do not have any regulated form to process complaints and other submissions. Second, several local and national organisations provide online databases for certain kinds of protests or (potential) protest activities (e.g., local referenda, citizen's initiatives, incidents of racist violence). These often come in the form of lists that have to be screened manually. Third, online archives of local newspapers still offer the highest quantity of

possible findings, but those are hidden in thousands of articles, and sophisticated search phrases are needed to reduce the number of hits as no sufficient system of keywords is provided. Therefore, search strings contain a selection of newspaper sections and include a choice of words (e.g., protest, citizen's initiative) while excluding others that relate to supra-local protest events (e.g., strike, mayday, war). Also, words signalling protests already found in online petitions, databases, or previous newspaper searches are excluded. The hit lists with headings and leads are screened by trained researchers, who will assess any list item with a standardised set of five criteria to ensure that any potential case of planning-related protest may match the examined time and place, the definition of protest, has a communal basis and is related to planning. To reduce biases in news coverage, for each city, two different newspapers are used.

3.2.2. Combination and Assessment of Potential Cases of Planning-Related Protest

In the identification process, researchers evaluate the five criteria mentioned in Section 3.2.1 in a simple way: Any criteria can match, not match, or possibly match (when the given information is insufficient). Any potential case that does not match at least one criterion will be excluded from further examination, the rest will be sorted so that any case with five matches is examined first, then those with one possible match, and so forth. This helps to effectively find a larger number of cases in time.

Within the same step, the potential cases with the best assessment (in further circles second best and so forth) are compared to combine different findings of the same cases, which occur frequently, and to reduce similar results in the search process. Validating adequate combinations often requires a first screening of the actual content of the article or entry.

3.2.3. Multi-Channel Search of Cases of Planning-Related Protests

The third step aims to find additional data for the cases composed before. Therefore, with the help of a common search engine, cases will be enriched with links to websites of protest groups, supporters, or planning institutions. If this is not satisfactory, a second, now specific search for articles will be conducted in one—and if necessary also a second—newspaper. If still not saturated, the most important social media platforms can be searched.

In both this and the following step, some cases will be re-evaluated and rejected as new information may show non-conformity with one of the five criteria. When new potential cases are found, they will be treated like findings in the first step and assessed, combined and searched in one of the next circles, depending on their assessment.

3.2.4. Examination of Planning-Related Protests

The output of the PDM consists of findings—articles, websites, and documents—that contain protest descriptions or, more generally, data. Despite the expected diversity of the findings, they are evaluated in a standardised content analysis according to the same principles and characteristics for recording in a common database. The content-analytical evaluation serves to form quantitatively analysable data sets from qualitative protest data and always follows the same sequence, which can be divided into the evaluation steps described below. These are based on PEA (Rucht & Ohlemacher, 1992):

1. Screening of found items to get a preliminary understanding of the protest to be coded.
2. Ensuring that individual findings belong to the same case and separating cases if interruptions become known (e.g., long times without protest events, changes of main actors, causes or claims).
3. Selecting the five findings with the highest information content.
4. Reading findings in chronological order and marking information to be coded in the text.
5. Coding marked text passages by assigning them to an item in the database.
6. Entering data into the database using one code sheet for each protest and categorising its items.

Given a presumably high uncertainty of findings, during the entry into the database, a comparison and, if necessary, a weighting of data, which originate from different sources, is carried out. Also, for each item, coders are asked to either primarily use sources by the protesters themselves or others, especially newspaper articles. As a rule, for items concerned with the protest itself, information by the protesters is considered more relevant, while for items related to the planning process or effects, we rely on third parties. For instance, to describe causes and claims, we are looking for the representation within the protester's strategic framing, although that results in a reproduction of a part of the political action, e.g., some would rather campaign for the protection of a building, while others position themselves against the demolition. When choosing planning instruments used, we consider accounts by planning authorities or mass media as more reliable.

3.3. Code Sheet and Data Set

The code sheet consists of the 41 items related to content shown in Table 1 as well as several items for organisational reasons (continuous number, coder, data origin). As we want to investigate the relationship between protest and planning, apart from the attributes of the protest itself, we collect some of the planning process it is related to and especially ask for outcomes and interactions between protest, planning, and other forms of participation. While many values are simple yes/no/maybe or similar options, others are entered by choosing between inherent categories where multiple selections are usually possible. The code sheet also includes a geographical reference to enable GIS analysis, i.e., analysis of hot spots and comparison with other spatial data (e.g., demographics, election results, and building structure where available). As mentioned before, it is expected that in many cases the code sheet can only be partially completed. To give the coder a better understanding of when the necessary saturation is reached, some items are prioritised. If there is no known date, cause, and claim, the protest will not be used for analysis.

4. Some Results: Everyday Planning Protest in Five Major German Cities and Its Structure

To give an impression of how PDM enables an understanding of the structural dimensions of everyday planning protest, in the following we present some preliminary results of the ongoing survey in five major German cities. As mentioned above, the preliminary data set used for the five cities contains 2,075 cases. Of these, nearly one-third is located in Berlin and Munich, while the turnouts in the other cities range between 10% in Leipzig and 15% in Cologne (Table 2). Using PDM, most cases were aggregated from data found both in newspapers and online media, but proportions vary between cities, as qualities of local newspapers and the use of online media by protesters are urban particularities as well.

Table 1. Code sheet of PDM.

Group	Sub-group	Item	Value	Priority
Protest	Basic information	Who? (Denomination of protest organisers)	Text	High
		For what?	Text	High
		Against what?	Text	High
		Location of cause and/or claim	Geo reference	High
	Time	Start of protest	Year	Mandatory
		End of protest	Year	Mandatory
	Carriers of protest	Type of protest organiser	Category	High
		Mail address	Text	High
		Movement affiliation	Category	Regular
	Framing	Cause	Category	Mandatory
		Claim	Category	Mandatory
		Motivation	Category	Regular
		Concern	Option	High
	Actions	Repertoire	Category	Regular
		Number of participants	Number	Regular
Planning	Reference to planning	Planning/policy field	Category	High
		(Planning) instrument	Category	High
	Planning process	Start of planning	Year	High
		End of planning with decision	Year	High
		End of planning without decision	Year	High
		Start of implementation	Year	High
		Completion of implementation	Year	High
	Planning agents	Local politicians	Option	Regular
		Local administration	Option	Regular
		Higher level (politics and administration)	Option	Regular
		Developers, entrepreneurs, and other private actors	Option	Regular
Outcomes and interactions	Effects	Stop/revocation	Option	High
		Interruption/delay	Option	High
		Change of planning procedure	Option	High
		Change of planning content	Option	High
		Start of the planning in case of initiative/ situational protest	Option	High
		Third parties affected by initiative/ situational protest	Option	High
	References to other forms of participation	Petition for referendum	Option	High
		Referendum	Option	High
		Participation beyond the statutory level	Option	High
		Legal dispute	Option	High
		Election campaign issue	Option	High
	Networks	Support in politics	Option	Regular
		Support in local politics (lowest political level)	Option	Regular
		Support in civil society (clubs, associations, trade unions, advisory councils, etc.)	Option	Regular
		Connections to other protests	Option	Regular

Table 2. Share of planning protests found in newspapers and online in the five major German cities (*N* = 2,075).

City	Cases	Share of cases found		
		In newspapers only	Online only	Both in newspapers and online
Berlin	645	9.4%	10.1%	80.6%
Cologne	301	36.5%	5.0%	58.5%
Frankfurt	279	31.5%	3.9%	64.5%
Leipzig	206	23.3%	5.3%	71.4%
Munich	644	44.9%	1.7%	53.4%
Total	**2,075**	**27.0%**	**3.7%**	**69.3%**

Note: Berlin shares correspond only to new cases in the main study.

4.1. Support of Planning Protests

The number of people who participate in planning-related protests clearly illustrates that protest has become an "everyday" feature of planning and form of participation (Table 3). The figures are available for approximately 40.0% of the cases recorded in PDM (*N* = 831), for example, because information on signatures of support or participants in a demonstration was mentioned in the findings. For each protest, only the protest event with the highest number of participants was counted, although in each case a fluctuation of supporters, over- and under-estimations and even deliberate exaggerations can be assumed. On the one hand, the number of unreported cases is probably high. On the other hand, some individuals will be counted more than once as they participated in more than one protest.

Nevertheless, the total number is considerable: In the 16-year study period, a total of at least 3.7 million people took part in 831 planning protests, which corresponds to an average participation of 4,461 persons. Relating this number to the average number of inhabitants over the period, more than half of the number of residents were involved in one of the protests (52.0%). However, there are clear local differences: While in Munich the numbers add up to 63.0%, in Cologne only 43.0% of people protested (the even lower percentage in Leipzig cannot be compared, due to incomplete data).

There are clear differences in the average number of protesters, which do not correlate clearly with the size of the cities. The fact that in Berlin, for example, on average, significantly more people took part in a protest may also be related to the fact that smaller events receive less attention in the local press.

Looking at the size of the individual protests, it can be seen that only the two largest cities—Berlin and Munich—have protests with more than 50,000 participants, while the third largest city—Cologne—has a particularly high number of protests with fewer than 500 supporters. In Frankfurt, the proportion of cases with more than 1,000 supporters is almost as high as in Berlin, which is almost five times as large (Figure 2).

This categorisation does not take into account the different sizes of the five cities, with Berlin more than six times as big as Leipzig. When categories are used in relation to city size, it becomes apparent that protests are relatively large in the two cities with less than one million inhabitants and below average in Berlin (Figure 3). In Frankfurt and Leipzig, nearly half of the cases are supported by one person per 1,000 inhabitants or more, while in Berlin only 23.0% of the protests are that large.

4.2. Planning Fields

To illustrate the kind of protests analysed and to show some differences between the five cities, we take a brief

Table 3. Supporters of planning protests and share per inhabitants in the five major German cities (*N* = 831).

City	Protests with known numbers of supporters	Sum of supporters (maximum)	Supporters per protest	Inhabitants **	Share of supporters among inhabitants
Berlin *	185	1,885,702	10,193	3,525,958	53.0%
Cologne	157	438,354	2,792	1,026,604	43.0%
Frankfurt *	127	363,604	2,863	705,497	52.0%
Leipzig *	86	158,695	1,845	547,992	29.0%
Munich	276	860,928	3,119	1,368,689	63.0%
Total	**831**	**3,707,283**	**4,461**	**7,174,739**	**52.0%**

Notes: * preliminary data; ** average of 31.12.2004 and 31.12.2020. Sources: Statistisches Bundesamt (2022); for Leipzig in 2020, Sächsisches Landesamt für Statistik (2023).
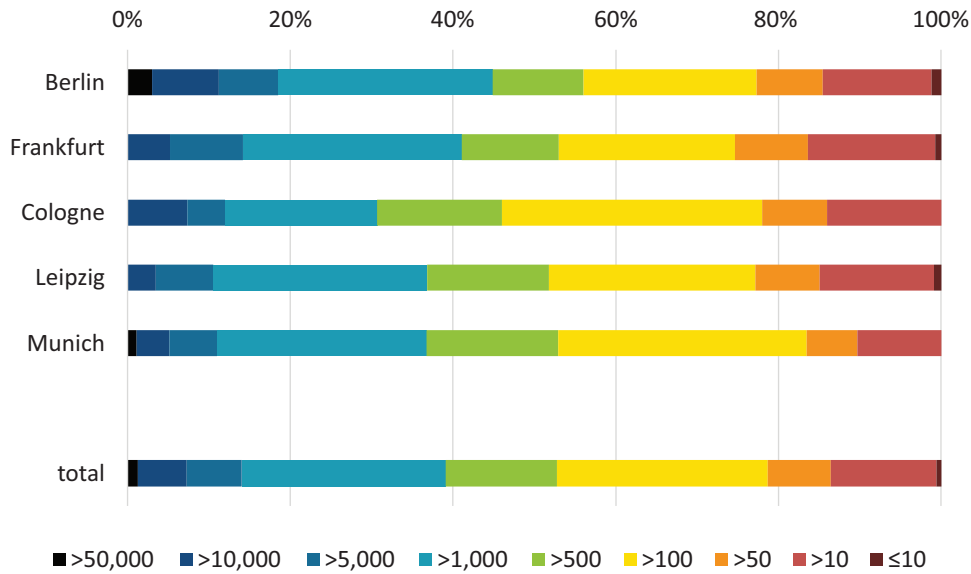
Figure 2. Categorised range of protest size (*N* = 831).

look at the item planning field, i.e., a categorised description of the content of the contested plans or—in what we call initiative protests—the plans or more general ideas protesters propose.

For this purpose, 66 different categories of planning fields have been summarised into the eight main categories shown in Figure 4. In any city, technical infrastructure and especially different aspects of transportation will be the main focus of planning protests (30.0%). In Leipzig, this focus is even more dominant (39.1%), as there have been various protests concerned with public transport, flight routes, traffic calming measures, and especially the expansion of the cycle path infrastructure. Even in Berlin, where the share is only half as big as in Leipzig, no other category includes more protests (23.3%). Interestingly, in initiative protests, the propor-

tion of protests related to technical infrastructure and mobility is even higher (42.6%), claiming e.g., traffic calming or pedestrian crossings. In Cologne, more than half of initiative protests relate to this planning field (53.8%).

However, despite lower shares of protests, there are larger discrepancies between cities in other planning fields: The share of protests concerned with land use changes, and the construction or destruction of buildings in Cologne nearly doubles that of Leipzig (31.3% to 16.7%). Meanwhile, in Leipzig, the percentage of protests related to migration (both contesting refugee shelters or demanding better housing for migrants) is remarkably high (9.9% as compared to the 3.6% average). The same is true for other planning fields originating in fights of Leipzig's far-left subculture for alternative spaces. In Frankfurt and Berlin, the research project recorded par-
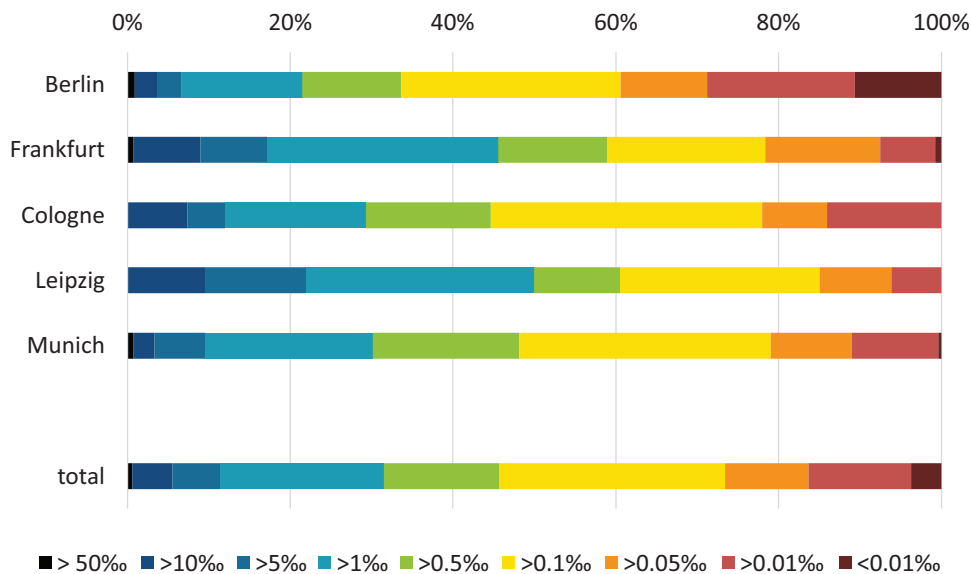
Figure 3. Categorised range of protest size in relation to city size (*N* = 831).
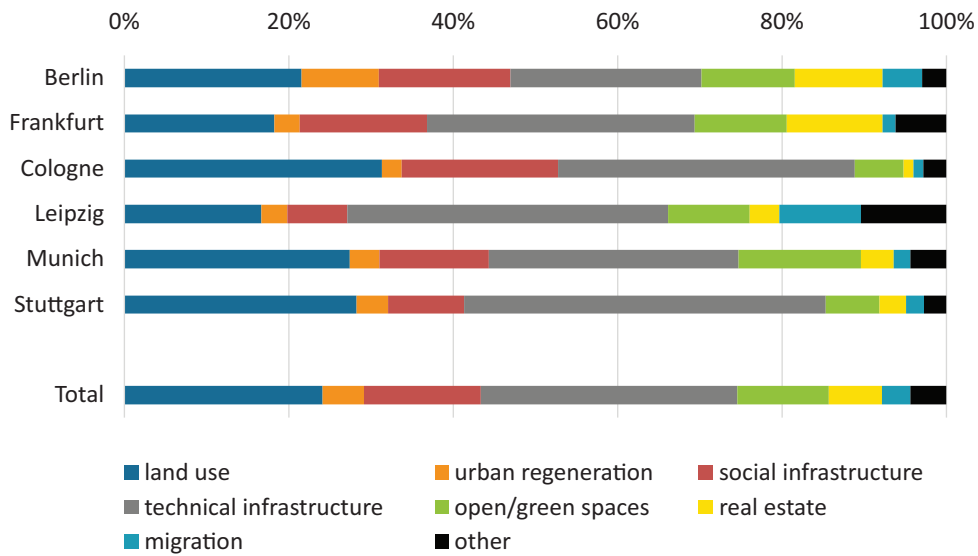
Figure 4. Share of planning protests in categorised planning fields (*N* = 1,897).

ticularly high numbers of planning protests related to real estate and especially rents (11.6% and 10.7% as compared to 6.8% average), as there have been large manifestations of tenant movements respectively. By contrast, in Munich, the city with the tensest housing market in Germany, the share of these protests is below average (4.0%). As Munich is also the most densely built of the five cities, urban green spaces are especially contested (14.9% as compared to 11.5% average). Among these protests is

also an alliance of several protest organisations for a local referendum to protect all existing green areas.

4.3. Organisers of Planning Protests

The main organisations to undertake planning protests are (groups of) individuals and citizens' initiatives, i.e., action groups that may either have formed for this protest or already existed before (Figure 5). Either of
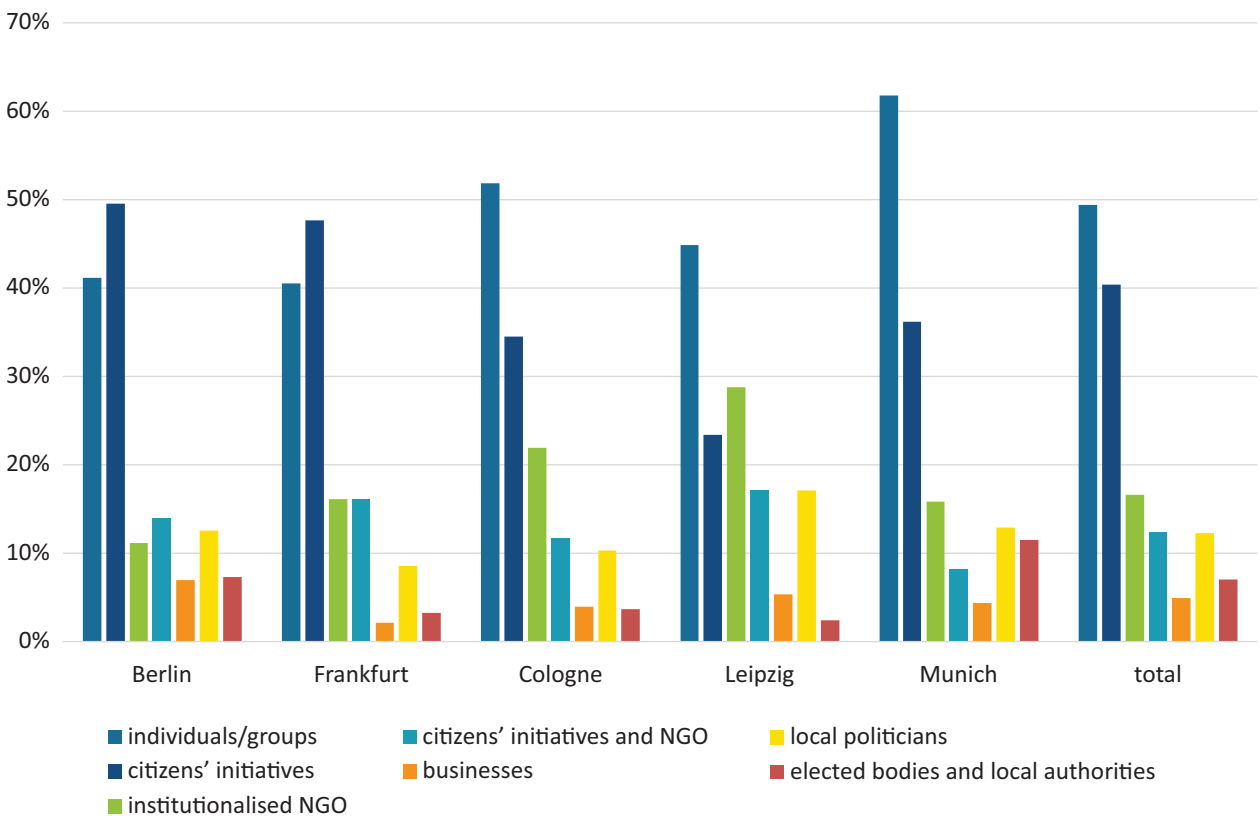
Figure 5. Protest organisations (*N* = 2,284; multiple selections).

these actors is involved in nearly every case. However, the proportion of the two values (groups of) individuals and citizens' initiatives differs from city to city, which might depend on different denominations used by local media as the difference between a group of neighbours and a citizens' initiative is not much more than having a name and a spokesperson. The share of institutionalised NGOs, like environmental groups and other associations, is much lower but still significant. Local political parties and individual council members are part of nearly every eighth protest, in Leipzig even every sixth (16.0%). Elected bodies—especially elected bodies at the district level—participate in 7.0% of all cases; in Munich, they even take part in 11.0% of all planning protests.

4.4. Outcomes of Planning Protests

Planning protest is an everyday exercise because it is remarkably successful. There are many cases where changes in planning have (already) been reported: Over 18.0% have reached goals claimed by the protesters (though often not all the goals have been reached); nearly 10.0% have managed to achieve changes in planning contents; 7.0% have led to changes of planning procedure; another 7.0% caused interruptions of the planning process. Taken together, one-third of protests had an effect (Table 4), but there are significant differences between cities: In Frankfurt, only half as many protests as in Berlin were successful (10.0% to 20.0%). In Munich, where nearly 45.0% of protests showed some effect, there were more changes of plans and less success. In contrast to all other cities, in Leipzig, the planning procedure was changed more often than the contents. Yet, this may not mean that protests without references to such changes have been unsuccessful.

5. Conclusion

At least in the five major German cities and during the 2005 to 2020 period, planning a protest is not a "state of emergency" but an everyday action for protesters, planners, and local politicians alike. The few statistics given in this article already show that by applying PDM and comparing data, we can see differences in the local planning-related political opportunity structure: Within Cologne and Leipzig, the two cities where mobilisation is lower

in terms of the share of inhabitants showing support for planning protests, NGOs are involved in more protests— maybe as a substitute for popular support, maybe as an indicator that the local opportunity structure does not provide for as many independent protests to emerge. Only in Berlin and Munich, the two largest cities, which have a significant lower tier of local government at the borough level, is there a noticeable level of support by local elected bodies and politicians—usually at the borough level. While, of course, the numbers of supporters are higher in the larger cities, in comparison to city size, they are highest in Munich, possibly explaining the fact that it is also the city where most changes implemented in urban politics and planning related to protest demands could be observed.

Yet, the many discrepancies shown for the item planning field indicate that in local planning-related protests, opportunity is not restricted to planning procedures, politics, and mobilisation, but that planning content, more general planning-related policies and situations in the urban structure are equally important causes for protest. As already presumed by Bertram (2019), protesters are only able to mobilise support when the alternative solutions they (often implicitly) propose are compatible with planning policies yet independent and divergent enough to be clearly recognised. Based on the additional but preliminary data, we now suspect that particularities of the built environment of cities also contribute to the local opportunity structure. There seems to be reciprocity not only between the structural and everyday as explicated above, but also between political and environmental urban structures. However, these dependencies seem to be complex: For example, in Munich—the most densely populated city with the highest rents—there is a relatively high proportion of protests to stop further densification but there are far fewer rent-related protests than for instance in Frankfurt and Berlin. Apparently, in the Bavarian capital, citizens can be more easily mobilised to protect urban green spaces but are suspicious of protesters claiming new solutions for a housing market that has been a top priority of local planners and politicians for decades. In Berlin, on the other hand, where rents have been comparably low for a long time and the share of tenants is high, as those are experiencing sharp rent increases, it was even possible to mobilise a majority in a local referendum for expropriating large

Table 4. Percentage of planning protests with outcomes in five major German cities (N = 2,041; multiple selections).

City	Success (as defined by protesters)	Interruption of the planning process	Changes in the planning procedure	Changes to the planning content	Any kind of effect
Berlin	20.2%	10.2%	7.0%	9.9%	32.2%
Cologne	15.7%	4.8%	3.2%	8.7%	27.6%
Frankfurt	10.1%	6.1%	5.0%	7.3%	22.8%
Leipzig	17.6%	6.4%	8.3%	5.1%	27.6%
Munich	16.6%	5.6%	8.5%	11.6%	44.6%
Total	**18.4%**	**7.1%**	**6.8%**	**9.6%**	**33.4%**

housing stocks. Frankfurt serves as a cross-check. Here, rents have been similarly high as in Munich, but in contrast, local civil society has been contesting this situation for decades, too.

Thus, planning a protest conceptualised as part of everyday life in major cities can be seen as a key to understanding urban particularities, i.e., the differences that under the harmonising effects of globalisation still exist between cities—even within one country. Of course, there are historic path dependencies and structural differences between rich and poor cities or former Western and Eastern Germany (the latter here only represented by Leipzig). We can recognise a local-specific opportunity structure that is built upon these path-dependencies and structures, but also (re)produced in the everyday activities of citizens, politicians, and planners. Yet, what planning protests throughout all five German cities have in common is that most of their protagonists do not use this kind of participation because they lack (civil, political, and social) rights as indicated by Isin (2009) and others working on the activism or insurgent actions of marginalised groups. Instead, the rationality of these actions is that of an attention economy and a still predominantly representative democracy (Bertram, 2019).

Transforming everyday action into structural data allows analysis of particularities and commonalities. However, this is only a small part of the possible applications of PDM. It provides the basis for the identification of a protest typology that depicts a spectrum of themes and development patterns, as well as for the investigation of case studies that illustrate these typologies. Thanks to the recording of locations of causes and claims, protest typologies can be related to socio-spatial data and thus allow not only for a comparison between cities but also between different boroughs within one city. The database can serve as a starting point for in-depth studies, e.g., on planning-related protests concerning public space, commercial development, or various aspects of urban mobility. As the data analysis is not yet completed, case studies are still to be developed. However, we have already been able to show that the methodology presented is a way to combine the analysis of specific planning protests with an analysis of local planning-political opportunity structure.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

Comparing Hybrid Urbanisms in the Global South: Water Delivery Configurations in Peru and Ghana

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Abstract

Urban development processes in the Global South (and North) are often described as characterized by formal and informal practices of different actors and their respective material realities. In critical urban studies, the disposition for this binary conception of formal and informal urbanisms has been discussed for many years. To a certain extent, these sometimes align rather problematically with contrasting notions of the "structural" versus the "everyday." In this article, we explore an understanding of formal and informal urban practices (and respectively "structure" and "everyday") as always interrelated, and we develop a methodology for a comparative examination of such hybrid urbanisms. In doing so, we address a missing link in the surging theoretical debate on comparative/southern urbanisms, which has rarely been substantiated by methodological explorations. The adapted concept of "delivery configurations" combines analyses of actor networks, material realities, rules and regulations, discourses, and heterogenous arrays of urban practices of negotiating these. However, bringing together local particularities and structural commonalities and exploring their interrelation only provides a basis for understanding case-specific complexities. We argue that embedding the analysis in a multi-scalar comparative framework can further its analytical rather than descriptive attributes and provide deeper insights into issues such as social inequality. To illustrate our methodological contribution, we provide first insights from a comparative research project of water delivery in different neighbourhoods in the secondary cities of Sunyani (Ghana) and Arequipa (Peru). We highlight the practical challenges of comparing diverse urban contexts and examining the rather complex relationships between infrastructure delivery, urban development, and social inequality.

Keywords

delivery configurations; Ghana; hybridity; informality; infrastructures; multi-scalar comparison; Peru; water

1. Beyond the Binary of In/Formal Urbanism

Urban development in the Global South is closely associated with informal practices and their social and material manifestations. For many decades, literature on informal urbanism has been based on a dichotomy/binary relation to formal urban development (Lombard, 2019; McFarlane & Waibel, 2016). Informal urban practices, combined with social inequality and especially poverty, are often considered immense challenges for planned urban development in cities (Mitlin & Satterthwaite,

2013; Roy, 2009). For instance, informal supply structures attempt to compensate for the absence of state-funded infrastructures but often cannot be reconciled with the ideals of formal urban planning (Assaad, 2015). In addition, informal urban development is understood as an independent mode of urbanism (AlSayyad, 2004), which, on the one hand, reflects the socio-economic realities of societies and, on the other hand, forms a gateway into cities for poor population groups. This is associated with opportunities for a higher standard of living and social advancement.

The increasing critique of the binary conception of urban in/formality has also been based on the observation that it tends to contribute to the marginalization of informal practices, associated parts of the city (e.g., informal settlements), and the stigmatization of respective populations (Banks et al., 2020; Fattah & Walters, 2020). In contrast, increasing attention has been paid to the interrelations of in/formal urbanisms. This perspective turns away from the assumption that informality is only a starting point towards a "better," entirely formalized development strategy, and it rejects the idea that formal planning necessarily leads to improvement. In the conception of "grey spaces" (Yiftachel, 2009), urban planning is rather seen to play a central role in generating informality. Planning can contribute to the intensification of social inequalities as it often responds to informality by either ignoring, neglecting, confining, or "whitening" (obscuring) it (Avni & Yiftachel, 2014, p. 490). In this context, Watson (2009) is calling for a discussion on new concepts for planning that are pro-poor and on how to deal with informality in different ways. Banks et al. (2020, p. 234) emphasize the importance of "moving away from viewing and analysing urban informality within particular sectors or settings or across particular outcomes." and searching for new ways of understanding how informal and formal practices are related to each other. A relational understanding of the structural preconditions for planning in the form of legislation, policies, and administration and, on the other hand, the everyday practices of different actors can help explore the complex interplay of informal and formal critically.

We propose to place this relationship between formal and informal urban development practices at the centre of the research interest and to renegotiate it based on the concept of hybrid urbanisms, i.e., the simultaneity, juxtaposition, dependency, and intertwining of formal and informal practices and materialities. We argue that both forms of development exist as social constructs, including sets of rules, customs, and specific local histories, which play important roles in different actors' "formalized" and "informalized" practices. Our focus is on deconstructing this socially constructed dualism and analysing how both concepts are interwoven in the diverse realities of water delivery configurations in the Global South. We thus follow the calls for more situated inquiries into the relationships of in/formal urbanisms. However, we argue that conceptually, the debate has not advanced in line with theoretical arguments. Our article focuses on a methodological contribution. To analyze hybrid urbanisms, we adopt a methodology of "delivery configurations" (Jaglin, 2017) in a structured, comparative multi-scalar framework. We argue that examining different manifestations of hybrid arrangements comparatively allows us to better understand local realities such as social inequality.

2. Infrastructural Delivery Configurations in a Comparative Multi-Scalar Framework to Analyse Hybridity

In recent years, urban studies have taken an infrastructural turn (Graham, 2010): Infrastructural changes are increasingly examined as socio-technical constructs in order to learn more about social and political transformation, such as neoliberal urbanisms. Infrastructures can be understood as "complex assemblages that bring all manners of human, non-human, and natural agents into a multitude of continuous liaisons across geographical space" (Graham, 2010, p. 11). This definition is accompanied by the recognition that infrastructure production is not only a technical or financial development but also a political and social process.

The study of infrastructures and their social and material production is a particularly suitable research object for the analysis of urban development processes in cities of the Global South (Marais & Cloete, 2016). On the one hand, the provision of infrastructure is considered a central challenge in planning and development, especially in cities of the Global South (Rana et al., 2017); on the other hand, a direct link between improved living conditions and better access to infrastructure has been demonstrated (Jerome, 2012). For example, the availability of infrastructure in cities is closely linked to the migration of rural populations to cities (Issah et al., 2005).

In cities of the Global South, major limitations in the availability of networked infrastructure can be observed, especially in informal settlements, which are often characterized by poverty (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2013). This is mainly due to the limited local resources and weak state institutions, which struggle to provide infrastructure (Lawhon et al., 2018; Rosen, 2021). When poverty—low and irregular incomes—and high social inequality prevail, the sustainability of networked systems based on individual user contributions is limited (Pieterse & Hyman, 2017). As a criticism of the networked infrastructure model (Graham & Marvin, 2001; Tarr & Dupuy, 1988), it is also noted that the cities of the Global South are characterized by great heterogeneity, and thus, the local socio-technical problems cannot be addressed with standardized development concepts, mostly coming from examples from the Global North (Coutard & Rutherford, 2016). Instead of examining non-functioning or missing networked infrastructures, the focus can be placed on what is actually present and how it functions (Jaglin, 2017), including how parts of it are produced by the residents themselves in processes of "auto-construction'' (Caldeira, 2017). Starting from residents' perspectives and the value they ascribe to their infrastructures appears particularly fruitful, even if the systems on the ground may not be directly interpretable or appear deficient from a Western-influenced perspective (Pieterse & Hyman, 2017, p. 203).

Following this argumentation, hybrid arrangements of networked and non-networked infrastructures, of

public and private, as well as planned and grown structures—"technological bricolages" (Lemanski, 2021) —are examined. Also coming to the fore in this context are approaches that examine the creativity and potential of residents in dealing with existing resources and in establishing new infrastructures, as well as formulating a critique of neoliberal logics of exploitation with regard to basic fundamental human needs (Coban, 2018; Coutard & Rutherford, 2016). Co-production practices of infrastructures, which involve residents, play an important role in solving supply shortages and strengthening participation opportunities and highlight the importance of hybrid urban production practices in serving vulnerable populations (Mitlin & Bartlett, 2018; Moretto et al., 2018)—even if they are also characterized by limitations (Gribat, 2021). Simone's (2004) work goes a step further and outlines the importance of "people as infrastructures." The joint production of infrastructures also represents an important part in the emergence of an identity as a citizen. In this context, citizenship is not only to be understood as the state monopoly of rights and duties but also describes the dynamic processes in which residents themselves negotiate new practices and rules that shape life in their environment and also contribute to the social production of their cities (Isin & Nielsen, 2008; Lemanski, 2020).

Practically, Jaglin (2017), following Olivier de Sardan (2011), proposes that delivery configurations be examined. This includes the actors and institutions, the equipment and resources, as well as the different forms of co-production, from direct to indirect cooperation and temporary or permanent arrangements. Jaglin (2017) also suggests analysing the function of delivery configurations as a substitute, competitor, or complementary model to existing structures. By focusing on these dimensions of investigation, it is possible to overcome the boundaries of public and private, legal and illegal, commercial and non-commercial, technical and social, and to examine infrastructures in their actual complexity and different perceptions by the actors. Lawhon et al. (2018) and Sseviiri et al. (2022) share the same perspective with their concept of heterogeneous infrastructure configurations and thus describe the analysis of infrastructural artefacts as socio-technological configurations. Hybridity, as a term here, is criticized for its risk of an "etymological dualism" (Lawhon et al., 2018, p. 725) between a constructed binary of informalized and formalized practices of infrastructure production. Whilst acknowledging this critique, we argue that both forms of development exist as social constructs that need to be deconstructed by examining and comparing the diverse realities of delivery configurations in the Global South.

Understanding these complex local realities requires an analysis of the dynamic actor constellations. This is particularly helpful because water delivery often develops in a demand-driven manner at the small-scale local level. In this context, a multitude of actors from different sectors, such as the state administration, international donors and NGOs, civil society actors, and private-sector companies, can form several centres of power that have a strong influence on local developments (Jaglin & Rateau, 2020; Olivier de Sardan, 2011).

Social inequality and its spatial manifestations also become visible through an analysis of delivery configurations. In poorer neighbourhoods, for example, the lack of access to basic services often makes residents more vulnerable. They seek alternatives that are often even more expensive, less reliable, and not necessarily safe or hygienic. At the same time, wealthier people can more easily compensate for the state's lack of services by purchasing them privately or moving to areas of the city where they are provided. This is illustrated by examples of infrastructures for the provision of water (Budds & McGranahan, 2003; Monstadt & Schramm, 2017; Moretto & Ranzato, 2017).

So far, the concept of delivery configurations has been productively used to describe the delivery of individual services, and it has also been shown that a subsequent comparison of the same services in different cities can be helpful in describing the specificities of individual cases (Jaglin & Rateau, 2020). Building on this, we propose embedding an examination of delivery configurations in a multi-scalar comparative framework in which comparisons at different levels become a central moment of research, promoting a structured critical analysis of the findings.

In this article, we use initial examples from our field research to make comparisons on three levels: (a) between the different neighbourhoods within the cities studied; (b) internationally, between two cities in Ghana and Peru; and (c) between different actor perspectives. We distinguish here, according to Ingold (2000), between the "dwelling perspective" of residents and the "building perspective" of actors professionally engaged in providing infrastructure. In the context of our project, there is also the comparison of water and mobility, which we do not discuss here for reasons of space.

In the following section, we examine some of the comparative insights and complexities of examining water delivery configurations in the neighbourhoods we encountered in our project. In doing so, our cases map the diversity of urban realities through the selection of very different local and supra-local contexts and allow us to make particularly good use of the advantages of comparative research. At the same time, our focused view on the delivery configurations of specific infrastructures allows us to analyze the conceptual differences in realization and use, as Robinson (2022, p. 11) describes it in the context of "generative comparisons" that "might emerge across shared features evident amid the rich fullness and complexity of urban life. These provide the invitation to generate conceptual insights across diverse urban outcomes.''

3. Insights on Infrastructure Delivery, Urban Development, and Social Inequality in Arequipa and Sunyani

Our comparative examination of the ways in which water is supplied focused on the secondary cities of Arequipa in Peru and Sunyani in Ghana, both being regional centres for commerce and services in their respective geographical contexts. In each city, we conducted research in three neighbourhoods: in Arequipa—Angeles de la Cruz, Sector 10 in Peregrinos de Chapi, and Casa Huerta las Lomas del Cural; in Sunyani—Berlin Top, Bakooniaba, and Kotokrom. Fieldwork was carried out for three months in each city in 2022. It included long-term stays in each neighbourhood, allowing us to participate in neighbourhood activities such as citizen workshops (*faenas*) on Sundays in all three neighbourhoods in Arequipa, or the protest march of neighbours for receiving their land titles in the city centre, and the inauguration of a newly constructed street in Sunyani, as well as regular community meetings with the traditional authorities in the Ghanaian case study areas. Besides these special events, we had the opportunity to participate in the everyday routines of the (future) inhabitants to better understand how practices around water use are shaped. This was accompanied by a total of 137 semi-structured interviews with inhabitants (dwelling perspective: 39 in Arequipa and 45 in Sunyani) and professional actors (building perspective: 35 in Arequipa and 18 in Sunyani). The actors from the building perspective comprised employees from different administrative bodies from the local to the national level, state, and private infrastructure providers, politicians, activists, and scientists. Our respondents either worked in the delivery of infrastructure (building perspective) or used the services (dwelling perspective). While actors from the building perspective were asked about their professional practices and the institution they were working for, dwellers were invited to tell us about their experiences around the topic of water. They would often show us around their houses or go with us for a walk to see relevant sites of water supply and then explain how things worked. Collecting relevant documents, focusing on reports, maps and legal documents, and photography from the perspectives of the researcher and of neighbours completes our collection of materials.

In this article, we present our initial findings from this rich body of material while we are still in the process of analysing and performing a multi-scalar comparison. This article does not present final summarizing results or figures. After transcribing and archiving the collected materials, we coded the interviews using different layers for the different dimensions of our planned comparisons. We used the graphic material to triangulate our findings to get a more complete picture of every single case to then critically discuss possibilities for productive comparisons.

The selected neighbourhoods in Arequipa and Sunyani are predominantly characterized by housing.

Most of the houses are constructed by (or on behalf of) the families who occupy them. Only in Berlin Top in Ghana are there a few examples of larger housing developments that were constructed exclusively for rental. The neighbourhoods are at different stages of development, although construction of all commenced at a similar time: around the year 2000. An additional similarity is that they are either not serviced or are insufficiently serviced by networked water. In contrast, different water sources exist in each of the neighbourhoods, from communal taps, wells, and boreholes, to delivery by truck and other means.

3.1. Arequipa

The three neighbourhoods in Arequipa are located in the North, West, and South of the city and are between five and 20 km from the city centre (see Figure 1). While Sector 10, Peregrinos de Chapi, and Casa Huerta las Lomas del Cural are located in large settlement expansion areas, Angeles de la Cruz is located on a hill largely enclosed by agricultural land and more established neighbourhoods near the Chili River.

So far, only Angeles de la Cruz has a provisional public water network, which is connected to a reservoir on a neighbouring hill. At night, the water is replenished by trucks from Servicio de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado (SEDAPAR), the public water company. Then, it is piped downhill through another neighbourhood and pumped up the Los Angeles de la Cruz hill to reach households there. All 13 residents we talked to rated this solution as inadequate because the reservoir does not have sufficient capacity, being exhausted as early as 05.00 to 06.00 am:

> Yes, at least there is something. Here, they suffer from water [shortage]; they no longer wait like the neighbours say from 03.00 or 02.00 am in the morning. They have to be waiting with their [individual water] containers all night. Sometimes, there is no pressure, so they are waiting for it to come out [with no water coming]. You see, those who live down there in the valley take advantage of it....Those who live up here suffer....I can't live here because of the [lack of] water. (Neighbour 12 in Angeles de la Cruz)

This dweller only lives in Angeles de la Cruz part-time. He has another place to stay while constructing his small home on-site up the hill at Angeles de la Cruz whenever he is not at work. Sometimes, he also sleeps in this house. It already features one finished room with a solid roof. Before he is willing to move into the neighbourhood permanently, he is waiting for the water connection to be installed. Some of the full-time residents have installed their own water storage tanks on their houses and get water delivered at a much higher cost. For many, however, this is not an alternative, as not all of the properties on the hill are located on a paved road for access
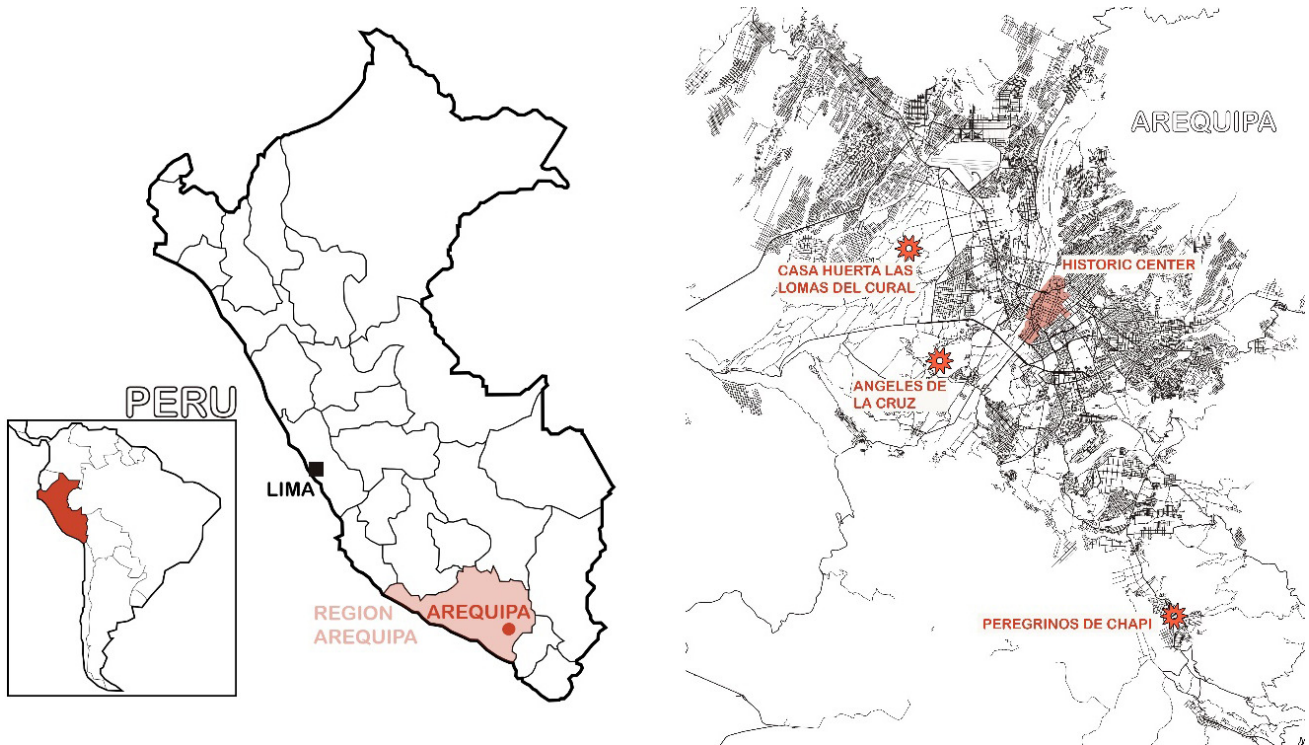
Figure 1. Arequipa, Peru, and the case study neighbourhoods.

by water trucks. Officials of the Sachaca district have repeatedly told the *dirigente* (a kind of elected neighbourhood chief) of Angeles de la Cruz that they are about to start building an improved connection to the public water network; however, this has not yet happened. Residents are thus still waiting to get connected and do not see much sense in investing money in advanced self-supply solutions. Policy decisions on when to build a paved road and a connection to the public water network greatly influence residents' decisions on how to get water. The expectation that the connection will be established soon makes finding an alternative long-lasting solution less urgent. This form of dependency on formalized policy decisions is what we conceptualize as one possible form of hybrid urbanism.

The other two neighbourhoods are located in the dry lowlands on Arequipa's periphery and are already accessible by transporters throughout. However, infrastructure for drinking water has not been installed there. SEDAPAR fills public wells with non-potable service water in some places in Casa Huerta las Lomas del Cural. In Sector 10 of Peregrinos de Chapi, the local *dirigente* and some neighbours have built their own water network fed from a large tank on a private lot. A limited number of residents are connected to this network and are paying fees. Apart from this, residents in both neighbourhoods can only supply themselves through their own water tanks, which are filled up by private providers with transporters.

It is not possible to install private boreholes or wells in the three neighbourhoods because the city is located in an arid zone. The National Water Agency also pre-

dicts that the springs currently used to pump water in the region will only provide enough water to supply the existing public water system until 2030. In all three neighbourhoods, there is a widespread consensus that having access to the public network is of great value. Residents prefer this option over self-supply with water in the long term. Even in Sector 10, where an alternative networked system has already been set up, residents emphasize that it only represents a transitional solution, which will be replaced by a public networked system. The example of an elected neighbourhood representative's son further illustrates the hybrid decision-making processes around water delivery. His father is part of the team that runs the provisional piped water system. As seen on other occasions during fieldwork, families buy plots close to each other to maintain family support structures. The son lives down the street from his father's house and is also connected to the provisional grid. He describes this system as expensive and not always reliable due to the dependency on the private water providers and their trucks arriving on time:

> My dad buys [water] for the water tank up there. But to fill it costs a lot....Sometimes we stay without water for about four or five days. We don't have the money to pay for it, and often [water] trucks are delayed, too. (Neighbour 8 in Sector 10 of Peregrinos de Chapi)

The son would prefer to be connected to the public grid, seeing it as a more reliable and affordable system. Investing in a provisional system only makes sense for residents if a public network connection is not likely

to be established soon. The provisional system is still cheaper and more reliable than individual tanks and water delivery for each family. Residents request transparent communication by SEDAPAR of plans on when and how to connect neighbourhoods so they can make informed decisions on how much to invest in alternative supply solutions—especially in the mid to long term. Formalized and informalized practices of the production of a piped water system are highly intertwined here. Hybridity is shown in the relevance of plans for a formalized network for the potential extension of the described auto-constructed informalized alternative.

In Peru, residents' rights to their land are closely tied to the connection to the public water network. All three neighbourhoods are informal settlements created after the land grab of unplanned state-owned areas of the city, undertaken by resource-rich and well-connected actors who sell individual parcels of land to future residents but also often keep large areas as an investment. Investors and settlers apply for the formalization of the emerging neighbourhoods to Organismo de Formalización de la Propiedad Informal (COFOPRI), an independent state authority under the umbrella of the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Sanitation. Only after formalization by COFOPRI is complete, the landowners receive state title deeds for their land, which greatly increases its value. According to COFOPRI, a prerequisite for the formalization is the connection to the water network. A water connection not only guarantees access to water but also represents a step towards tenure security. Actors from the building perspective, such as politicians, employees of the administration, and of SEDAPAR, argue that the expansion of the water network into Arequipa's periphery cannot be realized in a timely manner because it is extremely expensive and the settlement density in the peripheral neighbourhoods is very low. As a result, public investment in the peripheral expansion of the network tends to have a poor cost/benefit ratio. The expected drying up of springs was not discussed as an issue in connection with the expansion of the network at the time fieldwork took place.

The overview of water delivery in three neighbourhoods of Arequipa, as well as the assessment of the situation by the inhabitants and by actors professionally involved in the supply, shows how water delivery is guaranteed (at least for some time) through diverse arrangements. There is a lack of reliable and affordable access to water. The close relationship between a connection to the public network and formalizing land rights contributes to explaining why the delivery to date is so poor in many peripheral places and why residents often rely on temporary transitional solutions. At the same time, residents press for an early connection to the grid in order to speed up the process of formalization.

Actors from the building perspective emphasize the difficulties in expanding the network. Against the background of the prevailing water shortage in Arequipa and the lack of resources for the construction of ever more expansive and extensive networks, there is great potential for conflict. This could occur between neighbours and authorities/public suppliers on when and how to get connected but also between the inhabitants of different neighbourhoods about who gets connected first. The inhabitants of Peregrinos de Chapi regularly protest for the basic right to clean drinking water and the formalization of their land rights. Direct communication of actual grid expansion plans by the authorities and making a network connection not necessary for the formalization of land rights could help to realize already existing hybrid supply solutions on a larger scale. It could create more confidence in the benefits of solutions such as in Sector 10 in Peregrinos de Chapi, which provide safer and cheaper access to water than individual approaches.

3.2. Sunyani

The three different neighbourhoods in Sunyani—Berlin Top, Baakoniaba, and Kotorkrom—are located in the North-West, West, and North-East, respectively, between two to five km from the city centre (see Figure 2). While Berlin Top is located rather centrally and favourably on a hill near the city centre, Baakoniaba is a bit further on the same road (which is currently being transformed from dirt to paved road); Kotorkrom is further away from the centre and represents a settlement expansion area. All areas share a common reality regarding water delivery, as water supply from Ghana Water Company (GWCL) is limited and largely inaccessible.

Officially, GWCL (a state-owned limited liability company) is responsible for the production and distribution of water in urban Ghana, Sunyani included. For Greater Sunyani, the main water source before treatment is from the Tano River. The water production site for the city was last expanded in 1998. It currently produces 1.5 million gallons of water per day, which is about 4 million gallons per day short of the calculated need, resulting in rationed provision of water (once in three days). GWCL and international organizations such as The World Bank are currently expanding the water production facilities, which are expected to be complete within the next three years. To facilitate an easy water supply to households, GWCL distributes water through a networked system, which is projected to run from the pumping station to the different neighbourhoods and eventually to all city households.

In order to be connected to the network, households need to apply and pay a connection fee based on their location. The application involves filling in a form, writing a letter, and adding a site plan validated by the district assembly. Upon receipt of an application, GWCL sends personnel to visit the site to authenticate the details. They also use GPS to check the location and ensure that no structures will hinder the connection when they start. When a household is connected to the grid, meters are installed, and clients are billed monthly. Eventually, it is expected that every household will use water provided
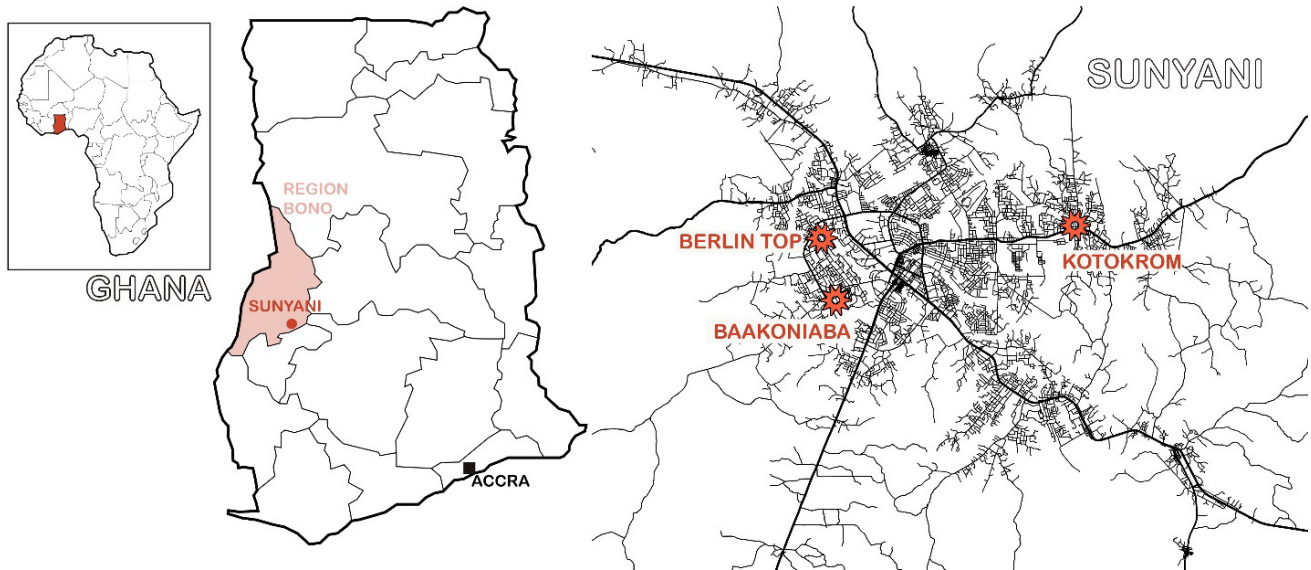
Figure 2. Sunyani, Ghana, and the case study neighbourhoods.

by GWCL, but so far, few households have applied. There are several reasons for this: The process is bureaucratic, and non-educated people find it difficult to produce the required site plan; Many areas are not constructed according to or as part of a municipal land use plan, so residents are hesitant to seek an official validation of their site plans; In addition, GWCL has a catchment area, which does not cover the whole urban area of Sunyani. An older and educated female resident we interviewed claims that she decided to dig a well when she felt fed up with the bureaucratic procedures of GWCL.

In the selected neighbourhoods, nearly all households currently have their own means of getting access to water. Depending on their income level, residents have either constructed a mechanized or non-mechanized borehole or well, bought water from a communal water standpoint, or commissioned someone to get it for them or fetch water from a neighbour's well for free. Residents in all three neighbourhoods did not express much interest in getting connected to the piped system from GWCL: "We don't have a water challenge. Our only challenge is the road" (Neighbour 9 in Baakoniaba).

Their major concerns were that water from GWCL was unreliable, of poor quality (due to pipes not having been changed for decades), and unaffordable, as well as that the company's customer service response being slow.

Most of the residents at Berlin Top can afford to construct a mechanized borehole in their homes. They have one or more large tanks of more than 1,000 litres installed on their houses for water storage, which, in turn, provides a constant water supply through the water pipes in the house. The existing connections to the GWCL water network in Berlin Top (which were few to start with) were disconnected due to road construction during our fieldwork in 2022. In Baakoniaba and Kotorkrom, the situation is different, as the residents are not con-

nected to the GWCL water network due to the high cost. In contrast, most households depended on community water standpoints and wells. These households also use water storage devices, but instead of large tanks on the roof, such as in Berlin Top, they tended to use smaller devices inside the house, such as buckets, pans, and big bowls, to store water for at least a day or two. In most cases, no water pipes are installed in these neighbourhoods' houses.

In summary, even though almost none of the households in the three selected areas are connected to the networked water system of GWCL, residents do not perceive the situation as problematic as they all have access to water, which they perceive as largely sufficient. From the dwelling perspective, access to water is not an issue in Sunyani's neighbourhoods. From the building perspective, the large water deficit and the low number of customers is a problem. However, since a connection to the water network is not instrumental for the security of tenure, citizenship, or anything else, there is very little external pressure for residents to get connected. In contrast, the precondition of having to produce a validated site plan and several other documents to get connected makes it particularly difficult for informalized residents, even apart from the high costs.

How much water is available to residents, at which cost, and how readily available it is depends on the financial capacity of the household: More affluent residents tend to have mechanized boreholes, larger tanks, and pipes in their homes while poorer residents use non-mechanized boreholes, wells, or communal water points, or have smaller containers to store water; there are no pipes in their houses.

The short and focused descriptions from the six neighbourhoods in Arequipa and Sunyani show how different the practices and realities of water supply are. The use of delivery configurations as a framework is

helpful in generating material of the individual configurations, and at the same time, it enables a multi-scalar comparison based on the shared approach to all cases. In the following section, we show how a comparison based on the three proposed dimensions of a multi-scalar design looks like and what findings it brings to light.

4. Findings From the Multi-Scalar Comparison of Delivery Configurations

Examining all six cases from Arequipa and Sunyani comparatively, we show that a connection to the public water network by public service providers is either not immediately planned by the actors from the building perspective or not wanted by actors from the dwelling perspective in the neighbourhoods studied. Only in Angeles de la Cruz, in Arequipa, are there plans to extend the existing network, which the residents support even though construction has been repeatedly postponed. A comparative look at the neighbourhoods and their distinct water delivery configurations shows that very diverse practices and materialities have emerged of what we conceptualize as hybrid urbanisms that temporarily or permanently supplement or replace public services. Various local factors play an important role in shaping these hybrid arrangements. Examining related practices in depth reveals the major differences between the studied neighbourhoods in the two cities. Particularities such as morphological characteristics and the development of other services such as roads (both in Angeles de la Cruz and Berlin Top), the commitment of certain actors such as the *dirigente*, and collective social practices of the inhabitants, such as the protests (e.g., in Peregrinos de Chapi), can help to explain the specificities of each neighbourhood in the study of the delivery configurations of water.

The institutional and regulatory set-up and the available resources around water in the context of the two cities are as diverse as the local practices and materialities of delivery in the different neighbourhoods. To understand them, a lot of foundational work is needed in order to perform the international comparison in both cities. At the same time, each case brings out new aspects in the other, which would not have been examined in depth if it were not for the comparison.

First, water availability is very different in Arequipa compared to Sunyani. While the potential for getting one's own water is highly limited in Arequipa, it is easier in Sunyani. Ghana is not located in a dry zone, and there are sufficient individual or collective alternatives for self-supply, aided by easy access to groundwater. Even though the expansion of networked water provision by GWCL has stalled, primarily due to a lack of resources, this is not considered a major problem by the residents. Arequipa, in contrast, is located in a dry zone, and inhabitants cannot easily access groundwater. The market for the supply of potable water is, therefore, central to all of the new neighbourhoods in Arequipa. In Sunyani, but also in Sector 10 of Peregrinos de Chapi,

alternative markets for water have formed: residents sell it to neighbours from boreholes, from communal water points, or from a self-built network. These delivery configurations complement or build on private-sector services. Residents in both cities rate the water supply by public service providers as inadequate, either because it is unreliable and considered bureaucratic and expensive (Sunyani) or because it is not yet built or is being built too slowly by the public providers (Arequipa).

Second, comparing the water delivery configurations in the different neighbourhoods, different supply solutions can be observed. In Arequipa, reasons for not being connected to the grid ranged from waiting and hoping for their homes to be connected soon to building their own system to replace a service that would not be realized in the near future. In Sunyani, different forms of self-provisioning can be observed, such as mechanized boreholes, wells, communal public or private standpipes, or all sorts of buying and selling of water from a range of sources. From comparing the situation in the different neighbourhoods, it becomes clear that two factors determine the local solutions for water supply. On the one side, local specifics such as morphology and groundwater levels or the accessibility by street have an influence on which solutions work. On the other side, the perception of how reliable the public network is and/or how likely it is to be connected also influences how much inhabitants are willing to invest in alternative solutions.

Third, at the same time, the rationalities around being connected vary starkly. In Arequipa, the desire for connection to the public water network is greater than in Sunyani. This is strongly linked to the legal status of the neighbourhoods studied there. Founded as informal settlements, formalization and the granting of official land titles to the inhabitants is only possible after connection to the water network. Policies on the national level, therefore, play an important role in delivery configurations in Arequipa. In Sunyani, however, residents' desire to connect to the network is very limited. The quality and reliability of the services the GWCL offers are doubted, and the self-organized alternatives appear more reliable and affordable to many residents. Trust in the state-organized water supply can be considered low in this context, and because of the requirement of a validated site plan, it also comes with an added scrutiny of the status of residents' buildings. The comparative view of the different institutional frameworks and natural preconditions in both cities helps to explain the big differences regarding the needs of the residents for a networked water connection.

Fourth, the comparison of the actor perspectives "building" and "dwelling" reveals another important difference. Most of the interviewed actors from the building perspective (especially those close to political decision-makers) idealise water provision through a networked system, as advocated by UN-Habitat and in the national water policies of both countries. Examining different case studies comparatively shows the limitations

of these policies and how different a dwelling perspective looks like in the examined neighbourhoods. While we found a strong dependency on the extension of the networked water system in Arequipa, this is not based on trust in the local system but can be explained by the special preconditions in the context of land formalization. In Sunyani, residents have found permanent solutions for water supply that replace service by the networked system, which has limited capacity and is very unpopular. Hybrid urbanisms can thus only be understood when analysing the expectations and practices of actors from a dwelling perspective in the context of the plans and concepts but also practices of actors from a building perspective.

5. Conclusion

In this article, we introduced the concept of hybrid urbanism to illustrate the individual and diverse forms of water delivery configurations. Using examples from fieldwork in the secondary cities of Arequipa in Peru and Sunyani in Ghana, we examine the complex relationships between formalized and informalized practices. We conceptualize a multi-scalar comparison across the levels of the two cities in entirely different geographical contexts, between neighbourhoods, and between the building and dwelling perspective. In doing so, we aim to contribute to the critique of a binary understanding of in/formal urbanisms as a characterizing feature (not only) of urban development in the Global South by introducing our concept of hybrid urbanisms, i.e., the simultaneity, juxtaposition, and intertwining of formalized and informalized practices and materialities. We highlight the methodological and empirical benefits of a structured comparison that such a research design entails. A large amount of material had to be analyzed to reconstruct the specifics of each layer of comparison and each case constellation and filter out relevant similarities and differences in the context of a "generative comparison" as Robinson (2022) calls it. We show (a) how the availability of water sources in the different cities encourages or slows down the production of hybrid delivery solutions, (b) how neighbourhoods in the same city find different approaches to secure water delivery and that hybrid solutions are influenced by the expected future availability and reliability of the public network, (c) that different rationalities exist whether it is beneficial to be connected to the public system at all, and (d) how the views on water of actors from the building perspective in both cities are dominated by the ideal of the networked and fully formalized delivery of water whereas actors from the dwelling perspective often prefer hybrid solutions including auto-construction processes (Caldeira, 2017) to secure the delivery of water. It is a strength of the presented approach that the layers of comparison help us to reflect on the different conditions under which diverse forms of social practices come to life. It highlights the case-specific situatedness in a more systematic and critical way.

Employing delivery configurations as an analytical tool in a multi-scalar comparative research design allows us to critically interrogate the materiality of the infrastructures studied with the social processes of production among the different actors. A more holistic picture of emergence and use is provided while highlighting the resulting social realities for the residents of the neighbourhoods and their rationalities.

Through hybrid urbanisms as a conceptual framework, it became possible to see informalized and formalized practices as social constructs that affect the practices of actors from both the building and dwelling perspectives. However, the realities of the water delivery configurations are far more complex than this constructed binary. They always include individual configurations of structures and practices, which tend to be assigned to one or the other form of urban development. Our notion of hybridity tries to deconstruct and overcome this often-practised binary conceptualization while acknowledging its presence in the argumentations and practices of actors. The frequent coexistence, juxtaposition, dependency, and intertwining of formalized and informalized elements that we showed in the examples from our fieldwork strengthen our argument for more research on the predominant in/formal binary in its relation to the complex realities of what we framed as hybrid urbanisms.

The results from our analyses show that water delivery configurations are linked to social inequality in the neighbourhoods studied. Regarding the Ghanaian neighbourhoods, various hybrid arrangements for water delivery were described that allow access to water based on the resident's financial means. In Peruvian neighbourhoods, waiting for connection to the grid involves high costs for transporting water in vans and purchasing large water tanks. Especially in Arequipa, water provision represents a significant financial investment. Here, sustainable solutions can hardly be financed by the residents' own resources. At the same time, our analysis also shows that other approaches, such as working with regulatory bodies that monitor boreholes or investments in decentralized water tanks managed by the neighbourhoods could contribute to a better and more affordable water delivery based on the social and material realities of the existing water delivery configurations.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Article

The Indifference of Transport: Comparative Research of "Infrastructural Ruins" in the Gauteng City-Region and Greater Maputo

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Abstract

States in the Global South have consistently invested in large-scale, vanity infrastructure projects, which are often not used by the majority of their residents. Using a mixed-method and comparative approach with findings from Greater Maputo, Mozambique, and the Gauteng City-Region exposes how internationally-supported and expensive transport projects do not meet the needs of lower-income urban residents, and meanwhile, widespread, everyday modes of commuting such as trains, paratransit, and pathways for walking deteriorate. State-led development thus often generates an infrastructural landscape characterised by "ruin" and "indifference." These choices are anachronistic, steeped in a desire for a modernist-inspired future and in establishing narratives of control. In the cases of Gauteng and Maputo, whether or not the infrastructure is "successfully" implemented, these choices have resulted in a distancing of the state from the majority of urban residents.

1. Introduction

As we meet here today, it is reported that the minibus taxi industry transports sixty-seven percent (67%) of commuters nationally, but receives estimated at R1 [R1 is equivalent to £0.043 and $0.052 as of October 2023] per passenger trip—the lowest form of financial support from government. The taxi industry is followed by Metrorail that transports about twenty-one percent (21%) and receives R35 per passenger trip. This is followed by buses that transport eight percent (8%), with the Bus Rapid Transport system transporting two percent (2%) but receiving almost R200 per passenger trip. According to these figures, we have an anomaly that as government we provide little support to the industry that, beyond any shadow of doubt, constitutes the core and backbone of our transport system. (Mamabolo, 2019)

This speech by Jacob Mamabola, the South African Executive Council provincial political representative to the Transport Department, effectively characterised the

paradox of the South African government's attitude to paratransit, seen as less formal but still socially and often legally regulated forms of privately provided transport for commuters. The South African state provides relatively large subsidies to so-called "formal" modes of transport, while simultaneously acknowledging how paratransit—"the core and backbone of our transport system"—has largely been ignored. Over two-thirds of the population in South Africa and almost three-quarters in Mozambique use either walking or paratransit, such as mini-bus taxis or *chapas* and MyLoves (which are "open-backed vans and small trucks in which passengers are carried in the rear. They get their name from the need for passengers to frequently grab on to other passengers to stay upright or to avoid falling out" (Arroyo-Arroyo & Kumar, 2021) to move through these large urban regions. The South African taxi industry is composed of individual owners and drivers, who operate within "associations," yet whose "vehicles are old and poorly maintained….The business is volatile, insecure and sometimes violent for both the passengers and players" (Hook & Weinstock, 2021). However, despite their extensive use, major investment in Gauteng City-Region and the Greater Maputo Metropolitan Area—the two most densely populated and economically significant areas in South Africa and Mozambique—has gone towards elaborate capital infrastructure projects. This includes the Maputo–Katembe Bridge, spanning Maputo Bay; the Gautrain, a rapid rail link connecting the airport to the Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD); and buses and bus rapid transit (BRT) systems. Paratransit systems, informal taxi ranks, passenger trains, and many roads have not received this level of attention or investment. The consequence of these actions is a cityscape characterised by "infrastructural ruins": unused monuments, falling into disrepair, removed from daily life, designed by the elite for the elite, and largely indifferent to most people's everyday needs.

Bringing together "infrastructural ruins" with the concept of indifference gives us insight into the state and allows us to understand why states in the Global South remain wedded to the provision of transport infrastructure programmes that are expensive and often far removed from the everyday needs and lives of their residents. Our research indicates a persistent enchantment with outdated and colonialist conceptualisations of modernity and a set of political narratives focused on control and performance, rather than meeting the needs of the urban majority drives decision-making on where and how states invest. As such, this article makes three contributions: two conceptual and one empirical. The first is to expand the idea of ruins to consider modern infrastructure that is monumental but unused and therefore largely irrelevant to the majority, as obdurate and obsolete. The second theoretical impact is to think about the intertwined nature of "infrastructural ruins" and "infrastructural indifference." The empirical contribution expands the burgeoning literature on the disjuncture between the macro-scale of large state investment and lack of use by lower-income households (Amin & Thrift, 2017; Anand et al., 2018; Butcher, 2021; Jirón, 2010).

These findings come out of a mixed-method comparative study between the city-regions of Gauteng, South Africa, and the Greater Maputo-Motala region in Mozambique. The study was conducted by researchers in both countries and intended to understand which transport modes were used by less-privileged residents of these regions, as well as to see how everyday lived experiences are related to government transport investments, plans, and policies. Using material from interviews, focus groups, and document analysis, this article proceeds in several stages: The first provides the scaffolding for our arguments by engaging with the literature on ruins and infrastructure and connecting them to the concept of indifference. Second, we critically discuss undertaking comparative empirical research and the challenges of doing so during the Covid-19 pandemic. Third, we present a set of empirical accounts of the indifference of the infrastructure that people do or do not use in Greater Maputo and the Gauteng City-Region. This empirical evidence is intended to demonstrate the many ways in which the "formal" provision of infrastructure—in this case, the Maputo–Katembe Bridge, the new bus system in Maputo, Gauteng's BRT, and the Gautrain—as well as the "informal" paratransit *chapas* and minibuses are in ruins as a result of infrastructural indifference. Finally, we consider the explanatory power of thinking through these infrastructures as ruins, and what this tells us about the nature of the state in the Global South.

2. Infrastructure, Indifference, and Ruins

There is a significant body of literature on infrastructure since its "turn" in both the Global North and Global South (Caldeira, 2017; Coutard & Rutherford, 2016; Graham, 2010; Jaglin, 2015; Lawhon et al., 2018; McFarlane & Rutherford, 2008; Ranganathan, 2014; Simone & Pieterse, 2017). Following Graham and Marvin's (2001) seminal work on "splintering infrastructure," there is also broad consensus on the "paradox of infrastructure," considering how thinking about infrastructure can reveal "the relational and ambiguous elements of infrastructure to produce contradictions and unevenly felt consequences in the lives and places they contact" (C. Howe et al., 2016, p. 549). Thus, the reality of infrastructure provision is that it is as often a "cruelty as well as promise" (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 6). Despite the "promise" of infrastructure and its links to modernity, infrastructure provision is deeply paradoxical in many places in the Global South. Where it is ambiguous, simultaneously, intended to be used for inclusion and development but ultimately leads to both further social differentiation and the entrenching of social striations and political clefts.

"Ruin" is the second and arguably the most central framing to our line of argumentation. Dawney (2020,

p. 34) writes the memorable line: "Geographers are no strangers to the melancholic pleasures of modern ruins," intimating the robust literature on the topic. Stoler (2008, p. 194) further notes: "In its common usage, 'ruins' are often enchanted, desolate spaces, large-scale monumental structures abandoned and grown over. Ruins provide a quintessential image of what has vanished from the past and has long decayed." Thus, ruins are seen as leftovers, remnants of a previous era and way of life or political regime, and elicit a nostalgia for a time past (Van Huyssen, 2006). However, more contemporary writing on ruins and infrastructural ruins in particular has moved past a romanticisation of ruins, seeing within them political projects of preservation (Bueno, 2016; Stoler, 2016) and erasures of colonial destruction.

Scholars such as Stoler (2008), Wakefield (2018), and Woodson-Boulton (2018) are clear to articulate that ruins are highly political; their narratives are constructed to perpetuate specific, often partisan ends. They do not sit neutrally on the landscape but instead are carefully curated to tell specific stories of nations, states, and people. In some cases, they bolster current political tides, offer revisions to uncomfortable historical truths, or are simply purported to attract tourism. Highly mobile international travellers, keen to collect "authentic" experiences of places, are willing to pay for them. Whatever the intention, ruins very rarely "just are," and encapsulate both the politics of the present as well as some sense of the future trajectory (DeSilvey & Edensor, 2013).

There is a further reading of ruins as relics of a possible future, as a set of fantasies about what the future may look like, especially in regard to industrialist and post-industrialist ruins. Van Huyssen (2006, p. 8) argues that the ruins of the near-past constitute a nostalgia "for the ruins of modernity because they still seem to hold a promise that has vanished from our own age: the promise of an alternative future." In a sense, ruins embody a past that is inaccessible but encapsulates the promise of a future. Lazzara and Unruh (2009, p. 1) argue that ruins can be seen "as a merger of past, present, and future." As such, ruins are caught temporally between an inaccessible history and a potential future that may never be realised.

However, the pursuit of a fantastical future can result in the production of ruins. The relentless speculation of capitalist production has been blamed for the construction of landscapes of ruins. These are "buildings [that] don't fall into ruin after they are built but rather rise into ruin before they are built" (Lorimer & Murray, 2015, p. 61). Examples can be found across the world. Built on the promise of lucrative sub-prime lending, these projects have never been finished, and rise up incomplete and deteriorating across a variety of landscapes (Simone et al., 2023).

Using this writing as scaffolding, we would like to extend and expand on the understanding of ruins. We see them as monuments, although not necessarily those of a distant past, but rather to a contemporary moment that is disconnected from the context in which it operates. This aligns with how Velho and Ureta point to "a breakdown in the relations between the infrastructure and the domain of activity it is expected to sustain" (Harvey et al., 2017, p. 5, in Velho & Ureta, 2019, p. 432) and is thus both obdurate—enduring on the landscape—as well as hard to change. They simultaneously remain obsolete while functionally indifferent to people's needs. These artefacts are also monuments that encapsulate past and present politics as well as a nostalgia for a future that will never happen. These "decontextualised monuments" are also often designed by an elite for an elite audience. We would also like to propose that this idea of "ruin" can do two pieces of work: It can explain the indifference of infrastructure reflected in the landscape, and it can also help us understand the actions of what seems like an indifferent state.

We understand indifference in two ways. The first is as "having no particular interest or sympathy; unconcerned" as well as "neither good nor bad; mediocre." We think that using "infrastructural ruin" as a way of conceptualising large infrastructure projects in Mozambique and South Africa provides a way to understand both why the transport infrastructure—as we demonstrate below—is largely uncomfortable, unsafe, and the opposite of ergonomic. It is not designed for people or their needs and does not seem concerned with or interested in the requirements of the majority of users. It also provides us with a way of understanding what seems to be an indifferent state, one that does not sufficiently care for the needs of its citizens. Using indifference and ruins thus provides a way of thinking through the motivations and choices that the South African and Mozambican states have made in terms of transport infrastructure.

3. Mixed Methods and Southern Comparisons: Productive Conversations and Practical Challenges

Recent debates on "new comparative urbanisms" posit the idea of "the development of new methods and approaches to comparison…to support different ways of working across diverse urban experiences" (McFarlane & Robinson, 2012, p. 765). Our approach takes seriously the prospect that there is value in conducting Global South comparisons, seeking to make comparisons between contexts and cities that have traditionally neither been found in conversation with one another nor considered valid sources for the construction of new knowledges outside of the traditional canon of theory (Robinson, 2022). We used an approach similar to what Söderström (Institute for Urban Research, 2021) calls a "radically inductive" approach, in which comparison means "taking each site as an individual case and using inductive reasoning to find similarities and differences as data collection and analyses unfolds." Comparison is thus seen as a creative endeavour "through which hypotheses are generated and tested" across and between contexts (Brill, 2022, p. 253).

Given our objective of understanding how poorer people related to large infrastructure investments, Greater Maputo and the Gauteng City-Region were productive choices to compare, due to their similarities as well as their differences. Both cities have experienced significant investment and the building of large infrastructure projects and both cities have large populations of lower-income residents and high unemployment rates. As an indication, UN-Habitat (n.d.) estimates that 54% of Maputo City's residents live below the poverty line of $1.50 per day and 70% live in informal settlements, with unemployment at about 32% for both areas. In Gauteng, 18% of dwellings in the province are informal dwellings, and a further 24% are unplanned-for backyard structures; 30% of the population lives under the poverty line (Gauteng City-Region Observatory, 2018). Although the urban region of Maputo is smaller than Gauteng, both contexts have sprawling morphologies, in which underprivileged residents are often located on the geographical peripheries whilst economic nodes are more centrally situated. This builds on existing colonial and apartheid geographies. However, there are also significant differences between the two cases, meaning that we could see whether or not different kinds of infrastructural investment were being used, as described later in the article. This meant that we could also look at questions of governance and their relationship to choices around provisioning and policy-making. Along with a theoretical commitment to Southern comparative urbanisms and grounded practices, the comparison allowed us to consider practical concerns related to different interventions in these

respective environments. The long-standing institutional relationship between the two main research partners and the choice of two Southern African contexts within 600 km of one another provided ease of engagement.

Within each region, six sites were chosen. Three were in Greater Gauteng in South Africa—Denver, Westbury, and Thembisa (see Figure 1)—three were in the Greater Maputo-Motala region in Mozambique—Albasine, Chali; Katembe; and Txumene II, Matola (see Figure 2). Sites with poorer populations in close proximity to state infrastructure were our criteria for selection (see Table 1 for further details regarding each site).

Our research attempted to use a mixed-methods approach of focus groups, complemented with in-depth interviews coupled with a mobility tracking app (cf. L. B. Howe, 2021) and combined with analysis of state-published documents, newspaper articles, speeches, and public statements. Despite the well-designed research method, the project faced three significant challenges. The first was the Covid-19 pandemic, which broke out two months into the project, along with the subsequent pandemic restrictions of the "state of emergency" in South Africa and the "state of calamity" in Mozambique. In addition, lockdown meant there was less movement and fewer transport options than usual. Much of the movement our research design recorded was exceptional and did not typify people's daily routines. Finally, there was often insufficient network coverage to provide the data that was needed for the mobility tracking app to fully function, so we collected unanticipated incomplete data sets.

Figure 1. Map of Gauteng showing all three case study sites. Map by Yashena Naidoo, 2023.

Figure 2. Map of all case study sites in Maputo.

The team provided all respondents with mobile phones and data packages. However, as a consequence of the challenges mentioned above, the team relied on limited focus groups (two were undertaken with 10 people in each of the sites in Maputo, along with two in Gauteng; we could reach Westbury and Tembisa, but not Denver. WhatsApp groups were set up for each research site and used to communicate any project-related issues and participants were invited to share photos, audio files, videos, and messages about their experiences using transport in their city-regions. Given the circumstances, we also had to pivot and conduct qualitative interviews by phone or online or, where possible, in person. Nevertheless, participants were selected to represent a range of household compositions, sizes, ages, and genders, as well as access to a variety of state and non-state transport infrastructures (see Table 1). In all, there were 29 participants in Maputo (13 women and 16 men) and 36 in Gauteng (21 women and 15 men), ranging in age from 18 to 72 years.

The second component of fieldwork focused on transport policy and policymakers. The project team conducted a desktop review of transport policy and recent transport infrastructure investments in the regions. Following this, we conducted a series of interviews over the phone or by video call with key informants involved in transport at the provincial as well as municipal levels. In total, eight respondents from provincial and local transport organisations from the largest taxi association in South Africa, the South African National Taxi Council (SANTACO), were also interviewed. Most interviews were undertaken online in South Africa and in person in Mozambique (see full list in the Supplementary Material) between March 2020 and November 2020. Portuguese interviews were translated using online translation services and quality-checked by team members.

There were some challenges in conducting comparative research, not least of all during a pandemic, that required flexibility and an ability to rapidly adapt. There were also challenges of working across a number

Table 1. Summary of research sites.

Case study site	Settlement typology	Household income per month	Percentage of monthly household income for transport	Proximity to transport infrastructure
Denver	Older industrial area, with two informal settlements	$130–145	0–34%	Industrial area wedged between major arterial roads and railway line
Westbury	A former "coloured" township: Formal state-supplied and privately built housing	$208–1,560	2–13%	Close to BRT routes and has recently seen other forms of infrastructure investment in the area; it is also close to existing railway services
Tembisa	Mix of housing types including some informal settlements, state-supplied housing, and privately built housing	$166–702	10–35%	Served by the minibus taxi industry and rail services and is not far from one of the Gautrain rapid rail stations
Albasine, Chali	Recent transition from rural to peri-urban, most housing is informal or traditional in design and construction	$0–348	17–36%	The new Circular Lote III, Avenida Dom Alexandre, and the railway
Katembe	Unregulated and informal, single-family housing, self-built housing	$0–3,163	<1–40%	Maputo–Katembe Bridge and bus services
Txumene II, Matola	Mixed settlement, mostly self-built units	$0–158	10–80%	Two large public transport terminals for road and rail and circular road

of languages as well as academic traditions. However, there were also numerous benefits, including using the "radically inductive" approach that allowed us to ask why, given the differences in history, language, and socio-economic positioning, we saw so many of the same processes like massive investment in infrastructure remain unused by the urban majority. We were continually struck by the similarities in these two contexts. This was especially true when coding the transcripts: As we worked inductively across them, similar themes kept arising. Some included a sense that there was something "ordinary" in the experiences of residents in both cities and inspired the teams to think beyond their conceptual and geographical borders and to consider larger questions of governance, how ideas travel across global contexts, and the post-colonial preoccupation with formalisation.

4. Infrastructural Ruins and Infrastructural Indifference

The aforementioned theoretical framing was used to explore and explain conjoined ideas of indifference and ruins. The empirical evidence below shows how residents in the three neighbourhoods of Maputo and

Gauteng live amongst infrastructure that largely does not touch their lives and is indifferent to their needs. Moreover, it is monumental in nature and is largely reserved for urban elites, or, alternatively, it has not been invested in and lies shabby and uncared for.

4.1. Current Transport Investments and Plans

Both Gauteng and Maputo have seen significant investments in transportation over the last decade. In Maputo, a suspension bridge joining Katembe, on the south shore, to the Maputo CBD, was officially opened in 2018; the Maputo Ring Road (*Estrada Circular*) launched by the Mozambican government in 2011 was constructed by the China Road and Bridge Corporation and funded by the Chinese Exim Bank (Cezne & Wethal, 2022). Since the inauguration of the Maputo–Katembe Bridge (see Figure 3), the Katembe District has added a fleet of 1,000 new buses distributed throughout the capital. Significant institutional and policy investment has been seen with the advent of the 2014 municipal Comprehensive Urban Transport Master Plan for Greater Maputo (2014), prepared by the Japan International Cooperation Agency. The Greater Maputo Metropolitan Transport Agency

Figure 3. Maputo–Katembe Suspension Bridge over the Maputo Bay. Source: Municipality of Maputo (2022).

(MTA) was also developed as a coordinating entity in 2017.

Gauteng has also experienced significant investment. The first was the creation of the Gautrain, an underground rapid rail service connecting key nodes to the north, south, and east of Johannesburg, built largely to support the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This was followed by the construction of a BRT system across central areas in three of the province's main cities: Ekurhuleni, Johannesburg, and Tshwane. One of the main ring roads around Johannesburg was upgraded and made into an (unsuccessful) toll scheme (Khatleli, 2022). The province has also planned to revitalise the rail system, which has largely fallen into disrepair and disuse due to a sustained lack of investment. Aside from these major schemes, there has been limited investment in mini-bus taxi ranks. From a governance perspective, there are some real challenges in coordinating across the various spheres of government. As a consequence, the Transport Authority of Gauteng was supposed to have been established by the end of 2020, with the intention of facilitating "effective and efficient mobility of people, as well as that of goods and services" (Liedtke, 2020). However, the Covid-19 pandemic has led to severe delays; at the time of writing, the Transport Authority of Gauteng had not been fully established. In addition, the South African state, after years of promoting the BRT as the answer to many of South Africa's transport woes, "has stopped completely, and the department is under political pressure to water down the program" (Hook & Weinstock, 2021).

Interestingly, the use of Maputo–Katembe Bridge, BRT stations, and Gautrain is relatively low. In Maputo, participants (named using anonymous identifiers that were created by the research team) in each neighbour-hood through which these large-scale investments such as the Maputo–Katembe Bridge and Ring Road pass classify them as positive. However, they emphasise that they cannot see direct personal benefits from them. The BRT, or Rea Vaya in Johannesburg, has consistently demonstrated very low ridership figures (less than 3% take up in some areas of the poorest areas according to a recent study; Webster, 2019). The reasons for the lack of use were largely pragmatic: formal transport provision (BRTs and metrobuses) do not cater to the actual routes that people took on a daily basis. A resident of Denver, which is one of the older industrial adjacent to the Johannesburg CBD, noted that "I have never [used the BRT], but I'd say that our challenge as people who live in Denver is that you'll never find the BRT travelling around here." A lack of coordination between routes led a father from Matola in Maputo to state that using the buses was "a huge challenge" because you had "to fight and make connections to reach your destination" (FE, Matola). There was an additional problem with the infrastructure surrounding payment and boarding seen as not user-friendly and even quite intimidating.

Buses in Maputo and Gauteng have tried to switch to cashless systems so that commuters cannot pay for their journeys on the bus but load cards with credit: Famba cards, encouraged by the World Bank, have been hailed in Maputo as modernising cashless technology that was supposed to be put in place in all *chapas* and buses but have largely failed (Sebastião, 2022a). The card machines constantly break down and are seen as generally unusable and the system requires "two machines on the bus, one for payment and the other for validating the trip." This is often problematic for users, because "it [is] easy for people to forget to validate it at the end of the trip,

which causes the entire balance on the card to be lost" (Sebastião, 2022b), meaning people easily lose money by accident.

From discussions with Gauteng respondents, the move to cashless technology has meant additional journeys to sites where one can load cards, as this often cannot be done on the bus nor at most bus stops. These additional trips are layered onto already quite far walks with bus stops and termini in all of the sites and are seen as sparse because residents have to walk two or three kilometres to be able to access metro buses or BRTs. According to RB from Motala, the dispersed bus stops affected daily life: "It's very difficult to leave the house because everything is far away, even the bus stop." Many respondents spend a third or more of their household income on transport (see Table 1) and this includes walking and using paratransit. Whereas some forms of formal transportation, such as the metrobuses and the Rea Vaya in Johannesburg, are actually the same price or cheaper than paratransit, others such as the Gautrain and the Maputo–Katembe Bridge are far more expensive. Their use is seen as far beyond the reach (even if it were desirable) of most of the households we interviewed.

Interestingly, one of the most direct engagements of residents in Gauteng with the BRT has been through acts of vandalism (Mosalankwe, 2021). Protestors have consistently vandalised BRT stations when demonstrating against the state. As one of the key pieces of visible state infrastructure, they have been symbolically useful in registering people's unhappiness with government actions (see Figure 4). In addition, disgruntled taxi drivers have also played a part in the decay of bus shelters and BRT facilities, barricading them with stones, and even reducing some to rubble. As such, this infrastructure lies in ruins on the landscape.

Aside from BRT stations that have been vandalised, there are numerous BRT stations that have never opened.

In Johannesburg, stations along the major north–south arterial route have been bedevilled by highly localised politics between the city council and political party affiliates, who want some kind of benefit from the BRT; further delays are the result of corrupt procurement processes of bus companies to run the routes (Perlman, 2021). As a consequence, multiple stations that the state has spent millions of dollars on lie unused, wrapped in caution tape, and protected by security guards but without any benefit to the majority of commuters.

4.2. The Indifference of Existing Infrastructure

The previous section (Section 4.1) showed some of the challenges that contribute to low ridership and the use of large formal transportation systems, despite significant capital investment. The following section illuminates the day-to-day experiences of "informal" systems including walking, cycling, and paratransit and how here too there is a lack of investment by the state or the private sector into the modes that are used by the urban majority. As such, these also manifest as ruins in a slightly different way: under-invested roads along which people walk, liminal spaces in which commuters congregate to catch paratransit, the taxis, and taxi ranks, as well as public transit termini that are dilapidated and deteriorating.

When asked about their average journeys, respondents often mentioned in interviews that they do not feel considered. For example, there are few shelters at taxi ranks, "there is nowhere to sit, there are no chairs, you stand" (KD1, Denver). Others agreed, noting that "there are no comfortable places" (GW1, Westbury) and that "you'll stand and burn and get wet waiting for a taxi. There's nothing [no facilities]" (LW1, Westbury). Respondents also said there was no appreciation of differences or different needs, with elderly people justifiably complaining:

Figure 4. Reya Vaya station in Noordgesig, Gauteng allegedly vandalised by protesters. Source: Timothy Bernard/African News Agency in Mosalankwe (2021).

It is difficult to stand especially for old people….You must remember that the city is not travelled by young people only, even grannies that get their social grants…when she gets to the rank, maybe the taxi hasn't arrived, and she's standing now. (KD1, Denver)

Sixty-eight-year-old JZ from Motala expressed similar sentiments: "I've already felt insecure on the way to the [bus] stop because of my age, I feel vulnerable. The authorities also do not help and remain indifferent in the face of our challenges [the elderly]". Women who have multiple care duties and household errands such as going to the market, taking children to hospitals, travelling for leisure, and visiting family also face transportation challenges. This is because routes often only connect two points and require payment for each individual leg, disregarding women's typical "trip-chaining" patterns, making transit unaffordable and inefficient for low-income urban residents.

Men and women also expressed anxiety related to fear of robbery, rape, and general bodily risk when walking on the roads. One participant noted:

I've already felt insecure on the way to the stop and on the public transport itself….I don't even want to imagine with children, with loads, at night….I must walk with them [my daughters] because I cannot expose my daughters to risk. (CZ, Matola)

Another woman from Motala agreed: "I already felt insecure in the transport and also on the way to the stop. Fear of assaults, rape, those things" (LN, Matola). Respondents also mentioned the dangers of using paratransit; A young mother from Denver described how the taxis are not safe and that the doors do not "close properly" (SD2, Denver). All of the respondents mentioned that the taxis drove too fast and that there was no way of getting the drivers to slow down. "Even if [the taxi driver's] speeding, you can't just tell him 'oh dude you're speeding…how about my life there'" (TH, Thembisa).

In Gauteng, many of the residents used to take the trains in and around the province. However, over the Covid-19 lockdown, thieves have mined the railways and stations for cables, metals, and other recyclable goods, disrupting services and destroying their ability to function (see Figure 5). One participant who previously used the trains extensively to get to work reported:

The problem is that now there are no more trains. Since lockdown…[t]hese Nyoape guys [drug addicts] just stole everything from the railway stations. They've taken cables and now they have to start over to reconstruct everything. That's what caused me to stop using the train. (KN, Denver)

Nevertheless, even before the trains effectively shut down, users argued that they were overcrowded and unsafe, noting:

A taxi doesn't get packed like a train and there is less criminal activity at the taxi rank than by the trains. In a taxi, I can say stop [at a] sign or after a robot [traffic light]; a train however takes us to Johannesburg and we are squashed; next thing you know your phone or your bag is gone. (DD, Denver)

Both state-supplied transit infrastructure and alternatives like walking, cycling, and paratransit all seem to indicate an apparent indifference to people's needs. Aligned with scholarship on the "negotiated" nature of African

Figure 5. Kliptown train station in Johannesburg. Source: Shiraaz Mohamed in Patel (2022).

urban governance (Cirolia & Berrisford, 2017), investment is spent on infrastructure used by a minority of urban elites. In Gauteng, for many, the alleged flagship BRT stations and the Gautrain remain almost totally disconnected from their lives. As people neither use nor engage with them, they have become an artefact in the landscape that bears witness to a specific historical and political period (Harrison & Rubin, 2020). In addition, BRT stations have been burnt and vandalised—in a sense, ruined—as a political act of contestation against the state that has effectively ignored the needs of residents (cf. Lemanski, 2020). The trains and railways in and around Gauteng have historically been well-used, but since the pandemic have largely been abandoned by the state. Although the new bus routes in Maputo are far more widely used than in Johannesburg, the most visible infrastructural investment is the Maputo–Katembe Bridge, which stands idle as a monument to international geopolitics rather than investment in local residents' needs (Carolini, 2017).

5. Reading the State's Indifference

The apparent indifference so visible on these cities' landscapes should not be read as a state that does not care, a type of institutional indifference; rather, it reflects a state concerned with a set of priorities that differ from the majorities. Here, thinking about transport infrastructure as ruins is generative, and the ways that we have used the idea is when thinking of this infrastructure as relics of a past way of thinking and acting; as using infrastructure, especially monumentalist infrastructure, to construct and control a narrative; and as enchantment with and a nostalgia for possible futures that are unlikely to occur; and finally, an overarching preoccupation with a modernist enterprise that itself is a relic of colonial legacies. It also demonstrates that, despite these desired narratives of control and modernity, these states are unable to deal with the "messiness" and challenges of complex and sophisticated systems like paratransit that do not fit within their paradigm.

5.1. Disconnected From the Present

One of the key ideas about ruins is that they are remnants from a bygone age or remnants of a previous era. The South African state has, for example, recognised the important role of the taxi industry, yet has dealt with it with extreme ambivalence. On the one hand, they have held annual summits with the taxi industry and the "associations" in which it is organised; on the other, these actors have actively been excluded from planning and engagement processes. SANTACO has said that the summits amount to little more than "talk shops" and has been publicly critical of them. Johannes Mkhonza, SANTACO Gauteng chairperson, said: "In 2016 we had the same summit [annual taxi summit]. We took resolutions in the same summit and 90% of the resolutions [taken

at this event]...but none of those declarations were implemented—maybe less than 1%" (Mthethwa, 2019).

The SANTACO Gauteng spokesperson, Mr Mali, further revealed that the relationship between the taxi industry and government "wasn't that much at a level whereby it's healthy," and that historically, "there was no proper communication...with government. So things will just happen without us not knowing what the processes are, what is it that we need to participate...because of that lack of a proper channel" (Mali, personal communication, 2020). There has been a very top-down approach, as became evident in 2020 when one of the main taxi alliances chose not to attend the annual summit. The Minister of Transport at the time announced: "We will take decisions on their behalf and they will be binding" (Mkentane, 2020). SANTACO has implored the government to allow them to take responsibility for the taxi ranks such that:

> Those facilities used by us are also conducive to be used by the public as a whole....We want to upgrade and see us at the level of the airports as well. So that it should be infrastructure [that] is user-friendly to our commuters. (Mali, personal communication, 2020)

At the time of writing, there had not been any further progress on these ideas. Thus, rather than considering hybrid systems and including taxi associations' perspectives, engagement has remained limited. Much of the advice sought and used by the state in both South Africa and Mozambique has been at the behest of multi-lateral and bi-lateral organisations. The BRT was adopted largely from engagements with Bogota and the politics of South-to-South engagement (Wood, 2015), whilst current transport plans for Maputo have been developed with the support of the Japan International Cooperation Agency and the World Bank. As such, local voices have largely been drowned out in favour of top-down international expertise and "best practices."

The Gautrain and the Maputo–Katembe Bridge are prime examples of this top-down logic. According to representatives from the MTA:

> The Maputo–Katembe Bridge project, which allowed a quick connection to the Katembe Region, also allowed people to easily go there using cars and even heavy vehicles...but probably because of some measures that were taken [such as tolls too expensive for the average family in Maputo], it ended up inhibiting the expansion or growth that was expected for the Katembe region. (MTA, personal communication, 2020)

In Gauteng, the Gautrain Rapid Rail fares are six or seven times the price of a minibus taxi or a bus. As such, this infrastructure, although sometimes used, is generally oriented towards the city's elite, along with tourists and visitors.

5.2. The Enchantment of Infrastructure

There is still a large degree of emotional investment in the conjoined ideas of infrastructure and the promise of modernity (Harvey & Knox, 2015). The South African and Mozambican states seem enchanted by these ideas, resonating with the premise that:

> Roads and railways are not just technical objects then but also operate on the level of fantasy and desire. They encode the dreams of individuals and societies and are the vehicles whereby those fantasies are transmitted and made emotionally real. (Larkin, 2013, p. 333)

In the case of Maputo, these fantasies were, according to Adriano Nuvunga, a professor of political science and civic activist in Maputo, "truly lunatic" (as cited in Kedem, 2022) and included a plan for an automated transit system of driverless trains. Things took an even weirder turn when the "Futran megaproject hatched in 2021 envisaged a swarm of cable cars suspended on rails above the city" (Kedem, 2022) for a construction cost of $250m. Fortunately, the proposed "automated guideway transit" and cable car idea were tabled, as neither was able to raise sufficient funding (Kedem, 2022). However, both city-regions persist in the pursuit of BRTs, as encouraged by the World Bank and Japan International Cooperation Agency. This goes against transport experts stating:

> Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa and in some instances within the Global South has shown, however, that there is little prospect of replacing paratransit *in toto* with BRT. The established interests of incumbent paratransit operators are powerful, and the financial and regulatory capacities of responsible government agencies are often weak. In all likelihood, Sub-Saharan cities will depend, for decades to come, on paratransit modes. (Jennings & Behrens, 2017, p. 6)

However, in Maputo, although increasingly less so in Gauteng, the fantasy of ridding the city of *chapas* in favour of a fleet of shiny new buses and a car-dominated city holds sway. A senior transport consultant from the MTA made this position clear by saying that "the agency [MTA] is very focused on motorized transport, and in particular on public transport, and on…buses" (personal communication, 2021).

Similarly in Gauteng, a senior Gauteng Transport official (personal communication, 2021) remarked:

> The only planning that was done [for taxis] was probably for intermodal facilities, taxi ranks. But if you look at the number of formal taxi ranks, compared to informal ones, you can see that there has been quite a lot of lag.

Investment still goes into large-scale projects and the state still dreams of big, infrastructure that is linked to ideas of modern cities.

5.3. Political Narratives and Political Intentions

Underlying the desire to use buses, incorporate para-transit into the formal transit system, and rid cities of *chapas* and minibus taxis is steeped in what McFarlane and Rutherford (2008, p. 367) call "a moral urban politics based on the enrolment of subjects into 'civilized' behaviour." "Civilised" behaviour was a literal intention to ensure that paratransit is replaced by "safer" and "better" modes of commuting, and to tame what former South African Transport Minister Jeremy Cronin described as "a Wild West blend of impressive entrepreneurial initiative and warlordism" (Hook & Weinstock, 2021). The state, with extremely limited capacities, has made significant efforts to formalise the taxi industry, initially through a taxi recapitalisation project and incorporation into the BRT, both of which failed. As a result, the state has resorted to regulation rather than planning for the industry: "You know, paratransit…has been a huge problem for the province. There has never been any type of plans for paratransit, only in terms of regulation" (Gauteng Provincial Official, personal communication, 2021).

The state also wants to capture the revenue made from paratransit into the formal system. A senior MTA transport consultant argued that the development of buses and bus systems in Maputo shows how "the state has effective control over how much money circulates in the transport system…as at this moment the state loses a lot of money that is not declared or taxed through that type of public transport service [paratransit]." Thus articulated, the South African and Mozambican states are trying to provide a political narrative of control, modernity, and the power of the state over a sector that has consistently demonstrated its ungovernability and autonomy.

6. Conclusion

The state of transport infrastructure in the Gauteng City-Region and Greater Maputo has received large investments but much of it is unused by the majority of residents. Conversely, the infrastructure that is used by the majority is chronically under-invested and subject to regulation and planning. The consequence is a state of indifference to people's needs, with large-scale transport infrastructure that is obdurate and obsolete: barely used by the majority since it is too far too expensive, unwieldy and in some cases, vandalised and never restored. As such, these transport infrastructures appear as ruins, monuments that are detached from people's lives and largely irrelevant to the landscapes in which they are embedded. However, they are also ruins as a symbol of nostalgia for a future that is unlikely to ever occur, designed for elites and politically constructed.

The infrastructure that is used—paratransit, trains, and roads—has not received sufficient attention. Even the taxis themselves sometimes lie in ruins.

Utilising a comparative approach allowed us to look at broad macro-processes that affect the region, such as the influence of modernism, the enchantment of infrastructure, and the impact of multi-lateral organisations on state transport decision-making. When coupled with granular engagements through interviews, focus groups, digital platforms like WhatsApp, and Söderström's (Institute for Urban Research, 2021) "radically inductive" approach—engaging with people's everyday experiences at the micro-level—we were able to grasp the impact and effect of these decisions. We thus demonstrate both how ordinary indifference and ruin have become in our cases, and what it meant for navigating around these city-regions.

As such, the comparative and transcalar methods provided an opportunity to understand transport infrastructure provisions as a collection of indifferent ruins in the Gauteng and Maputo cityscapes. They are relics of states locked into outdated modes of thinking, anachronisms, and the production of objects far removed from the realities of people's lives. The consequence is not just a landscape of ruins but also a missed opportunity to engage with democratized and functional—even if problematic—transit systems, and potentially states that move increasingly away from the daily realities and needs of the majority of urban residents.

Acknowledgments

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 authors (unedited).

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Article

Differences in Active Travel Between Immigrants in an Active and Less Active Mobility Culture

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Abstract
Despite growing investments in active travel infrastructure in many developed countries, walking and cycling rates often remain low. In addition to changes in the built environment, life experiences, place-specific urban mobility policies, and social and cultural norms with regard to active travel mode use are also found to be important factors for encouraging walking and cycling. Many researchers have examined immigrants' travel behaviour to study the influence of social and cultural norms and place-specific factors on mode choice and travel decisions. However, knowledge of the differences in walking and cycling behaviour between various sub-groups of immigrants remains limited. By means of a multiple linear regression model, this study investigates differences in walking and cycling behaviours between immigrants in a less active travel culture, namely New Zealand, and an active travel culture, the Netherlands. The findings show that immigrants in both contexts walk and cycle more than the wider populations. Analysis results demonstrate that socio-demographic characteristics, car and bicycle access, and trip purpose all have a significant effect on active travel behaviour. Furthermore, on average, Dutch born-and-raised immigrants in New Zealand cycle more days per month than professional immigrants in the Netherlands and tend to use a much wider range of transport modes, particularly sharing services. These findings suggest that past experiences with particular travel modes and socialisation factors likely play a major role in active travel behaviour, thereby stressing the need for more research on the role of cultural and social norms in travel decision-making processes.

Keywords
cycling; immigrants; New Zealand; The Netherlands; travel behaviour; walking

1. Introduction

Problems related to public health, road safety, traffic congestion, air and noise pollution, and climate change, as well as a growing societal interest in alternatives to motorised transportation, put more emphasis on active travel modes, such as walking and cycling (Barajas, 2020; Brand et al., 2021; Mandic et al., 2017). Despite the many benefits associated with active transportation, walking and cycling are often marginal modes of transport in many developed countries (Koglin & Rye, 2014). This holds particularly true for countries with high

rates of car ownership, such as New Zealand (Smith, 2016). In comparison, in well-established active travel cultures, such as the Netherlands, walking and cycling remain common modes of transport despite significant increases in car ownership (Pucher & Buehler, 2008). Consequently, many cities and regions turned to the Netherlands among other Northwestern European countries in order to identify and import the best active travel planning practices to increase walking and cycling among their residents (Barajas, 2020). However, walking and cycling rates remain low compared to these countries (European Commission, 2017), and arguments are

made that besides changes in the built environment, life experiences with walking and cycling, place-specific urban mobility policies, and social and cultural norms with regard to active travel mode use are also important in encouraging walking and cycling (Haustein et al., 2020; Nello-Deakin & Nikolaeva, 2020).

In order to study the influence of social and cultural norms and place-specific factors on travel behaviour, many researchers have examined immigrants' travel behaviour (Haustein et al., 2020; Smart, 2010). Immigrants live in the same travel culture as the wider population, but they have been additionally exposed to other cultural influences. This results in greater flexibility of travel habits and practices, which, in turn, might contribute to mobility changes and adaptation (Beige & Axhausen, 2012). Previous empirical studies reveal great differences between the travel behaviour of immigrants and the wider population, as immigrants in less active travel cultures are more likely to cycle than the wider populations (Smart, 2010), while findings on levels of cycling between immigrants and wider populations in active mobility cultures are less conclusive (Basaran et al., 2021; Haustein et al., 2020). However, current literature generally considers immigrants as a homogenous group characterised by low skills and disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds (OECD, 2019), thereby neglecting the large heterogeneity that exists among today's immigrant populations. As a result, there is only limited knowledge of the differences in walking and cycling behaviour between various sub-groups of immigrants.

In order to address this research gap, this study explores and compares the walking and cycling habits of immigrants living in a less active travel culture—in this case, New Zealand—and immigrants living in a well-established active travel culture, namely the Netherlands. By means of a multiple linear regression analysis of dichotomous and ordinal variables based on their polychoric correlations, we aim to identify differences in walking and cycling behaviours between Dutch born-and-raised immigrants in New Zealand and immigrants from less active travel cultures now living in the Netherlands and relevant factors. This study focuses specifically on professional immigrants as they are more likely to have modal choice than socio-economically disadvantaged immigrant groups as they can afford a car. In turn, this allows us to compare the active travel behaviour between similar population groups living in varying travel cultures, as their mode choice is not restricted by costs, meaning that they have a range of transport options available to them. Findings from this study provide new insights into the role of socio-demographic characteristics and transport-related factors in immigrants' active travel behaviour living in contrasting mobility cultures. The present study contributes to current literature as it is the first to assess the impact of moving to a contrasting mobility culture on attitudes, preferences, and use of active travel modes among people born and raised in varying mobility cultures. The study results can help policymakers and practitioners set policy priorities that stimulate immigrant populations to use active travel modes and, in the process, develop a more equitable transport system.

2. Theoretical Framework

One of the most influential theories in studying travel behaviour is the theory of planned behaviour (TPB; Ajzen, 1991). The TPB maintains that planned behaviour is influenced by intentions to perform this behaviour, which, in turn, are influenced by the attitudes towards that behaviour, perceived social norms, and perceived behavioural control (PBC). The influence of external factors, such as built and social environment characteristics, is assumed to be entirely mitigated through these constructs, under the condition that every individual is able to perceive these characteristics (Ajzen, 1991). While applying the theoretical principles of the TPB on travel behaviour, empirical evidence shows that actual mode use is significantly influenced by intentions to use a particular mode of transport. In turn, intentions are found to be significantly affected by attitudes towards particular transport modes, social norms with regard to specific transport mode use, and the perceived ease of using a particular mode (Haustein & Jensen, 2018).

Research using the TPB has usually considered attitude (ATT), subjective norm (SN), and PBC as independent predictors of intention (La Barbera & Ajzen, 2020). After examining how these variables are intercorrelated, empirical evidence shows a significant interaction between PBC and attitude in the prediction of intention (Kothe & Mullan, 2015; Yzer & van den Putte, 2014), with a higher PBC over a particular behaviour resulting in a stronger association between intention and actual behaviour. In contrast, empirical findings on the relationship between SN and PBC in the prediction of intention are inconclusive (Castanier et al., 2013; Yzer & van den Putte, 2014), and in many studies, SNs tend to have a relatively weak or nonsignificant effect on the prediction of intention (La Barbera & Ajzen, 2020). Recent findings from La Barbera and Ajzen (2020) demonstrate that PBC moderates the effects of attitude and SN on intention, as a greater PBC tends to strengthen the relative importance of attitude in predicting intention, and, at the same time, tends to weaken the relative importance of SN. These findings may explain the relatively weak or nonsignificant relationship often found between SN and intention, and, thereby, stressing the need to examine both interactions between SN and intention and PBC and intention independently in statistical analyses.

In accordance with the findings of La Barbera and Ajzen (2020), we assume that a large PBC over travel behaviour strengthens the relative importance of attitude in predicting intention and weakens the relative importance of SNs. Empirical evidence shows that car access is often negatively associated with levels of walking and cycling (Heinen et al., 2010), whereas bicycle

availability leads to increased levels of cycling (Fraser & Lock, 2010). These findings suggest a strong association between PBC (i.e., transport mode access) and actual walking and cycling behaviour. As a result, only an insignificant relationship between SN and attitude in predicting intention is expected. SN is, therefore, removed from our conceptual model as a variable. Consequently, we utilise the following conceptual model in this study, highlighting both the direct effects (red) and moderating effects (blue) between various dependent, independent, and control variables and their causality is highlighted (Figure 1).

3. Methodology

3.1. Study Locations

Longstanding and significant investments, temperate climate, relatively flat terrain, and strategies and poli-

cies favouring active travel modes have resulted in a well-established active travel culture in the Netherlands, wherein walking and cycling are seen as legitimate modes of transport (Pucher & Buehler, 2008). On the contrary, in New Zealand, cycling is often considered a "childish," "uncool," and "embarrassing" activity and an uncommon commute mode (Frater & Kingham, 2020). Cycling rates in cities in New Zealand are significantly lower compared to other cities in developed countries (Jahanshahi et al., 2022). These differences can partly be attributed to the country's topography as well as socio-demographic factors, such as ethnicity, education, and bicycle user type (Jahanshahi et al., 2022). Furthermore, walking is often perceived as a potentially useful and appropriate mode of transport and a valued social practice among people in New Zealand (Bean et al., 2008). However, walking rates remain low in New Zealand due to perceived dangerous intersections and crossings, poor walking infrastructure and relatively long distances to
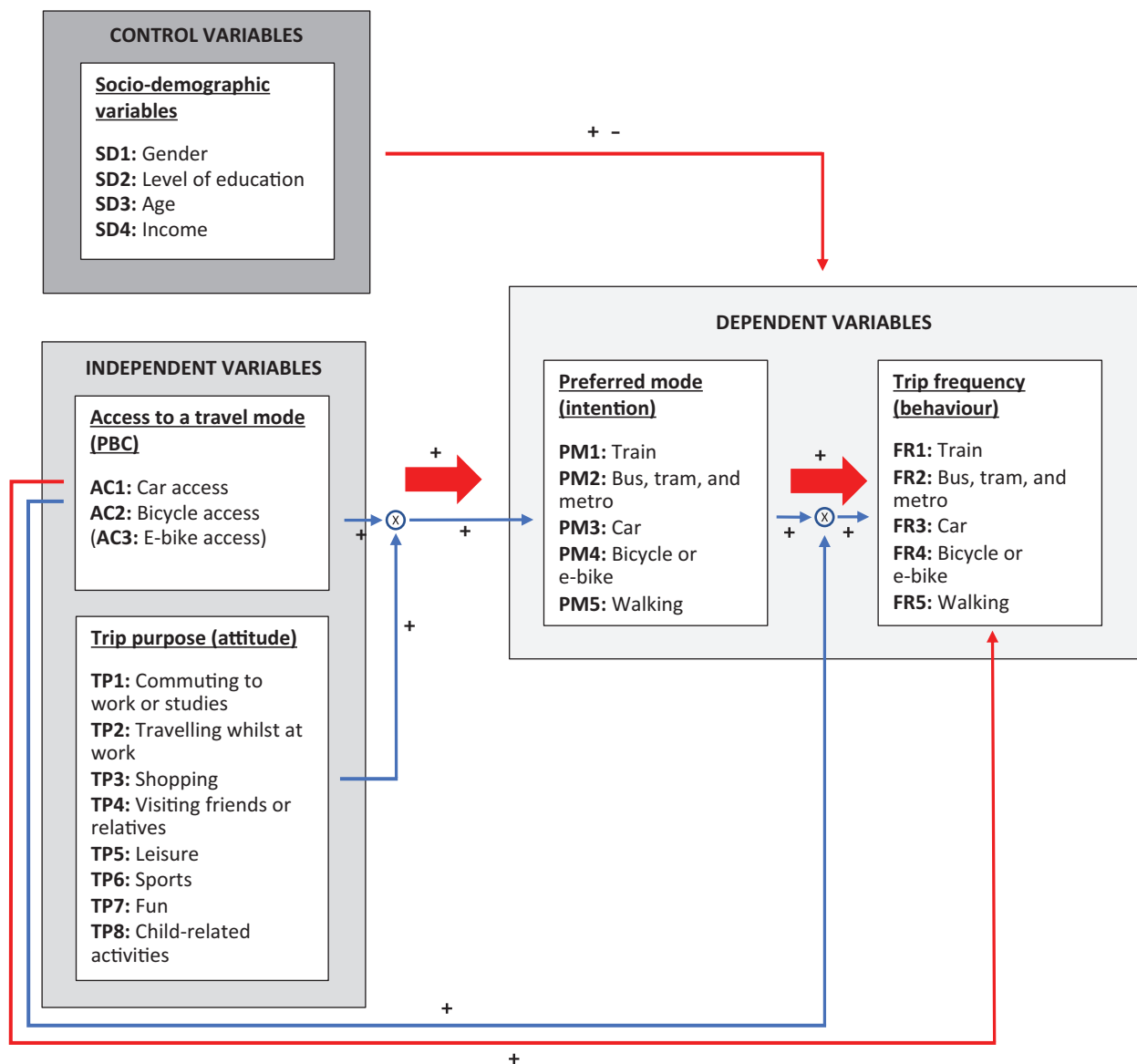

Figure 1. TPB-based conceptual model utilised in this study.

daily activities (Bean et al., 2008; Mandic et al., 2017). In order to compare the walking and cycling behaviour of immigrant populations in both contexts, we conducted a comparative quantitative study among immigrants in the Randstad region, in the Netherlands, and immigrants in New Zealand based on the conceptual model presented in Figure 1.

3.2. Recruitment Strategy

By means of an online stated preference survey, socio-demographic and travel behaviour related data on professional immigrants living in the Netherlands and New Zealand were obtained. Potential participants were recruited via expat and international community groups in the Randstad region and in New Zealand on Facebook. Invitations to participate were distributed through online social media posts, which included information about the purpose of the study, alongside a link to the online survey in Qualtrics. Participants were encouraged to share the link among peers and family in order to include more potential participants. To generate interest, three gift cards, worth 25 EUR/50 NZD, were offered in a prize draw in each respective context.

The survey sought to obtain information about immigrants' personal characteristics, including gender, age, educational attainment, and personal income, as well as current travel practices, including travel mode access, driver's license possession, mode preference, actual mode use, and trip purpose. The questions in the survey are in accordance with the questionnaire used in the 2018 Dutch national travel survey, the Netherlands Mobility Panel (MPN; Hoogendoorn-Lanser et al., 2015), to allow for a comparison of the results. The participants of the 2018 MPN survey are representative of the total Dutch population. In addition, in order to compare the survey data with that of the New Zealand population, a number of questions with regard to employment status, main mode for commuting purposes, and frequency of cycling and using public transport in the last four weeks were included from the 2018 New Zealand Household Travel Survey (New Zealand Ministry of Transport, 2018) and the 2018 New Zealand Census (Statistics New Zealand, 2018). Due to privacy restrictions on data with regard to gross personal income in the MPN, an additional question has been added to compare the samples based on income.

In order to compare both immigrant samples, a similar distribution in socio-demographic characteristics was desirable. Immigrant populations in New Zealand often include highly educated and skilled individuals due to the immigration policies in place. Likewise, we aimed to include a Dutch immigrant population group with similar characteristics by recruiting professional immigrants. Professional immigrants are defined in our study as immigrants who have sufficient financial resources to be able to afford a range of transport options, including a car. Accordingly, due to having multiple transport

options available to them, this immigrant population group can be regarded as either "captive by choice" or "choice users" as they choose to be dependent on public or active travel modes while they could own a car or already have a car available to them (van Lierop & El-Geneidy, 2016). Due to the sensitivity often associated with asking for information about levels of income (Riphahn & Serfling, 2005), participants were asked about their current profession to identify participants with a generally above-average paying job that allows them to afford multiple transport options. Only individuals with highly skilled jobs, as distinguished by Salt (1997), were selected for the study, including corporate transferees, professionals in the health or educational sectors, project and consultant specialists, private career development or training movers, academics (researchers and students in higher education), business people and the independently wealthy, technicians, military personnel, clergy and missionaries, entertainers, sportspeople, and artists, and spouses and children of the above professions (Salt, 1997).

3.3. Methods

In order to compare the walking and cycling behaviour of immigrants in the Dutch and New Zealand contexts with each other and with that of the native populations, we used descriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis allows us to identify similarities and differences in travel behaviour between the various samples and was used to determine which population group is more prone to use active travel modes. In order to test for the direct and indirect effects between the variables specified in the conceptual model (Figure 1), a multiple linear regression analysis was performed. This study uses a structural equation modelling approach computed in LISREL 8.80 to estimate the effects between the variables specified in the conceptual model by means of the maximum likelihood method (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1996). As the variables specified in the conceptual model are measured on either an ordinal or dichotomous scale, two estimation approaches are suited, namely a multi-nominal logit model in combination with an ordinal regression (Bhat, 1997), or by treating all variables as ordinal variables with two or more categories and estimating underlying Pearson's correlation and feeding them into a multiple linear regression model (Olsson, 1979). The latter model is preferred because it additionally accounts for the strength of preferences and the relationships among those preferences, thereby containing a higher informational output. Accordingly, a multiple linear regression analysis of the dichotomous and ordinal variables based on their polychoric correlations was conducted. Polychoric correlations are the Pearson correlations of the standardised normally distributed latent variables underlying the measured ordinal and dichotomous variables (Olsson, 1979).

This method allows us not only to test for the direct effects of independent variables and preferences on

actual travel mode use but also for simultaneous feed-back effects of actual travel mode use on mode preferences. It is postulated that the two variables are simultaneously related, independent of common determinants, and are endogenously determined by certain exogenous variables (covariates). As the constructs in our conceptual model are directly measured based on only observed measures, the internal consistency reliability of (in)dependent variables specified in the conceptual model is maintained. Furthermore, correlations of regression errors are estimated in order to control for relations induced by variables not specified in the model. The chosen method does not allow for testing causality, but only statistical correlation between the specified variables.

In order to estimate the models, we first specified the independent variables individually and removed high correlating variables ($R > 0.90$) using a step-wise procedure. This procedure is based on the modification indices indicating significant effects of non-specified parameters provided by the LISREL program and is used to improve the fit of the model. Subsequently, we specified the dependent variables of the conceptual mode using the same approach. In addition, to specifically test the moderation effects between the dependent and independent variables specified in the conceptual model (Figure 1), a simple moderation analysis was performed. As this study makes use of categorical variables, approaches based on assumptions of continuous variables are not applicable (Memon et al., 2019). Therefore, the moderating effects are taken into account as follows; similar to the product–indicator approach, the ordinal values of the independent variables are multiplied by the ordinal values of the moderating variables. Instead of treating the resulting values as continuous, they have alternatively been reclassified on a five-point Likert or the resulting dichotomous scale (i.e., subdividing the continuous resulting values into groups of five or two). This approach allowed us to choose indicators to be included in the model, thereby introducing arbitrariness in the model (Foldnes & Hagtvet, 2014), and, as a result, increasing the fit of the conceptual model on the specified variables. Within the statistical analyses, we explored the best linear model for the data, including a test of the TPB-based theoretical model specified in Figure 1.

3.4. Operationalisation

In order to assess differences in walking and cycling between the two samples, the items specified in the conceptual model (Figure 1) have been operationalised in the context of the TPB. In the context of the TPB, transport mode access relates to PBC, that is, the extent to which it is easy or difficult to access and use a particular transport mode. Furthermore, trip purposes can be encompassed by attitudes towards transport modes and their utilisation for specific purposes. Mode preferences are connected to the intention to use a particular mode

of transport and frequencies of use is contained in the actual performance of specific travel behaviour. In accordance with the TPB, PBC and attitude are assumed to be direct determinants in predicting the intention to use particular transport modes, and intention directly affects actual behaviour. In addition, access to a specific transport mode (PBC) has a direct effect on the actual use of a mode (behaviour). Moreover, in order to control for the effects of socio-demographic characteristics on travel mode preference and actual travel mode use, we included them in the set of control variables. Different to the independent variables, we assume that socio-demographic characteristics have a direct effect on both intention and actual behaviour. With regard to the moderating effects, we assume that the higher the PBC over particular behaviour, the stronger the association between intention and actual behaviour. In addition, we assume that a positive attitude towards a particular transport mode and a strong PBC in performing particular behaviour associated with that transport mode has a positive effect on the intention to use a particular transport mode. Furthermore, significant high correlations between e-bike access and access to a car in the New Zealand sample were found, resulting in identification problems in measuring the effects of these variables on other variables specified in the conceptual model. Consequently, the effects of e-bike access on the dependent variables in the model of the New Zealand immigrant sample were not estimated. A list of the variables specified in the conceptual model and how they have been measured can be found in Table 1. The results of the statistical analyses are presented in Tables 4 and 5, in which the estimated results of the theoretical relationships specified in the conceptual model are presented in bold.

4. Results

4.1. Sample Description

Immigrants living in Randstad who participated in the survey are predominately female (76.9%), between 29 and 34 years old (33.1%), and hold at least a master's degree (61.3%), which is not surprising given the target population of this study. In comparison, most respondents from the 2018 MPN survey are female (50.3%), between 29 and 34 years old (21.1%), and hold a bachelor's degree (39.7%). With regards to New Zealand, immigrants in New Zealand are predominately female (76.0%), between 45 and 54 years old (25.3%), and hold a master's degree or higher (40.9%). In contrast, insights from the 2018 census show that the New Zealand population is generally female (50.3%), 65 years or older (20.1%), and have a secondary school qualification (46.9%). The personal characteristics of both immigrant samples and the national population samples in each respective context are given in Table 2. Due to privacy restrictions of information on personal gross income and residential

Table 1. Type of variables specified in the conceptual model.

Variable code	Variable name	Measurement scale	Measurement values
SD1	Gender	Nominal	0 = Male 1 = Female
SD2	Level of education	Ordinal	1 = Left school at 16 or younger 2 = Left school at 17 or 18 3 = Trade/vocational qualification 4 = Bachelor's degree 5 = Master's degree or higher
SD3	Age	Ordinal	1 = 20 years old or younger 2 = 21–28 years old 3 = 29–34 years old 4 = 35–44 years old 5 = 45–54 years old 6 = 55–64 years old 7 = 65 years old or older
SD4	Income	Ordinal	1 = Minimum (<12,500 EUR/<25,000 NZD) 2 = Below the national benchmark income (12,500–<26,200 EUR/ 25,001–50,000 NZD) 3 = National benchmark income (26,200–<38,800 EUR/ 50,001–70,000 NZD), including negative income 4 = Between one to two times the national benchmark income (38,800–<65,000 EUR/70,001–100,000 NZD) 5 = Two times the national benchmark income (65,000–<77,500 EUR/ 100,001–150,000 NZD) 6 = More than two times the national benchmark income (≥77,500 EUR/≥150,001 NZD)
AC	Access to a travel mode	Nominal	0 = Person does not have access to this mode 1 = Person does have access to this mode
TP	Trip purpose	Nominal	Preference intensity for a particular purpose ranging from 0 to 5
PM	Preferred mode	Nominal	0 = Person has a preference to use this mode 1 = Person does not have a preference to use this mode
TP	Trip frequency	Ordinal	0 = Never 1 = Less than once a month 2 = Once a month 3 = 2–3 days per month 4 = 1–3 days per week 5 = 4 or more days per week

location in both National Travel Survey datasets, the samples could not be compared based on these factors.

4.2. Descriptive Analysis

When comparing both immigrant samples with regard to their travel characteristics, the results show that immigrants in the Dutch context walk and use a bicycle or e-bike more days per month on average than other modes of transport, such as private cars and public transportation (Table 3). In contrast, immigrants in New Zealand use on average more frequently sharing mobility services than other transport modes. These findings demonstrate that immigrants in New Zealand use a wider range of transport options per month than immigrants in the Netherlands. When comparing the survey data with that of the national travel surveys in each respective context, insights from the 2018 New Zealand Household Travel Survey revealed that only 3.1% of the respondents cycle almost daily (20 days or more

Table 2. Personal characteristics of the Dutch and New Zealand immigrant samples, and the national travel survey and census samples in each respective context.

	2018 MPN sample (n = 8,561)		Dutch immigrant sample (n = 160)		2018 New Zealand Census (n = 4,669,775)		New Zealand immigrant sample (n = 154)	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Highest education achieved by the respondent								
Left school at 18	679	18.7	4	2.5	1,354,044	46.9	7	4.7
Trade/vocational degree	935	25.7	7	4.4	658,938	22.8	20	13.4
Bachelor's degree	1,444	39.7	51	31.9	716,586	24.8	59	39.6
Master's degree or higher	576	15.9	98	61.2	160,047	5.5	63	42.3
Valid cases	3,634	42.4	160	100.0	2,889,615	61.9	149	96.8
Age of respondent (years)								
18–20	855	12.7	3	1.9	182,937	5.1	0	0.0
21–28	559	8.3	46	28.7	532,662	15.0	13	8.5
29–34	1,427	21.1	53	33.1	384,285	9.8	21	13.7
35–44	1,241	18.4	47	29.4	586,743	16.5	38	24.8
45–54	1,418	21.0	8	5.0	630,075	17.7	39	25.5
55–64	1,249	18.5	3	1.9	563,646	15.8	25	16.3
65+	0	0.0	0	0.0	715,167	20.1	17	11.2
Valid cases	6,749	78.8	160	100.0	3,559,515	76.2	153	99.4
Gender								
Male	4,037	47.2	37	23.1	2,319,558	49.7	35	22.9
Female	4,524	52.8	123	76.9	2,380,197	50.3	117	76.5
Non-binary/gender diverse	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6
Valid cases	8,561	100.0	160	100.0	4,669,775	100.0	153	99.4

per month), compared to 15.0% of the New Zealand immigrant sample. Recent insights show that 21% of these trips are made for commuting purposes (Waka Kotahi, 2021). Comparing the data within the Dutch context, 28.2% of the 2018 MPN sample use a bicycle or e-bike 16 days or more per month, while 63.3% of the Dutch immigrant sample cycles with the same frequency. In terms of walking, 45.6% of the 2018 MPN survey respondents walk 16 days or more per month, compared to 65.7% of the immigrants in the Netherlands. Previous research shows that work, school, leisure, and shopping are all positively and significantly associated

Table 3. Results from the descriptive analysis with regard to trip frequency.

	Dutch immigrant sample (n = 160)			New Zealand immigrant sample (n = 154)		
	$\bar{x}$	S	Missing data (%)	$\bar{x}$	S	Missing data (%)
Average travel mode used on a monthly basis in days						
Passenger car	4.372	6.315	4.4	0.555	2.391	1.3
Shared car (e.g., Greenwheels)	0.163	0.418	6.3	15.719	4.182	7.8
Car-sharing services (e.g., Uber)	0.554	1.628	5.6	13.644	5.742	7.1
Train	4.802	5.625	0.6	13.448	6.355	3.2
Bus, tram, and metro	5.808	6.130	5.0	12.118	6.273	3.9
Bicycle and e-bike	12.691	6.787	1.3	5.227	6.769	2.6
Shared bicycle or e-bike	0.279	1.442	5.6	16.412	2.965	6.5
Walking	13.959	5.361	2.5	1.039	2.767	1.9
Shared moped (e.g., GoSharing)	0.040	0.235	6.3	17.019	1.014	7.8
Shared scooter (e.g., Bird)	0.092	0.388	5.0	15.448	3.960	6.5

with the preference to cycle among Dutch people (Ton et al., 2019).

4.3. Multiple Linear Regression Analysis

In order to identify the factors that significantly influence the walking and cycling behaviour of immigrants in the Dutch and New Zealand context and test for variations between the two samples, we estimated two separate models based on the conceptual model utilised in this study. The first model estimated the effects of the variables specified in the conceptual model based on the Dutch immigrant sample. The second model performed a similar analysis for the New Zealand immigrant sample, together with e-bike access and relationships between the independent variables and frequency of use in order to obtain an optimal fit of the model. This resulted in the following estimates of the various relations (e.g., standardised beta coefficients) between the variables in the conceptual model (Tables 3 and 4). The goodness of fit index (GFI) and the adjusted goodness of fit index (AGFI) of the model on the Dutch immigrant sample data are both larger than 90% (GFI = 0.976; AGFI = 0.944) and the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is close to zero (RMSEA = 0.001). Furthermore, the optimisation of the conceptual model on the New Zealand immigrant sample results in a GFI and AFGI larger than 90% (GFI = 0.962; AGFI = 0.924) and an RMSEA with a value below 0.05 (RMSEA = 0.045). When checking for moderating effects, we found that these effects are similar to the direct effects of access to transport modes, as indicated by very high correlations (>0.90) between the variables constituting the moderating effects and the variables representing modal access. Therefore, we left out the moderating effects of the model and estimated the direct effects between modal access and other variables only.

4.3.1. Results From the New Zealand Sample

Overall, the findings from the multiple linear regression analysis of the New Zealand immigrant sample reveal that socio-demographic variables do not significantly influence the preference to walk or cycle and actual active travel mode use (Table 4). Taking a closer look at the effects of travel mode access, findings demonstrate that having access to a car is positively associated with the preference to use a car and negatively associated with the preference to cycle. In addition, bicycle access is positively associated with an increased preference to use a bicycle and a decreased preference to use a car or walk. These findings suggest substitutional effects between active travel modes and other modes of transport and with each other. Furthermore, results on trip purposes show that immigrants in New Zealand prefer to cycle for shopping purposes and tend to walk for leisure and sports.

Results from the reciprocal relations between dependent variables specified in the conceptual model show that there are various effects on active travel behaviour. The results reveal the preference to use the bus and/or tram and to walk, as well as regular walking, is related to an increased preference to cycle. Moreover, the preference to use the bus and/or tram is positively associated with the preference to walk. These findings might be due to complementary effects between the use of the bus and/or tram and active travel modes. However, whether these negative and positive effects represent substitution and complementary effects cannot be concluded yet, showing that further research into the nature of the found effects is needed. Interestingly, there is a mutual effect between the preference to walk and the preference to use a car. Finally, the preference to cycle and to use the train is positively associated with levels of walking. Surprisingly, the preference to walk is negatively associated with levels of walking. However, it is not inconceivable that although some participants choose or are forced to walk for certain purposes, they might hold negative attitudes toward the mode.

4.3.2. Results From the Dutch Sample

In our second model, we performed a multiple linear regression analysis of the Dutch immigrant sample consistent with the variables specified in the conceptual model together with e-bike access and relationships between the independent variables and frequency of use in order to obtain an optimal fit of the model. The findings demonstrate that women in particular tend to cycle or use the bus, tram, or metro on a frequent basis and prefer cycling to get around, while older women walk more (Table 5). In general, men tend to walk or use the car more, while older men with relatively lower incomes travel more by car. Taking a closer look at travel mode access, the results show that having access to a car is negatively associated with walking and using public transport modes. In addition, bicycle access is positively associated with levels of cycling and using the train, and negatively associated with walking. Findings on trip purpose show that immigrants in the Dutch context prefer to use a bicycle to shop, though it is negatively associated with commuting. In addition, they tend to walk for commuting, business, and leisure purposes

Moreover, estimations of the effects of the dependent variables on each other demonstrate that the preference to cycle is negatively associated with the preference to use the bus, tram, or metro. Furthermore, levels of cycling are related to increased train use, while it decreases car use. These findings might be explained by substitution and complementary effects between cycling and various public transport modes. But again, these types of effects cannot be derived yet from the results. Surprisingly, in contrast to our expectations, the findings show that there is a significant positive relationship between levels of car use and the preference to walk. These findings suggest that there is an underlying factor that mediates this effect.

Table 4. Estimated direct effects of the (in)dependent variables on each other for the New Zealand immigrant sample (n = 154).

From \ To	PM1: Train preference	PM2: Bus, tram, and metro preference	PM3: Car preference	PM4: Bicycle preference	PM5: Walking preference	FR1: Train frequency	FR2: Bus, tram, and metro frequency	FR3: Car frequency	FR4: Bicycle frequency	FR5: Walking frequency
AC1	—	—	**0.997*****	−0.282***	—	—	—	—	—	—
AC2	—	−0.676***	—	**0.450*****	−0.231***	—	—	—	—	—
TP1	—	−0.186***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TP2	—	−0.431***	−0.493***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TP3	—	—	−0.201***	0.355***	—	—	—	—	—	—
TP4	—	—	0.562***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TP5	—	0.189**	—	—	0.748***	—	—	—	—	—
TP6	0.157**	—	—	—	0.316***	—	—	—	—	—
SD1	—	−0.451***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SD2	—	−0.842***	—	—	—	—	—	−0.299***	—	—
SD3	—	—	−0.069**	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SD4	—	—	−0.326***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM1	—	—	—	—	—	**0.849*****	—	—	—	0.310***
PM2	0.671***	—	—	0.207***	0.300***	—	**0.960*****	−0.755***	—	—
PM3	0.247***	0.979***	—	—	0.895***	—	−0.755***	**0.355*****	—	—
PM4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.587***
PM5	—	—	0.340***	0.568***	—	—	—	—	0.135**	−0.219***
R^2	0.575	0.512	0.498	0.735	0.217	0.756	0.884	0.441	0.572	0.131

Notes: * Significantly different at $p < 0.10$; ** significantly different at $p < 0.05$; *** significantly different at $p < 0.01$.

Table 5. Estimated direct effects of the (in)dependent variables on each other for the Dutch immigrant sample ($n = 160$).

From \ To	PM1: Train preference	PM2: Bus, tram, and metro preference	PM3: Car preference	PM4: Bicycle preference	PM5: Walking preference	FR1: Train frequency	FR2: Bus, tram, and metro frequency	FR3: Car frequency	FR4: Bicycle frequency	FR5: Walking frequency
AC1	—	—	**0.910*****	—	–0.496**	–0.194***	–0.260***	0.393***	—	–0.231***
AC2	—	—	–0.843***	**0.611*****	—	—	—	–0.219***	0.935***	—
AC3	—	—	—	—	–0.955***	—	–0.288***	—	—	–0.177***
TP1	–0.335***	–0.139***	—	–0.442***	0.476***	—	—	—	—	0.792***
TP2	—	0.624***	0.906***	—	–0.318***	0.147**	0.140**	—	–0.456***	—
TP3	—	—	–0.243***	0.299***	0.606***	—	—	—	—	0.165**
TP4	0.456***	0.250***	0.355***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TP5	—	—	—	—	0.428***	—	—	—	—	—
TP6	0.149**	—	—	—	–0.485***	—	—	—	—	—
SD1	—	—	–0.197**	0.438***	0.485***	—	0.244***	–0.220***	0.201**	–0.139**
SD2	—	—	—	—	—	—	–0.254***	—	—	—
SD3	—	—	0.453***	—	0.278**	—	—	0.162*	—	—
SD4	—	—	–0.335***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	–0.276***	—	—
PM2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	**0.353*****	—	—
PM4	—	–0.512***	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
PM5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.335*	—	—
FR1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FR2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FR3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
FR4	—	—	—	—	—	0.263***	—	–0.368***	—	—
FR5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
R^2	0.364	0.482	0.905	0.598	0.999	0.074	0.281	0.590	0.757	0.920

Notes: * Significantly different at $p < 0.10$; ** significantly different at $p < 0.05$; *** significantly different at $p < 0.01$.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

By means of a multiple linear regression model, this study investigated similarities and differences in walking and cycling behaviours between immigrants in a less active travel culture, namely New Zealand, and an active travel culture, the Netherlands. In contrast to previous work in this area, this study examines the active travel behaviour of professional immigrants with sufficient financial resources to be able to afford a range of transport options. This is important as it means that if these immigrants use active transport modes, it is through choice and not because they cannot afford more expensive transport modes, specifically the car. Overall, the findings show that immigrants in both contexts walk and cycle more than the wider populations. Similar studies found that immigrants in less active mobility cultures are more likely to travel by bicycle than the wider population (Smart, 2010), while findings on levels of cycling between immigrants and wider populations in active mobility cultures are less conclusive (Basaran et al., 2021; Haustein et al., 2020). When comparing both immigrant samples, the results demonstrate that immigrants in New Zealand cycle more days per month, on average, than immigrants in the Netherlands, and, additionally, use a much wider range of transport purposes, such as shared bicycles and/or e-bikes, car sharing services, and shared mopeds. These findings suggest that the use and combining of sharing services is more prevalent among immigrant populations in less active travel cultures. However, this could also be partly due to locational differences in residence between the immigrant sub-groups at a neighbourhood level (Chatman, 2014; Nello-Deakin & Harms, 2019) and the number of modes available to the respondents due to the policy frameworks in place that allow certain modes on the road (Pucher & Buehler, 2008).

In order to research the influence of socio-demographic variables, transport mode access and purpose on the walking and cycling of both immigrant populations, a multiple linear regression analysis of the dichotomous and ordinal variables based on their polychoric correlations was performed. Based on the theoretical premises of a TPB-based model, the best linear model for both datasets was estimated. In the case of the Dutch context, the findings show that female immigrants often tend to cycle, while male and highly educated female immigrants tend to walk more often. In addition, modal access has a significant effect on the preference to walk or cycle, while having a very limited effect on other transport modes. When focusing on the New Zealand context, the findings show that relatively lower-educated male immigrants tend to prefer to use the bus, tram, and metro, while relatively young, low-educated people with a low income have a preference to use the car and/or regularly drive. With regard to modal access, the findings show that access to transport modes has a significant effect on active travel modes and a limited

effect on other modes. Interestingly, findings from both estimated models suggest that immigrants' walking and cycling might possibly both have a complementary and substitutional effect on other transport modes and each other. Together with the correlation analysis findings, these findings suggest that active travel mode preference and use vary significantly and are influenced by other unspecified variables. Findings on trip purpose show that immigrants in New Zealand prefer to cycle for shopping purposes and tend to walk for leisure shows and sports, though immigrants in the Dutch context prefer to use a bicycle to shop and tend to walk for commuting, leisure, and business purposes.

The above findings should, however, be taken into consideration based on the following study limitations. First, in contrast to many transport studies utilising the TPB, measures of travel mode habits were not incorporated in the present study and could, therefore, not be estimated. However, previous research found that travel mode habits have an indirect effect on travel behaviour and are mediated by the variables specified in the conceptual model, together with SN (Forward, 2004). Furthermore, the respondents recruited for this study were not randomly selected and have been included based on convenience sampling. As a result, there might be a high likelihood of possible self-selection among the respondents. In addition, immigrants who significantly changed their walking and cycling behaviour since arriving in the Netherlands might have a greater interest in participating than those who did not. As a result, active travel mode preferences and use may be higher than the mean, meaning that the findings from this study cannot be generalised to larger and/or other immigrant populations within and across contexts. Furthermore, as this study used a stated preference survey, travel mode preference and use might not correspond to actual behaviour, introducing issues regarding the validation of findings. However, previous research shows that stated preference methods have been applied successfully in various transport research areas, including travel behaviour related research (Kroes & Sheldon, 1988). Moreover, due to the small sample size, we could not disaggregate by personal characteristics. Future research using larger sample sizes is needed to gain more insight into differences between various immigrant sub-groups. Finally, due to the sampling method chosen for the New Zealand case study, the New Zealand sample completely consists of Dutch-born immigrants who moved to New Zealand. The selection of these types of respondents allows us to compare immigrants who have lived in both a less active travel culture and an active travel culture in subsequent qualitative research. As a consequence, our findings need to be understood under these conditions. Nevertheless, the findings show that, although a greater share of immigrants in the Netherlands cycle on a daily basis than immigrants in New Zealand, Dutch-born immigrants in New Zealand cycle on average more days per month

(bicycle and e-bike combined) than immigrants in the Netherlands. These differences in bicycle use highlight the importance of education in lifelong cycling, as Dutch children generally receive extensive bicycle training during primary school (Buehler & Pucher, 2021), and, as a result, learn how to independently use a bicycle, are well-informed in the traffic rules as a cyclist, and, in the process, build a certain level of confidence in cycling. In turn, the findings of this study indicate that past experiences with active travel modes and socialisation factors likely play a major role in active travel behaviour. However, differences in travel behaviour between the two immigrant population groups could also be due to transport mode availability. Future research should, therefore, further investigate the influence of transport mode availability, life experiences, and long-term socialisation factors in explaining active travel behaviour by means of qualitative research.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Book Review

A Review of *The Routledge Handbook of Urban Design Research Methods*

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Abstract

This book review critically examines *The Routledge Handbook of Urban Design Research Methods*, edited by Hesam Kamalipour, Patricia Aelbrecht, and Nastaran Peimani (2023, 1st edition). The book offers an extensive exploration of urban design research, organized under five thematic parts: "agency," "affordance," "place," "informality," and "performance." Each part delves into the complexities and nuances of urban design research, integrating a diverse range of methodologies and case studies from different perspectives. This review explores the book's comprehensive approach, noting its efforts to combine theoretical frameworks with methodological insights and its inclusion of a wide range of topics while highlighting the book's strengths in addressing current issues in urban design research. The review maintains a critical approach, providing a balanced overview of the book's contribution to urban design literature.

Keywords

affordance; agency; handbook; informality; methodology; performance; place; research methods; urban design

Being involved in scholarship, teaching, and practice of urban design, I have often been tasked with recommending a comprehensive methodological overview to colleagues and students alike. This need arises from the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary nature of urban discourse, which encompasses a wide range of spatial, social, economic, cultural, environmental, and other dimensions, each with myriad methodological and theoretical approaches. Consequently, sources offering a comprehensive overview of urban design research and the related methods are scarce, making it especially challenging for students, emerging academics, and practitioners to delve into urban design studies. Kamalipour et al. (2023a) have undertaken a challenging endeavour to address some of these gaps in their edited handbook.

Urban design faces challenges in making connections between theory and practice while integrating studies from both the Global North and South. This handbook aims to address these challenges through the collaboration of notable scholars from around the globe aiming to explore possibilities for enhancing urban design's theoretical and methodological foundations. From this perspective, the underlying theme of the book is exploring possibilities and potentials for advancing urban design as an emerging field in the "process of becoming" (Kamalipour et al., 2023b, p. 1). The importance of this book emerges from the growing and dynamic nature of urban design, a field becoming increasingly complex to fully comprehend. This complexity may incite a persistent yet unproductive search for causality. Many seek to pinpoint the origins of various issues, neglecting the fact that urban problems are part of an intricate, interconnected web that calls for more sophisticated and adaptive solutions. The central issue is not the absence of theories, but rather the lack of an encompassing framework that effectively unites theory and practice. The evolution of urban design into a specialised field, characterised by distinct expertise and an emphasis on research, underscores the pressing need for collaborative initiatives to navigate its complexities. This handbook, crafted in response to urban design's continuous evolution and emerging challenges, serves as a primary resource to unravel and address these intricate issues.

Rejecting a linear, hierarchical format, the book offers a creative layout, enabling readers to directly access chapters related to their research area, while also

exploring broader topics, methodologies, challenges, ethics, data collection methods, and visualisation techniques. Each chapter—in most cases—provides a brief introduction to the author(s)' works and journeys in relation to urban design research and/or practice, followed by an overview of the studied topic, and then draws on case studies, previous works, or explorations. This handbook is based on a core principle that urban design research is rooted in inquiry, emphasising the integral link between research questions, design, methodologies, and outcomes. The handbook is divided into five thematic parts: "agency" (10 chapters), "affordance" (9 chapters), "place" (11 chapters), "informality" (10 chapters), and "performance" (12 chapters). In this review, I will attempt to succinctly detail the focus of each part and some chapters that I found particularly interesting.

The first part of the book, centred on the theme of "agency", offers a multi-faceted exploration of how urban spaces are designed, developed, managed, and by/for whom. Throughout the chapters, the idea of *agency* has been explored through the perspectives of individual and collective action, design and planning, empowerment and participation, socio-political, anthropological, stakeholders, and spatial agency/agencies. Matthew Carmona's chapter, "Researching Urban Design Governance," initiates the discussion, delving into ways of exploring regulatory and organisational structures steering urban design. Ali Madanipour's chapter, "Dynamic Multiplicity," then widens the lens, discussing the varying contexts, perspectives, and timeframes influencing urban environments. This part then expands to analyse how diverse contexts, perspectives, and temporal factors play a pivotal role in shaping urban environments. It also puts emphasis on the narrative elements of urban design and addresses more complex topics like the impact of urban design activism in housing markets and the role of financial forces in neoliberal urban environments. It presents original perspectives rooted in anthropology, shedding light on urban design methodologies within diverse cultural and geographical settings. The importance of communal approaches, collaboration, and collective engagement and their role in the creation and management of urban spaces are among the common issues highlighted by the authors in this part.

The second part of the book focuses on the concept of "affordance" represented via the inherent potential and functionalities of urban spaces, especially in terms of how the built environment can either enable or restrict different types of use and interaction. The concept of "affordance," originating from the field of ecological psychology, was first introduced by Gibson (1979). The reflection and adaptation of the term "affordance" in urban design research has been explored from a variety of perspectives in this book. The contributions in this part employ a diverse array of data collection methods including mental mapping, photography, videography, sketching, surveys, and social, spatial, and temporal observa-

tions. As discussed in some of the chapters, mapping techniques are particularly critical in exploring cities and contexts where official data is lacking, not publicly available, or unreliable.

Several chapters in part two stand out for their innovative approaches. They explore a variety of urban experiences, from cognitive mapping of childhood urban experiences, investigating urban spaces as venues for play and social exchange, the application of body language analysis in urban design, and mapping urban transit morphologies to the spatial possibilities for negotiation in refugee camps and the feminist co-production methods in urban design. One particularly notable chapter that caught my eye was "Putting People in Place" by Shilpa Ranade and Shilpa Phadke. They use urban mapping to delve into gendered perceptions and their impact on space usage. Their study highlights the broader potentials of mapping in uncovering hidden narratives and affordances in urban design. The chapters in this part collectively enhance our understanding of how urban design can be a powerful tool in uncovering and harnessing the hidden potentials and capacities of urban spaces.

Part three is centred around the notion of "place" as a central discourse of urban design, examining how places are created, deconstructed, and reconstructed across various scales and settings. This part explores *place* as a complex, multilayered, dynamic, and ongoing phenomenon, not frozen in time, and thus not entirely comprehensible through deductive processes focused on individual elements. Through this perspective, *place* is a dynamic and emerging concept that cannot be separated from other themes of the book. This part opens with Kim Dovey's chapter, "From Place to Assemblage," highlighting the importance of asking the right question. Dovey looks at urban space through the lens of assemblage, which seems in line with the broader framing of the handbook. This part examines the intricate layers of "place," stretching from the tangible aspects of morphology and soundscapes to the more intangible realms of memory, attachment, and identity. It highlights the diversity of methodologies and approaches used in studying urban spaces, advocating for a more nuanced understanding that incorporates multiple dimensions. The contributions in this section reveal the deep, often unexplored connections between urban design, placemaking, and the diverse experiences and perceptions that shape our understanding of urban spaces.

In part four, the theme of developing a deeper understanding of "informality" is presented as crucial for shaping more nuanced urban design theories and methods. This part begins with Vinit Mukhija's chapter, "The Spatial Form and Built Environment of Urban Informality," which explores urban informality in cities of the Global North. This contrasts with the general trend in urban informality literature that primarily focuses on the Global South. This deliberate choice for opening a chapter into "informality" fights against assuming

the Global South as the only place of "informality" and the common conflation of "informality" with poverty. In this part, a variety of research methods and mapping techniques have been employed. Data collection has always been a challenging endeavour in exploring urban informalities, as they are often overlooked by the governing bodies and lack proper representation in the official datasets. Several data collection methods are also explored, including historical satellite imagery, photography, audio-visual recordings, observations, historic cartographic analyses, interviews, and surveys. Each of these methods comes with its own set of challenges. These challenges highlight the difficulties in achieving systematic and reliable data collection, which is a major hurdle in conducting comprehensive studies on informal urbanism.

The examination of the capacities and challenges associated with informal urbanism has often been overlooked in urban design studies. The collection of chapters in part four illustrates the broad spectrum and significance of exploring forms of informal urbanism in different contexts. Stefan Al investigates urban villages, Gabriela Quintana Vigiola examines barrios settlements, Gordon C. C. Douglas discusses non-traditional research methods in the context of the Global North, Jota Samper proposes a morphological framework for informal settlements, and Hesam Kamalipour reflects on researching informal urbanism. Other contributors, including Francesca Piazzoni, Lautaro Ojeda Ledesma, Kiran Keswani, and Banashree Banerjee, provide insights into various aspects and methodologies for studying street vending.

Part five includes a collection of chapters exploring "performance" in urban design. The underlying question here is about how we might be able to evaluate the quality of urban spaces, from which perspectives, and based on what criteria. This part opens with a chapter by Jon Lang and Nancy Marshall where they challenge traditional methods for exploring urban squares while highlighting the importance of integrating new technologies. This opening is followed by a number of other chapters embracing nuanced and technology-oriented analytical techniques, methods, and/or tools such as metaverse, augmented reality, geographic information systems (GIS), eye-tracking, thermal camera imaging, and syntax 1.0. This is not to say all chapters under this theme are analytical and technology-oriented; for instance, the chapter "Post-occupancy Evaluation" by Mike Biddulph opens a window into the relevance and importance of mapping and observation in evaluating the performance of urban spaces. Overall, part five highlights the necessity of embracing a multitude of research methods to address the diverse challenges in exploring what "good" urban design might entail and how it could be consistently achieved.

In conclusion, this insightful volume puts a spotlight on the evolving landscape of urban design research, presenting a collection of methodologies, perspectives, and explorations from notable scholars across the globe. Each chapter serves as a testament to the complexity and dynamism inherent in urban spaces, challenging readers to think beyond conventional boundaries and engage with the multifaceted dimensions of "agency," "affordance," "place," "informality," and "performance". As the authors explore the nuanced layers of urban design through a variety of case studies and research approaches, the book stands as a critical resource for academics, practitioners, and students alike—encouraging a dialogue that is both reflective and forward-thinking. By confronting the challenges of urban design with a rich diversity of analytical tools and theoretical frameworks, this volume not only contributes to the academic discourse but also serves as a catalyst for practical innovation in shaping the future of urban environments.

In the end, I must mention that although the book is organised into five thematic parts, most chapters can be considered related to other parts. This, perhaps, is more in line with the original presupposition of the book, rejecting the rigidity of hierarchical structuring and causality thinking. I would definitely recommend this book as a source of inspiration to my colleagues and students, especially those who are looking for a solid window into urban design research.

Acknowledgments

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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Kamalipour, H., Aelbrecht, P., & Peimani, N. (Eds.). (2023a). *The Routledge handbook of urban design research methods*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003168621

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