Arrival Neighbourhoods as Spaces of Integration?

The Relevance of Arrival Infrastructures and Brokering Practices for Newcomers' Access to Resources

Dissertation

zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Doctor rerum politicarum (Dr. rer. pol.)

der Fakultät Raumplanung der Technischen Universität Dortmund

vorgelegt von

Nils Hans

Dortmund, Januar 2024

Dissertation
zur Erlangung des akademischen
Grades Doctor rerum politicarum (Dr. rer. pol.)
der Fakultät Raumplanung der Technischen Universität Dortmund

Thema:
Arrival Neighbourhoods as Spaces of Integration? The Relevance of Arrival
Infrastructures and Brokering Practices for Newcomers' Access to Resources

Dissertationsort: Dortmund

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 16.05.2024

1. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Stefan Siedentop
(Technische Universität Dortmund)

2. Gutachterin: Prof. Dr. Antonie Schmiz
(Freie Universität Berlin)

Vorsitzende: Prof. Dr. Susanne Frank
(Technische Universität Dortmund)

Executive summary

Increased immigration over the past decade has triggered an intensive societal debate in Germany about the integration of new immigrants. Alongside the higher numbers, a change in quality can be observed: the increasingly heterogeneous composition of the immigrants is leading to an ongoing diversification of the population, in turn causing changes in urban spaces and new complexities in social coexistence. These new dynamics require a critical review of existing studies, as these tend to address migrant settlement as a unidirectional, long-term process in broadly homogeneous communities.

Although urban areas with high concentrations of immigrants have historically been a focus of urban research, in recent years a scientific debate has developed on so-called arrival neighbourhoods – understood as highly dynamic spaces characterised by immigration, fluctuating populations and a variety of arrival-specific infrastructures. The concept of arrival neighbourhoods and the particular focus on their infrastructures shift the focus to the initial period of arriving in a new place and the related challenges of gaining one's bearings and accessing the resources needed to gain a foothold in the new surroundings.

Building on scientific debates on the function of ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods, this thesis spotlights newcomers' arrival processes. Using the traditional arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt as an example, it analyses the everyday practices of newcomers and established migrants in accessing and sharing arrival-specific resources as well as the spaces in which encounters and resource exchanges take place. This is done with the help of three sub-studies. Sub-study I is a critical literature review providing an overview of the current state of research on socially and ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods. It discusses how looking at arrival neighbourhoods and their migration dynamics can contribute to the debate on integration in urban spaces shaped by migration. Sub-study II is an empirical study dealing with the relevance of arrival infrastructures and (semi-)public spaces in providing newcomers with access to resources. Focusing on the newcomers' perspective, it provides insights into how they draw on resources supporting them in their individual arrival process. Sub-study III takes a resource provider perspective, discussing the role of established migrants for newcomers' arrival process. The empirical research provides insights into the everyday practices of so-called "arrival brokers" in providing information and support.

The thesis shows that certain arrival infrastructures and brokering practices located in arrival neighbourhoods can play a key role in facilitating newcomers' access to resources. Alongside the many formal (municipal and civil society) advisory and support institutions, this study revealed that access to resources is often gained through social connections established in non-formal semi-public spaces, such as cafés, shops and service facilities or places of worship. Established migrants in these semi-public spaces often act as arrival brokers, significantly contributing to a newcomer's arrival process. These findings demonstrate that traditional arrival neighbourhoods offer a variety of resource access opportunities for newcomers. These result from the existence of a vast range of knowledge and experience shared by a very diverse local population, as well as from a wide range of arrival-related infrastructures which, beyond their primary functions, offer opportunities for exchange and access to social networks. By highlighting the relevance of non-formal infrastructures and brokering practices at the local level, this thesis contributes to a better understanding of the role of place for migrant arrival.

By linking the findings on newcomers' "arrival" with "integration" concepts, this thesis not only shows that traditional arrival neighbourhoods can provide a variety of integration opportunities, but also contributes to understanding how the two concepts are interrelated. It can be seen as a plea in favour of using the arrival lens when investigating the settlement patterns of newcomers. Focusing on the process of access rather than on the outcome, it is less normative than discussions on immigrant integration which suggest that in the longer term immigrants need to invest effort to achieve societal progress and to "integrate into society as a whole". Arrival, by contrast, reflects the increasing diversity of lifestyles and migration patterns, focusing on individual processes of gaining one's bearings (sometimes only temporarily) in a new place according to one's own preferences and needs.

Kurzzusammenfassung

Im Zuge der gestiegenen Zuwanderung im vergangenen Jahrzehnt hat sich in Deutschland eine intensive gesellschaftliche Debatte zur Integration von Neuzugewanderten entwickelt. Neben der quantitativen Zunahme lässt sich auch eine neue Qualität im Sinne einer zunehmenden Heterogenität in der Gruppe der Zugewanderten beobachten. Dies führt zu einer fortlaufenden Diversifizierung der Bevölkerung, die sich auf städtische Räume auswirkt und neue Komplexitäten des Zusammenlebens mit sich bringt.

Diese neuen Dynamiken erfordern eine kritische Überprüfung bestehender Studien, die die Integration von Zugewanderten als einen unidirektionalen, langfristigen Prozess in weitgehend homogenen Gesellschaften betrachten. Obwohl städtische Gebiete mit einer hohen Konzentration von Zugewanderten seit jeher im Fokus der Stadtforschung stehen, hat sich in den letzten Jahren eine wissenschaftliche Debatte zu so genannten Ankunftsquartieren entwickelt – verstanden als hochgradig dynamische Räume, die von internationaler Zuwanderung, einer fluktuierenden Bevölkerung und einer Vielzahl an ankunftsspezifischen Infrastrukturen geprägt sind. Das Konzept der Ankunftsquartiere und der besondere Fokus auf die dortigen Ankunftsinfrastrukturen rücken die erste Zeit des Ankommens an einem neuen Ort in den Mittelpunkt und betrachtet die damit verbundenen Herausforderungen, sich zu orientieren und Zugang zu den Ressourcen zu bekommen, die nötig sind, um in der neuen Umgebung Fuß zu fassen.

Aufbauend auf wissenschaftlichen Debatten zur Funktion ethnisch segregierter Stadtquartiere werden in dieser Arbeit die Ankommensprozesse von Neuzugewanderten untersucht. Am Beispiel des traditionellen Ankunftsquartiers Dortmund-Nordstadt werden die Alltagspraktiken Neuzugewanderter und bereits etablierter Zugewanderter beim Zugang zu und beim Austausch von ankunftsspezifischen Ressourcen analysiert. Ein besonderer Fokus liegt dabei auf den Räumen, in denen Begegnungen und Ressourcenaustausch stattfinden.

Dies geschieht mit Hilfe von drei Teilstudien: Teilstudie I ist eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstands zu sozial und ethnisch segregierten Stadtquartieren. In der Studie wird diskutiert wie die Betrachtung von Ankunftsquartieren und der dortigen Migrationsdynamiken zur Debatte um Integration in von Migration geprägten städtischen Gebieten beitragen kann. Teilstudie II ist eine empirische Studie, die sich mit der Bedeutung von Ankunftsinfrastrukturen

und (halb-)öffentlichen Räumen für den Zugang zu Ressourcen von Neuzugewanderten befasst. Die Studie konzentriert sich auf die Perspektive der Neuzugewanderten und gibt Einblicke in die Art und Weise, wie sie auf Ressourcen zurückgreifen, die sie in ihrem individuellen Ankommensprozess unterstützen. Teilstudie III nimmt die Perspektive der Ressourcengebenden ein und erörtert die Rolle von etablierten Zugewanderten für den Ankommensprozess von Neuzugewanderten. Die empirische Forschung gibt Einblicke in die alltäglichen Praktiken von sogenannten „arrival brokers" bei der Vermittlung von Informationen und Unterstützung.

Die Arbeit hat gezeigt, dass bestimmte Ankunftsinfrastrukturen und Vermittlungspraktiken in Ankunftsquartieren eine Schlüsselrolle beim Zugang von Neuzugewanderten zu ankunftsspezifischen Ressourcen spielen können. Neben den zahlreichen formellen (städtischen und zivilgesellschaftlichen) Beratungs- und Unterstützungseinrichtungen hat die Studie gezeigt, dass der Zugang zu Ressourcen häufig über soziale Kontakte erfolgt, die in nicht-formellen, halböffentlichen Räumen wie Cafés, Geschäften und Dienstleistungseinrichtungen oder Orten der Religionsausübung geknüpft werden. Etablierte Zugewanderte agieren in diesen halb-öffentlichen Räumen häufig als arrival brokers und tragen damit maßgeblich zum Ankommensprozess Neuzugewanderter bei. Diese Beobachtungen zeigen, dass traditionelle Ankunftsquartiere eine Vielzahl an Möglichkeiten des Ressourcenzugangs bieten. Diese ergeben sich aus dem breiten Erfahrungswissen einer sehr diversen lokalen Bevölkerung sowie aus einer Vielzahl von ankunftsbezogenen Infrastrukturen, die über ihre eigentliche Funktion hinaus Möglichkeiten des Austauschs und des Zugangs zu sozialen Netzwerken bieten. Durch die Hervorhebung der Bedeutung nicht-formeller Infrastrukturen und der Vermittlungspraktiken auf lokaler Ebene trägt diese Arbeit zu einem besseren Verständnis der Rolle des Ortes für das Ankommen von Zugewanderten bei.

Durch die Verknüpfung der Ergebnisse zum „Ankommen" mit Konzepten der „Integration" zeigt diese Arbeit nicht nur, dass traditionelle Ankunftsquartiere eine Reihe an Integrationsmöglichkeiten für die erste Phase nach der Ankunft bereithalten, sondern trägt darüber hinaus auch zu einem besseren Verständnis des Verhältnisses der Konzepte untereinander bei. Diese Arbeit kann gewissermaßen auch als ein Plädoyer dafür verstanden werden, Zuwanderungsprozesse unter dem Blickwinkel des „Ankommens" anstatt von „Integration" zu betrachten. Da Ankommen den Prozess des Zugangs zu Ressourcen und weniger dessen Ergebnis in den Mittelpunkt rückt, ist die Diskussion weniger normativ als Debatten um Integration,

die suggerieren, dass Zugewanderte Anstrengungen unternehmen müssen, um gesellschaftliche Fortschritte zu erzielen und „sich in eine Gesamtgesellschaft zu integrieren". Das Konzept „Ankommen" hingegen spiegelt die zunehmende Vielfalt von Lebensstilen und Migrationsmustern wider und konzentriert sich auf die individuellen Prozesse des (manchmal nur vorübergehenden) Zurechtfindens an einem neuen Ort entsprechend den eigenen Präferenzen und Bedürfnissen.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

1 Introduction

1.1 Problem definition and background

"These transitional spaces – arrival cities – are the places where the next great economic and cultural boom will be born, or where the next great explosion of violence will occur. The difference depends on our ability to notice, and our willingness to engage." (Saunders 2011: 3)

This quote by Doug Saunders on global migration movements into cities highlights the significance of certain urban areas for the arrival of the many migrants worldwide – and to society's responsibility to support these processes.

People have always been on the move. Indeed, the whole history of mankind is a history of migration. However, it has increased significantly in recent decades. While a large part of this migration takes place within national borders, the number of international migrants reached a new peak of 280.6 million people in 2020 (Oltmer 2022: 10). Its manifold drivers include safety, better prospects or self-determination. Most migrants do not leave their homes voluntarily, but flee from war, violence, oppression or political persecution, and increasingly from the effects of climate change. While a large share of this international migration tends to take place on a small scale, within the same world region, migratory movements across continental borders are comparatively rare. Around a third of these long-distance migrants move to Europe (Hanewinkel 2022: 12f.), often facing extreme dangers on their way (Radtke/Schneider 2022: 14).

This overview of international migration dynamics shows that a large number of people around the world are on the move in search of better living conditions, but that only a relatively small proportion are heading for Europe. However, increasing numbers of immigrants over the past decade are posing enormous challenges for European countries, especially the Northern and Western European ones already attracting internal EU migrants. Over the past two decades, the latter have made use of their EU right to freedom of movement, leaving their home country (at least temporarily) in search of work and better prospects. In addition, the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine has led to a large number (14.5 million by October 2022) of Ukrainians seeking refuge in the EU (Bussemer 2022: 16f.).

In Germany, as in most other European countries, immigration has mainly been concentrated in metropolitan and highly urbanised areas (Heider et al. 2020). Alongside the higher numbers, a change in quality can be observed in the form of a new migration diversity. Immigrants are increasingly heterogeneous, not only in terms of ethnicity and culture, but also in terms of age, socio-economic status, transnational connections, migration histories and residence status. Vertovec (2007: 1024) uses the term "super-diversity" to describe this phenomenon, highlighting an increasing diversification of the population which is leading to changes in urban spaces and new complexities of social coexistence (Vertovec 2015: 2). These new dynamics require a critical review of existing studies which tend to address migrant settlement as a unidirectional, long-term process in broadly homogeneous communities. Indeed, "super-diversity represents the emergence of a new demographic reality" (Grzymala-Kazlowska/Phillimore 2018: 182).

Urban areas with high concentrations of immigrants have historically been a focus of urban research. As early as 1925, the Chicago School described how newcomers initially moved to ethnically segregated urban areas as the first step in their social and spatial mobility (Park/Burgess 1925). Over the past century, various studies have examined the effects of living in ethnically segregated neighbourhoods, albeit with differing results (e.g., Wilson/Martin 1982; Portes/Manning 1986; Zhou 1992). Another strand of research has looked at socially and often ethnically segregated urban areas from the perspective of so-called context effects, focusing on the negative consequences of living in deprived neighbourhoods (Galster 2008; Sykes/Musterd 2011; Sampson 2013). The debate gained new momentum through the 2011 publication of Doug Saunders' widely discussed book "Arrival City" (cited at the beginning) which focuses on the integrative function of cities and in particular certain urban neighbourhoods. Using examples from different arrival contexts worldwide, Saunders describes the conditions and mechanisms of migrant arrival in cities. He focuses on the local conditions that provide newcomers with access to resources supporting them in gaining a foothold in the new surroundings. His findings have attracted considerable attention, not least due to the increased immigration witnessed in the past decade, initiating further debates in both research and practice. Closely linked to the debate on arrival neighbourhoods and super-diverse contexts is the concept of "arrival infrastructures" (Meeus et al. 2019), understood as local-level institutions, organisations and players. The concept shifts the focus to their relevance in

providing access to arrival-specific resources[1], taking formal and non-formal infrastructures as well as informal practices into account[2]. Such practices have recently been the focus of research examining the role of so-called "arrival brokers" (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020), established migrants sharing local information with newcomers.

Not only in the scientific community but also in politics, new relevance is being attributed to integration processes at the local level, i.e., in cities and especially in certain neighbourhoods. In Germany, this so-called "local turn" (Zapata-Barrero et al. 2017) is reflected in greater local government responsibilities and efforts to shape these processes (Höcke/Schnur 2016). The debate around arrival neighbourhoods is also gaining more and more attention in integration policy debates in Germany, such as in the recommendations of the Expert Commission on the Framework Conditions for Integration Capability (Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit) (2020: 191) and in the development of the National Action Plan on Integration (Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration) (Die Bundesregierung 2021: 39ff.). In both documents, explicit reference is made to the key role and the city-wide integration functions of arrival neighbourhoods. To a certain extent, this can be interpreted as a paradigm shift, with the guiding principle of the "social mix" being questioned and the integrative function of ethnically segregated neighbourhoods being recognised at a federal policy level. However, as in many other European countries, right-wing populist tendencies are increasingly being observed, leading to a growing reticence on the part of policymakers and housing market players to explicitly refer to the role of certain neighbourhoods for arrival processes.

This ambivalence in the debate on arrival neighbourhoods points to the importance of taking a closer look at these areas. Consideration of the practices and processes providing access to arrival-specific resources can help illustrate the arrival role of these neighbourhoods and their related city-wide function.

---

[1] 'Resources' are understood in this study as economic, social and cultural capital as defined by Bourdieu (1983). 'Arrival-specific resources' refer to forms of capital conducive to the arrival process such as local information on finding adequate housing, understanding and navigating bureaucratic systems or finding a job.

[2] Formal arrival infrastructures refer to facilities financed and organised by the state or civil society and specifically intended to support immigrants. Non-formal infrastructures, on the other hand, refer to facilities which, while not primarily designed to support immigrants, are visited by newcomers in their daily routines and which can act as information hubs. Informal practices are understood as practices of information and resource exchange that do not primarily take place within the context of institutionalised, formal infrastructures.

1.2 Objectives and research questions

Building on scientific debates on the function of ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods, this study spotlights local arrival contexts and analyses integration opportunities for newcomers in arrival neighbourhoods, understood as highly dynamic spaces characterised by immigration and fluctuating populations (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020). Using the concept of arrival infrastructures and the example of the traditional arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt, it analyses the everyday practices of newcomers and established migrants in accessing and sharing arrival-specific resources as well as the spaces in which encounters and resource exchanges take place.

The overall questions of this PhD thesis are: **To what extent do arrival neighbourhoods provide integration opportunities for newcomers? And what is the relevance of arrival infrastructures and brokering practices for newcomers' access to resources?** These questions will be answered with the help of the following sub-questions that guided the research of the three sub-studies (see Chapter 1.3):

- What is the significance of encounters for newcomers' access to resources? Which (semi-)public spaces emerge in the context of arrival neighbourhoods as resource transfer spaces?
- How do established migrants support the arrival process of newcomers?
- What is the specific role of place in such processes?

The study focuses on the arrival process of newcomers in order to draw conclusions on the integration potential of arrival neighbourhoods. Although the term "integration" is contested and widely criticised (for an overview, see Phillimore 2020; Spencer/Charsley 2021), it can be useful as an analytical concept focusing on the process of resource access and making progress in societal sectors such as employment, housing, education, and healthcare (Ager/Strang 2008). While "integration" relates to all societal groups, "arrival" focuses specifically on newcomers. The "turn to arrival" (Wilson 2022: 3459) therefore shifts the focus to the initial period of arriving in a new place and the related challenges of gaining one's orientation and accessing the resources needed to gain a foothold in the new surroundings (El-Kayed/Keskinkılıç 2023: 357). Accordingly, this study focuses on the processes related to accessing resources rather than their "outcomes". It is important to note that, although the

concept focuses on the initial period, arrival – as in most integration concepts – is not understood as a state to be achieved but as an open and dynamic process with no defined end. The "arrival lens" helps to better understand the relevance of place, i.e., of certain arrival neighbourhoods, and the infrastructures available there.

In recent years, a "de-migranticization" of migration research has been called for (Dahinden 2016), i.e., research understanding migration as part of a large social context within which the significance of the migration attribute varies (Dieterich/Nieswand 2020). This goes hand in hand with a call for a change of perspective acknowledging and accepting that society is to a large extent shaped by migration ("post-migration", Yildiz/Hill 2015; Foroutan 2019). I am aware that the direction of this study and the focus on the arrival processes of newcomers as well as the support structures offered by established migrants contribute to reproducing certain categories. The explicit focus on migration as a key feature of this research approach was nevertheless chosen with a view to emphasising that migrants are not merely recipients of assistance and support, but must be seen as agents of their own arrival process. The study thus contributes to emphasising the constitutive power of migration for a society's development.

1.3 Outline

The core of this PhD thesis consists of three peer-reviewed articles published in different scientific journals and included in the appendix (see Chapter A2). The articles have in common that they were all written to address the overall research questions and contribute to answering them in their respective specificity. The articles are very much interconnected, with their contents building on each other. The studies were conducted sequentially, meaning that the findings from the first article led to the conceptualisation of the research question for the second article, while the third article built on the empirical findings of the second one.[3] In the following, these articles are referred to as sub-studies.

---

[3] As a result, the use of certain terms also changed during the research process. For example, established migrants who pass on arrival-specific knowledge to newcomers are only explicitly and systematically referred to as "arrival brokers" in the third paper, although their practices were already thematised in the second paper.

Table 1: The three peer-reviewed articles that form the core of this thesis

Sub-study I	**Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H.; Polívka, J.; Beißwenger, S. (2019):** Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes [The role of arrival spaces for immigrant integration: A critical literature review]. In: Raumforschung und Raumordnung, 77 (5), pp. 511–524. https://doi.org/10.2478/rara-2019-0019.
	Sub-study I is a critical literature review providing an overview of the current state of research on socially and ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods. It discusses how looking at arrival neighbourhoods and the migration dynamics there can contribute to the debate on integration in urban spaces shaped by migration.
Sub-study II	**Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H. (2020):** Accessing Resources in Arrival Neighbourhoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Offer Resources to Newcomers. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 78–88. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2977.
	Sub-study II is an empirical study dealing with the relevance of arrival infrastructures and (semi-)public spaces in providing access to resources for newcomers. Focusing on the newcomers' perspective, it provides insights into how they draw on resources supporting them in their individual arrival process.
Sub-study III	**Hans, N. (2023):** Arrival brokers as a key component of the arrival infrastructure: how established migrants support newcomers. In: Geographica Helvetica, 78 (3), pp. 381–391. https://doi.org/10.5194/gh-78-381-2023.
	Sub-study III takes a resource provider perspective, discussing the role of established migrants for the arrival process of newcomers. The empirical research provides insights into the everyday practices of arrival brokers in providing information and support.

Although the sub-studies build on each other in terms of content, they were published as independent articles. The function of this study is thus to create a framework text synthesising the findings with reference to the main research questions of this thesis and to holistically discuss them within a larger (theoretical) framework.

This framework text is structured as follows. Chapter 2 contains an overview of the key theoretical debates on which this study is based. Chapter 3 describes the overall methodology and introduces the case study. Chapter 4 presents the main (empirical) findings of the sub-studies with regard to the overall research questions. Chapter 5 synthesises the main findings of the sub-studies and discusses them with regard to current scientific debates. The concluding

Chapter 6 summarises the findings and answers the main research questions, while also thematising the contributions and limitations of the findings as well as needs for further research.

In recent years, the author of this thesis co-authored several articles dealing with the overall topic of the thesis (see Table 2). Though not specifically part of this thesis, these articles are referred to throughout the text.

Table 2: Co-authored articles dealing with the overall topic of this thesis

Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N. (2019): Zusammenhalt im Kontext von Diversität und Fluktuation? Zur besonderen Rolle von Ankunftsquartieren [Cohesion in the context of diversity and fluctuation? The role of arrival neighbourhoods]. ILS-Working Paper 2019.
Hanhörster, H.; Gerten, C.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2020): Ankunftsquartiere – Identifizierung und Funktionsbestimmung [Arrival neighbourhoods – Identification and determination of their function]. ILS-Trends 2/20.
Hans, N.; Wallraff, M.; Zimmer-Hegmann, R. (2020): Ankunftsquartiere als Kontext der In-tegration [Arrival neighbourhoods as context of integration]. In: Jepkens, K.; Scholten, L.; van Rießen, A. (Eds.): Integration im Sozialraum. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 163–176. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-28202-8_11.
Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2022): Ankunftsquartiere als Integrationsmotor – Handlungsempfehlungen für kommunale Akteure [Arrival neighbourhoods as drivers of integration – Recommended actions for municipal players]. ILS-IMPULSE 1/22.
Gerten, C.; Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2023): How to identify and typify arrival spaces in European cities—A methodological approach. In: Population, Space and Place, 29 (2), pp. 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2604.
Hanhörster, H.; Haase, A.; Hans, N.; Rink, D.; Schmiz, A.; Schrader, S. (2023): The (co-)production of arrival neighbourhoods. Processes governing housing markets in three german cities. In: Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 38 (3), pp. 1409–1429. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-022-09995-5.

2 Arrival neighbourhoods and infrastructures as lenses for analysing the arrival processes of newcomers

In the following sections, the main theoretical debates upon which this thesis is based and which have already been dealt with in the three sub-studies, are briefly presented and put in relation to each other. At some points, the text refers to more recent literature, some of which had not yet been published at the time the sub-studies were written. Conversely, the sub-studies, published as articles from 2019 onwards, have also contributed to some of the debates. These articles are not directly cited here in order not to anticipate the results, though they are

referred to at some points when the theoretical debates described here are discussed in greater detail.

2.1 Arrival neighbourhoods as a lens for new immigration dynamics

The role of the neighbourhood for immigrant integration

Research on the settlement patterns of newcomers in urban areas with a high concentration of immigrants has a long history in geographic and sociological urban research. One starting point are the studies of the Chicago School of Sociology dating back to the early twentieth century and analysing typical migration and integration patterns, according to which immigrants first move to ethnically segregated neighbourhoods close to the city centre ("zones of transition"). These neighbourhoods are described as ethnically homogeneous communities and as the starting point for social (and spatial) mobility (e.g., Park/Burgess 1925; Park et al. 1968).

Over the past century, building on the studies of the Chicago School, these processes have been analysed from different perspectives. For instance, a large body of studies has explored the effects of the socio-spatial concentration of immigrants on individual social mobility, as seen in research focusing on "ethnic enclaves" (Wilson/Martin 1982), "immigrant enclaves" (Portes/Manning 1986), "urban enclaves" (Zhou 1992) or "ethnic colonies" (Heckmann 1981; Häußermann/Siebel 2004). However, studies on the effects of living in ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods are inconsistent and reach different conclusions depending on the spatial scale, the population group studied, the methodology used and the period within which the study was conducted. While some studies argue that a high concentration of immigrants within certain urban areas has negative effects on social mobility (Esser 2001; Putnam 2007), others have found evidence of positive effects of living in ethnically segregated neighbourhoods, including spatial proximity to family and co-ethnic (social) support networks, migrant economies and other migration-related infrastructures, as well as positive influences on solidarity and self-confidence (Zhou 2009; Hedman 2013; Fajth/Bilgili 2020). Another strand of research analysing socially and ethnically segregated neighbourhoods looks at context effects. Most of these studies emphasise the negative consequences of living in deprived neighbourhoods for longer periods of time. Although research on context effects does not directly analyse the effect of socio-spatial concentrations of migrants, the neighbourhoods studied

are often ethnically segregated (Galster 2008; Sykes/Musterd 2011; Sampson 2013; for an overview, see Sub-study I, Hans et al. 2019: 2f.).

Many of the studies on ethnically segregated urban areas have conceptualised the process of migrant settlement under the term integration. Broadly speaking, integration can be described as the process of immigrants accessing resources leading to social, political and cultural incorporation (Ager/Strang 2004; Penninx/Garcés-Mascareñas 2016). One widely used analytical concept is the integration framework developed by Ager and Strang (2008). It defines integration as progress in various societal sectors, including employment, housing, education and healthcare, which serve as "markers and means" (ibid.: 169) of individual integration. The "foundation" (ibid.: 173) of the integration process is formed by rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship, as they are the basis for people being able to stay and settle in the new place and because they determine to what extent people have access to resources and opportunities. Language and cultural knowledge as well as safety and stability are seen as important "facilitators" (ibid.: 181) for finding one's way around and being able to move freely. "Social connections" (ibid.: 177) form the core of the integration process as they are crucial for social upward mobility: social bridges, bonds and links are seen as essential in order to gain access to resources helping make progress in the various societal sectors (see Figure 1).
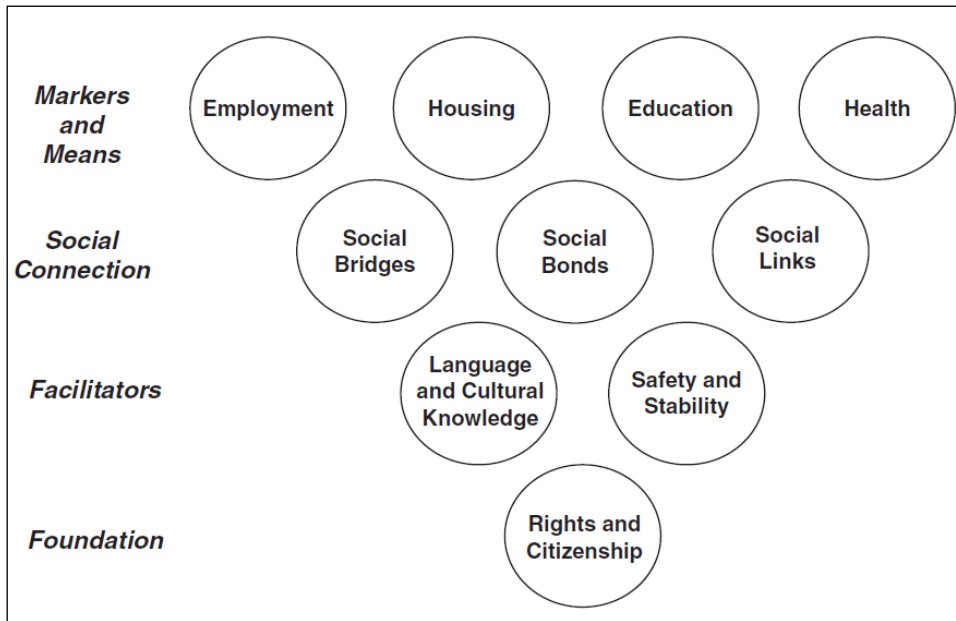
Figure 1: A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration (Ager/Strang 2008: 170)

Although most concepts, including that of Ager and Strang (2008), understand integration as a multidimensional, multidirectional process of shared responsibility (Jenkins 1967; Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019), they have been widely criticised in recent years, not least due to their normative connotation and their indication that immigrants must invest effort in order to achieve societal progress and 'integrate in an existing unit' (Spencer/Charsley 2021: 6). Another aspect criticised is that research on integration primarily focuses on individuals and integration "outcomes" rather than on the process itself (Spencer/Charsley 2021: 5; El-Kayed/Keskinkılıç 2023: 357) or the role of place in shaping integration (Robinson 2010; Phillimore 2020). Although widely criticised, integration concepts are still commonly used in migration research. However, new forms of migration and settlement patterns and related societal transformations call for a critical rethinking of established integration concepts.

'Super-diversity' as a new demographic reality

Over the past two decades, refugee and migration movements have increased worldwide as a result of wars and crises (see Chapter 1.1), with the influx of immigrants predominantly centred around metropolitan and highly urbanised regions (Heider et al. 2020). Alongside the increased numbers, a new diversity of migration can be observed, for example in terms of age, ethnicity and religion, socio-economic position, transnational networking practices,

migration histories and residence status. Steven Vertovec (2007: 1024) calls this phenomenon "super-diversity", meaning that the diversification of the urban population has reached a new quality and is constantly increasing due to further immigration.

Various studies point to changes in urban life and growing coexistence challenges as a result of increasing migration-driven social and ethnic diversity. According to Vertovec (2015: 2), the ongoing influx of migrants into already highly diversified spaces results in "new complexities [that] are 'layered' on top of and positioned with regard to pre-existing patterns of diversity". Putnam (2007) argues that, in neighbourhoods with increasing ethnic diversity, the level of trust and the intensity of social contacts decreases. Other studies point to increasing spatial, social and symbolic demarcations between groups along ethnic and cultural lines (Albeda et al. 2018). In recent years, however, several studies have described coexistence in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods as unproblematic, instead emphasising the positive aspects, for example by using the term "commonplace diversity" (Wessendorf 2014; Wessendorf/Farrer 2021; for an overview, see Hanhörster/Hans 2019: 7ff.).

Super-diversity can thus be seen as a "new demographic reality" (Grzymala-Kazlowska/Phillimore 2018: 182), implying that these new dynamics require a critical review of existing studies focusing on coexistence in urban areas and on newcomers' integration processes.

Arrival neighbourhoods as an analytical lens

In recent years, a number of studies have analysed arrival conditions and processes in cities, especially in neighbourhoods characterised by current international immigration – so-called arrival neighbourhoods. Doug Saunders (2011) can be seen as a pioneer in this respect. In his book "Arrival City", he focuses on the integrative function of these neighbourhoods, describing arrival processes of newcomers in different contexts around the world. Despite very different local conditions, Saunders observes some general patterns and functions of these spaces, describing them as dynamic urban spaces whose local structures support newcomers in the initial period of arrival. These include social networks providing newcomers with access to resources, e.g., for finding accommodation and their first jobs, and a variety of public spaces providing opportunities for encounters and the exchange of information. In addition, these spaces usually consist of a variety of arrival-related infrastructures, such as shops facilitating

money and information transfers as well as social infrastructures (for an overview, see Sub-study I, Hans et al. 2019: 4f.).

These descriptions have triggered further debates in the scientific community. In recent years, various studies have looked at the role of these urban areas and the associated arrival processes. The concept of arrival neighbourhoods (synonymously referred to as arrival spaces or arrival areas) is discussed in research as an analytical concept and as a lens for analysing arrival processes, focusing on the opportunities and resources available in the neighbourhood (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020, see also Sub-study I, Hans et al. 2019). In recent years, further studies have analysed the processes and mechanisms of newcomers' arrival in super-diverse urban neighbourhoods (e.g., Biehl 2014; Kurtenbach 2015; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019). Summarising these studies, arrival neighbourhoods can be described as highly dynamic spaces characterised by international immigration, a fluctuating population and a concentration of arrival-specific infrastructures. In most cases, they are also highly socially and ethnically diversified (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020; Gerten et al. 2023; for an overview, see Sub-study I, Hans et al. 2019: 5). All studies highlight the manifold arrival-related resources made accessible through the various social networks and the variety of arrival-related infrastructures. The literature suggests that, although arrival neighbourhoods can have a positive effect on arrival processes, it is not the neighbourhood itself but the various "arrival infrastructures" (Meeus et al. 2019; Meeus et al. 2020) located within it that are decisive for the provision of resources (see Chapter 2.2).

So, what is new about the concept and what are the differences compared to previous research on ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods? The concept of arrival neighbourhoods can be understood as a response to the new migration diversity, as it takes into account the different "layers of migration" (Vertovec 2015: 2) and their interplay in people's daily routines. The concept also emphasises the individuality and diversity of newcomers' lifestyles and migration patterns, taking account of their transnational connections and the effects on arrival processes. The concept also considers the "multi-directionalities" and "temporalities" of migration and arrival processes, not *per se* understanding arrival as permanent settlement in one place (Bovo 2020: 23f.). Arrival is instead understood as "temporary territorialisation" (Meeus et al. 2019: 15), meaning that newcomers make use of some structures for a while, depending on their own needs, and may continue their arrival process elsewhere. What

characterises research on arrival neighbourhoods is that it does not address integration as a state to be achieved, but rather focuses on the process of arrival in the sense of newcomers' everyday access to arrival-specific knowledge, in line with their individual needs and goals.

The literature indicates that not all arrival neighbourhoods have a longstanding experience of immigration and thus a variety of social networks and arrival infrastructures. While arrival neighbourhoods are generally characterised as areas shaped by current international migration and high population fluctuation, other types of neighbourhoods can be identified (Bovo 2020; Hanhörster et al. 2020; Gerten et al. 2023). In this thesis, however, the focus is on traditional arrival neighbourhoods.

2.2 Arrival infrastructures and arrival brokers in their role of facilitating arrival

Arrival infrastructures as a lens for analysing newcomers' resource access

Closely linked to the debate on arrival neighbourhoods is the concept of "arrival infrastructures" (Meeus et al. 2019; Meeus et al. 2020). It does not analyse arrival from the perspective of the residential location of newcomers, but instead focuses on access to resources made possible by certain infrastructures. For several years now, research in social sciences and geography has been referring to an "infrastructural turn" (Steele/Legacy 2017), looking at the role of infrastructures for social processes (Müller/Tuitjer 2023: 559). The concept of arrival infrastructures considers the interplay between the social, spatial and material dimensions of infrastructures and newcomers' arrival processes, understanding arrival infrastructures as local-level institutions, organisations and players and shifting the focus to their relevance in providing access to arrival-specific resources. In doing so, both institutional infrastructures and informal practices are taken into account (Meeus et al. 2019; Wessendorf 2022).

The concept is characterised by a broad understanding of infrastructures. Arrival infrastructures include not only formal support structures provided by the state, e.g., language schools or public advisory organisations, but also infrastructures established by civil society organisations, in this study also referred to as formal infrastructures. Furthermore, arrival infrastructures are also "local places that facilitate sociability and informal knowledge exchange such as bars, restaurants, hairdressers and ethnic shops" (Schrooten/Meeus 2020: 415). Often located in arrival neighbourhoods, these non-formal arrival infrastructures support newcomers not only in maintaining their transnational lifestyles (e.g., migrant eating places, cafés or

13

grocery shops, service facilities such as hairdressers or money transfer agencies, or places of worship, e.g., mosques), but also by acting as information hubs, contributing to opportunities for exchange (Hall et al. 2017; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019; Wessendorf/Phillimore 2019). Describing informal practices of resource exchange as key components of the arrival infrastructure and these physical sites as places of encounters links in with Ash Amin's (2002: 960) thoughts on semi-public spaces[4] as "local micropublics of everyday interaction" where people from different social and cultural backgrounds come together based on a common interest or for a common activity (for an overview on the debate of the role of encounters for resource transfer, see Sub-study II, Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 80ff.).

Although such arrival infrastructures are primarily concentrated in traditional arrival neighbourhoods, the concept looks at arrival processes separate from the place of residence. By focusing on access to resources made possible through infrastructures, the concept refers to the permeability of neighbourhood boundaries in reaching these infrastructures.

The role of arrival brokers in supporting newcomers

In recent years, a number of studies have emerged on the role of long-established migrants in providing access to settlement information. These individuals or groups are understood in recent literature as part of the arrival infrastructure and referred to in different respects, e.g., "migrant infrastructures" (Hall et al. 2017), "soft infrastructures" (Boost/Oosterlynck 2019), or "infrastructures of super-diversity" (Blommaert 2014) (for an overview, see Wessendorf 2022). Emphasising their mediating role and with reference to the term "migrant brokers" (Lindquist 2015), these individuals and groups can be referred to as "arrival brokers" (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020). They are to be understood as immigrants or long-established descendants of immigrants with settlement experience who support newcomers from various backgrounds with settlement information based on their arrival-specific knowledge (Wessendorf 2017; Wessendorf/Phillimore 2019). Often acting within physically accessible locations such as shops, libraries or (migrant) advisory organisations (Wessendorf 2022), they support newcomers informally, helping them to bridge the "structural holes" (Burt 1995) in the formal infrastructure system. While most studies have analysed the role of arrival brokers with a focus

---

[4] The term semi-public spaces refers to spaces that are usually open to the public but not publicly owned, such as cafés, libraries, stores or sports courts. However, depending on their characteristics, they are not visited by all people or all social groups (or are not accessible to all) (Deinet 2009).

on support structures, some point out that arrival brokering practices are not always altruistic, but can also be exploitative, i.e., taking advantage of the needs of newcomers (Kohlbacher 2020: 133; Wessendorf 2022: 9; for an overview, see Sub-study III, Hans 2023: 383).

The following analysis builds on research on ethnically segregated urban areas, looking at arrival conditions and practices of newcomers in a super-diverse arrival neighbourhood. The focus is on the role of arrival infrastructures and arrival brokers and their relevance for helping newcomers gain access to arrival-specific resources. The findings are then discussed in relation to the concept of integration (according to Ager/Strang 2008), with the importance of place for the described processes emphasised with the help of Robinson's (2010) concept of a neighbourhood's different spatial dimensions.

3 Research design

Based on the theoretical assumptions described above (see Chapter 2), the methodology used is presented in this chapter. The following section presents some background information on the research process, while the subsequent section explains the selection of the case study Dortmund-Nordstadt and provides a description of the local context in which the empirical analysis was conducted. The methodological elements are subsequently illustrated by describing the data collection and analysis process. The chapter concludes with a critical reflection on the methodology and its reliability.

3.1 Research process

This thesis essentially consists of three sub-studies whose contents build on each other. Published as autonomous peer-reviewed articles in scientific journals, they have in common that they were all written to address the following research questions:

- To what extent do arrival neighbourhoods provide integration opportunities for newcomers?
- What is the relevance of arrival infrastructures and brokering practices for newcomers' access to resources?

To be better able to respond to the central research questions, the following sub-questions were developed to guide the research in the sub-studies:

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

b) How do established migrants support the arrival process of newcomers?

c) What is the specific role of place in such processes?

All studies were conducted while I was employed at the ILS – Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development. Sub-study I (Hans/Hanhörster/Polívka/Beißwenger 2019) was developed and written as part of an ILS-funded research project entitled "Arrival Neighbourhoods: Functions of Arrival Spaces for Socio-Spatial Integration" (2018-2020). The study is a theoretical analysis examining the role of arrival spaces in integrating immigrants through a critical literature review. My contributions included the co-conception of the article together with the other authors. Working in a lead role, I wrote the Abstract, Chapters 1 and 2, Chapter 3.1 and Chapter 4 (approx. 44.000 characters without spaces). Chapters 3.2 and 3.3 were written under the lead of the co-authors.

The results of this study led to the conception of Sub-study II (Hans/Hanhörster 2020) dealing with the resource access of newcomers in arrival neighbourhoods and the role of foci-aided encounters, using Dortmund-Nordstadt as our example. This study aimed in particular to answer sub-question a). The empirical data was collected as part of the project "KoopLab: Integration through the Cooperative Development of Open Spaces – Real-World Labs Strengthening the Socio-Ecological Development of 'Arrival Neighbourhoods'" (2018-2021) funded by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. My contributions to the study include the co-conception of the article together with the co-author, a significant part of the empirical fieldwork (7 of the 18 interviews) and the co-analysis of the empirical material together with the co-author. Working in a lead role, I wrote the Abstract, Chapters 1 and 3 - 5 (approx. 31.500 characters without spaces). Chapter 2 was written in cooperation with the co-author.

The empirical results of this study in turn contributed to the design of Sub-study III (Hans 2023) dealing with arrival brokers and their role in supporting newcomers as part of the arrival infrastructure, also using the example of Dortmund-Nordstadt. This study aimed in particular to answer sub-questions b) and c). This empirical study was conducted as part of a project funded by the Mercator Foundation (Stiftung Mercator) entitled "Arrival Neighbourhoods: Characteristics and Function for the Integration of Immigrants and the Social Cohesion of

Urban Societies" (2020-2021). I conducted almost all the empirical fieldwork for this study (16 of the 17 interviews), as well as the analysis of the empirical data.

Before the methodology is described in detail, the focus in the next section is on Dortmund-Nordstadt as the research context.

3.2 The arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt as research context

3.2.1 Migration history, socio-economic characteristics and infrastructures

The selected case study area is the inner-city working-class district Dortmund-Nordstadt. Situated in the western part of Germany and within the post-industrial Ruhr area, Dortmund experienced a decline in population due to deindustrialization starting in the 1960s. However, around 2010, the population began to grow again, driven by immigration. Today, the city is home to approximately 600,000 inhabitants. The case study neighbourhood Nordstadt was built in the 19th century to the north of the main railway station and has a longstanding history of migration. Originally populated by coalminers and steelworkers, predominantly from rural areas, it underwent demographic shifts from the 1960s onwards when immigrants from different backgrounds moved into the area. Nordstadt became home to large numbers of so-called "guest workers" (*Gastarbeiter*) from Southern Europe and Turkey and later to EU immigrants from Eastern Europe (especially from Bulgaria and Romania since their EU accession in 2007). In recent years, Nordstadt also became a destination for refugees, particularly from Syria (Stadt Dortmund 2018: 25). Notably, between 2013 and 2017, an average of 46.3% of those arriving in Dortmund from abroad found their first home in Nordstadt.[5] This is not least due to the fact that rents in Nordstadt are comparatively affordable and housing there is often more accessible to newcomers than in other parts of the city (Hanhörster et al. 2023). Today, some 52% of the population have foreign nationality, while a further 21% are people with a migration background but with a German passport (Stadt Dortmund 2019a: 28). Furthermore, Nordstadt is characterised by a spatial concentration of poverty. The share of the population dependent on social security benefits (39.4 %; Stadt Dortmund 2019b: 119) is more than twice as high as the city average. Additionally, Nordstadt's population is characterised by a strong

---

[5] Own calculation, data source: City of Dortmund, Statistical office

fluctuation, with approximately 305 moves per 1,000 inhabitants per year, nearly twice the citywide average (Hanhörster et al. 2023: 1416).

Nordstadt currently has a population of around 60,000, making it equivalent in size to a medium-sized German city. Nevertheless, Nordstadt is referred to in this thesis as an arrival "neighbourhood". This is due to the fact that this is the established term for the district and also that its residents, at least according to the impressions gained from the interviews, see themselves as residents of Nordstadt and not of a sub-district or a smaller-scale neighbourhood.

The demographic diversity and migration history are reflected in the spatial concentration of various formal and non-formal arrival-related infrastructures (Gerten et al. 2023: 10). Over time, the district's retail landscape, including small (migrant) shops offering products and services in different languages, has been shaped by Turkish immigrants and their descendants. Nowadays, however, there is an increasing mix, with new immigrant groups opening shops and thus expanding retail diversity (Hanhörster et al. 2020: 9). Besides these non-formal arrival infrastructures, there are several more formal civil society as well as state-funded initiatives and support infrastructures which have emerged in response to the many immigrants and the poverty in the neighbourhood. A recent study identified over 220 social projects, many specifically focused on supporting arrival and integration (Kurtenbach/Rosenberger 2021: 45).

3.2.2 Selection of Nordstadt as my case study area

Due to its population composition, the high influx of international immigrants both in the past and currently, the strong fluctuation of the population and the large number of arrival-related infrastructures, Nordstadt can be characterised as a traditional arrival neighbourhood. It is thus very interesting for analysing newcomers' arrival conditions with regard to arrival infrastructures and the arrival brokering processes of established migrants. Because of these characteristics, Nordstadt was chosen as a case study area not only for the two projects I was involved in, but also for this thesis. Indeed, the empirical research and some of the articles in this thesis were conducted and written within the context of these projects (see Chapter 3.1).

Dortmund – and Nordstadt in particular – are widely researched case study areas. One of the reasons is that Dortmund is one of the most ethnically segregated cities in Germany (Helbig/Jähnen 2018). In the literature, Nordstadt is often explicitly referred to as an arrival

neighbourhood and studied from this perspective (see e.g., Kurtenbach 2015; Gottschalk/Te-peli 2019). In recent years (i.e., during the research conducted for this thesis), further studies have explicitly considered Nordstadt as an arrival neighbourhood (e.g., Gerten et al. 2023; Hanhörster et al. 2023; Kurtenbach et al. 2023).

Another reason for the selection of Nordstadt is that it is frequently discussed in the German media, albeit usually in a very one-sided way as a hotspot of social problems and a "ghetto" or "parallel society". Its selection for this thesis was thus also guided by my intention to shed a different light on the district, emphasising processes that, at least in the media coverage, are hardly mentioned.

3.3 The empirical phases

This thesis covers two consecutive empirical phases forming the core of Sub-studies II and III. The methodology for the two phases is explained in detail in the following sections.

3.3.1 Empirical phase I: the newcomer interviews (Sub-study II)

The first empirical phase focused on newcomers living in Nordstadt or using the infrastructure there. Newcomers are the main research subjects of this sub-study and of the entire thesis because they allow us to capture the first phase of orientation and finding one's feet in a new place. In this sub-study (and throughout the thesis), newcomers are defined as people who have arrived in Germany in the last five years (at the time the interviews were conducted).

Recruitment of interviewees

As stated above, most of the interviews were conducted as part of the project "KoopLab: Integration through the Cooperative Development of Open Spaces - Real-World Labs Strengthening the Socio-Ecological Development of 'Arrival Neighbourhoods'". The interviewees were recruited with the help of a local non-profit organisation in Nordstadt *inter alia* offering advisory services for immigrants and involved as a partner in the project. In an intense process of introducing the project and its aims in a variety of local institutions such as childcare facilities, advisory institutions, migrant organisations and language schools, participants and members of these institutions were asked whether they would be interested in being interviewed. A small financial incentive, paid for out of the project budget, was offered for participating in an interview. This enabled 13 people to be recruited.

In addition to these 13 interviews, the study draws on five interviews conducted in 2017 within the project "Social Integration within Urban Neighbourhoods: Promoting Networking and Encounters in Disadvantaged Areas" (2016-2018), funded by the Research Institute for Social Development (FGW). This project was conducted *inter alia* by the co-author of this sub-study. The interviewees were also recruited with the help of the above-mentioned local organisation, again a project partner (see Sub-study II, Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 82f.).

The newcomers

The sample of the first empirical phase thus consisted of 18 recent immigrants living in Nordstadt or using its infrastructures. The sample broadly represents the sociodemographic composition of recent immigrants in Nordstadt. However, as no EU immigrants from Romania and Bulgaria could be recruited, this large immigrant group was not represented in the sample. The sample was made up mainly of young adults aged between 18 and 34 (see Table 3). All interviewees enjoyed secure residence status in Germany (e.g., due to education visas, refugee status or family-related visas) and were thus free to choose their place of residence (see Sub-study II, Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 82f.).

Table 3: Characteristics of the interviewees in empirical phase I (adjusted based on Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 82)

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

The interviews

The interviews were conducted as episodic interviews (Flick 2019: 238f.). This interview form was chosen in order to generate narratives about specific situations or episodes in the (everyday) lives of the interviewees. In contrast to narrative interviews, episodic interviews allow interviewers to structure narratives through guided questions and thus make them more comparable. In these newcomer interviews, questions revolved around specific arrival-related situations of access to certain societal resources.

All interviews were conducted as face-to-face interviews, five interviews between January and July 2017, and the other 13 between February and November 2019. Each lasted approximately one hour. The interviews took place in neutral locations (e.g., on the premises of the aforementioned local organisation) or in other locations chosen by the interviewees themselves (e.g., a café) in order to create an atmosphere of trust allowing the interviewees to speak openly. As one focus of the interviews was on specific places of resource exchange, so-called go-alongs (Kusenbach 2018) were included in some interviews, whereby places selected by the interviewee were visited together. This method was used to stimulate their reflections on these places. All interviews were conducted in German, English, Spanish or Arabic. While the interviews in German, English and Spanish were conducted by myself and other project team members, the interviews in Arabic were conducted and translated by an Arabic-speaking person previously trained in conducting interviews.

In both projects, interviewees were asked about their everyday practices and daily routines in accessing resources in their arrival process. Even though there are a variety of formal advisory organisations in Nordstadt providing support and access to information for newcomers, such formal access was not the focus of this study. Instead, we were interested in whether and how newcomers accessed resources in more informal ways. For this purpose, the interviews contained qualitative, mostly open questions on access to different forms of support and information in different societal fields. To facilitate reflections on routine and spontaneous encounters, the questions targeted interviewees' daily lives and experiences in gaining a foothold in different societal fields. The aim was not only to extract information about potentially available support but also to identify specifically received resources. Therefore, we explicitly asked about support received in different fields such as education, housing and leisure activities (Jerolmack/Khan 2014). For instance, interviewees were asked about how they found

housing or a school for their children. As the study concentrated on different forms of encounters and their potential for resource access, the interviews focused on capturing the situations and forms of contacts through which interactions and concrete access to resources arose. Special attention was paid to the (semi-)public spaces in which contact with strangers or loose acquaintances took place. All participants were informed about the protection of their data during the entire research process and afterwards, with each signing a declaration of consent (see Sub-study II, Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 82f.).

The analysis

All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. Forming the basis of the analysis, the transcripts were analysed using so-called theoretical coding, a method based on three combinable coding strategies: open, axial and selective coding. In this method, specific categories or codes are linked to the empirical data (Flick 2019: 387f.). In a first step, the transcripts were analysed one by one and structured using open coding, with individual text segments being assigned codes (e.g., *contacts in the neighbourhood*) in order to be able to summarise certain aspects. The codes were derived inductively from the text, i.e., from the interviewees' statements, but also deductively, i.e., from the interview guidelines previously developed based on the literature (ibid.: 391). In a next step, the codes developed through open coding were abstracted and categorised with reference to the central research questions. This was done with the help of axial coding and led to categories such as *places of encounter*. This allowed us to identify similarities and differences between the interviews regarding the most important categories for the central research question (ibid.: 393). In a third step, selective coding, the developed categories were further abstracted and key categories defined. These categories represent a central phenomenon identified from the entire empirical dataset with reference to the central research questions (ibid.: 396f.). In this case, these were categories such as *the role of semi-public spaces in accessing resources* or *the relevance of the situational for resource exchange*. The above analysis was conducted by the authors of the sub-study using the software MAXQDA (see Sub-study II, Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 82f.).

3.3.2 Empirical phase II: the broker interviews (Sub-study III)

In the first empirical phase, the interviews with the newcomers showed that established migrants – described in the literature as "arrival brokers" (Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020) (see

Chapter 2.2) – can play an important role by sharing their arrival-specific knowledge. The interviews were conducted with people who I characterised as arrival brokers, i.e., people with a certain experience of settling in and living in Germany. The sample was thus made up of adults living in Germany for at least three years (at the time the interview was conducted). The condition for being considered an interviewee was that the person concerned had passed on his/her settlement knowledge in some form to other immigrants.

Recruitment of interviewees

The interviews were conducted as part of the project "Arrival Neighbourhoods: Characteristics and Function for the Integration of Immigrants and the Social Cohesion of Urban Societies". The interviewees were mainly recruited via three local non-governmental advisory organisations located in Nordstadt. I contacted people with leading positions in these organisations to ask them whether, through their work, they knew people with an immigrant background who supported newcomers outside of an institutional voluntary or paid job. 16 interviewees were thereby recruited. One other interviewee had already been interviewed as a newcomer in the first empirical phase, in Sub-study II. The interview conducted two years earlier revealed that, although he had been identified as a newcomer, he was already passing on his arrival-specific knowledge to other newcomers. For this reason, I asked him for a further interview, this time with a different focus (see Sub-study III, Hans 2023: 384f.).

The brokers

The sample consisted of 17 interviews with immigrants or their descendants living or working in Nordstadt. Made up of interviewees from the largest ethnic groups, the sample broadly represents the socio-demographic composition of the people living in the area. Interviewees were aged between 20 and 45 years. While some had arrived as refugees in recent years, others had moved to Germany decades ago or were even born there (see Table 4). I decided to include people born in Germany, insofar as they had experienced the arrival process of their immigrant parents and insofar as this had, in their opinion, affected them. It is important to note that, as the interviewees were mainly recruited via advisory organisations located in Nordstadt, most currently worked or had in the past worked (some on a voluntary basis) for organisations operating in the social field (see Sub-study III, Hans 2023: 384f.).

Table 4: Characteristics of the interviewees in empirical phase II (adjusted based on Hans 2023: 385)

Pseudo-nym	Gen-der	Age	Country of birth	Residence in Germany (approx.)
Hisham	m	40	Syria	10 years
Anas	m	24	Syria	6 years
Gizem	w	39	Germany (parents Turkey)	39 years
Yasemin	w	44	Turkey	44 years
Dilara	w	45	Germany (parents Turkey)	45 years
Yossef	m	33	Syria	5 years
Borak	m	27	Syria	6 years
Milad	m	20	Afghanistan	3 years
Ashraf	m	27	Syria	6 years
Kadin	m	45	Syria	6 years
Leyla	w	25	Syria	6 years
Zahid	m	30	Syria	4 years
Oumeima	w	41	Morocco	4 years
Soraya	w	43	Morocco	4 years
Farida	w	31	Spain	3 years
Elina	w	33	Romania	9 years
Nihan	w	37	Germany (grandparents Turkey)	37 years

The interviews

As in the first empirical phase, the interviews were conducted as episodic interviews (see Chapter 3.3.1). In the case of the broker interviews, this interview form allowed narratives to be generated about specific resource transfer situations.

The interviews were conducted between June and December 2021 and generally lasted about an hour. Most took place on the premises of the organisations where the interviewees were recruited. The interviews were conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, but at a time when most organisations and facilities had already reopened. Nevertheless, the interviewees were free to choose whether they wanted to have the interview conducted face-to-face or as an online meeting. Four interviews were thus conducted as online meetings. 16 of the 17 interviews were conducted by myself. Although the interviewees could choose between German and English as the interview language, they all favoured German. This was not a problem, as they had all been in Germany for a while and could communicate quite fluently in German.

Although most of the interviewees were (at the time the interview was conducted) or had in the past been working (partly voluntarily) in migrant advisory organisations or similar initiatives, the focus of the interviews was on their brokering activities outside this institutional context. Interviewees were asked about their concrete informal brokering activities, especially in supporting newcomers and sharing their personal arrival-specific knowledge. The interviews contained open questions on concrete examples of such knowledge transfer, i.e., where and in which situations it took place and what kinds of support were provided. To identify their potential willingness to support others, the interviewees were explicitly asked about situations in which a concrete transfer took place, focusing on their interaction with people not belonging to their primary networks (family and friends). To gain information about how these (sometimes fleeting) relationships between brokers and support recipients were structured, the questions focused on who these recipients were (e.g., in which socio-cultural aspects similarities or differences were seen), how the contact arose, and how (e.g., in which language) communication took place. To understand the motives of the arrival brokers, the questions were also on why they provided support and passed on their arrival-specific knowledge in their free time (see Sub-study III, Hans 2023: 384f.).

The analysis

All interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. As in Sub-study II, the analysis was conducted using theoretical coding (Flick 2019: 387f., see Chapter 3.3.1) and the software MAXQDA (see Sub-Study III, Hans 2023: 384f.).

3.4 Reflections on methodological limitations and research reliability

Based on the chosen methodology and with regard to the research objectives, some limitations can be identified. Taking first the selected interview partners, the study aimed to provide an overview of the arrival processes of a very diverse group of newcomers and the support practices of more established, yet also very diverse migrants. Accordingly, I tried to reflect the composition of the immigrant population in the case study area. This was achieved for the most part, as the selection of interviewees largely reflected the characteristics of newcomers in the neighbourhood, e.g., in terms of nationality, age, gender and residence status. However, the research design and recruitment process allowed only a certain selection of people to be included in the sample, for the most part people who had been in contact with formal advisory

organisations (see above). People without any access to formal support structures were therefore left out, meaning that their everyday practices and forms of resource access were not covered. A further limitation was that the interviews were only conducted in German, English, Spanish or Arabic, meaning that only those speaking these languages or confident enough to provide information in one of them were included in the sample. The interview languages used also indicate that only a small proportion of the interviews were conducted in the respective native language of the interviewees. It can be assumed that they would have been able to speak more openly and articulate themselves more precisely in their mother tongue.

Qualitative empirical research often faces the challenge of quality assurance. Regarding the conduct of the interviews, measures were taken throughout the research to increase the reliability of the qualitative empirical data. This included discussions on the interview guidelines within the project team as well as project-internal training in conducting qualitative interviews with immigrants (some of whom were refugees) – also for the external person who conducted the interviews in Arabic in the first empirical phase. To increase research reliability, the interviewers also conducted test interviews which were subsequently discussed by the project team. The reliability of the results was enhanced by the fact that preliminary analysis results were not only discussed within the project team, but also presented to and discussed with academic audiences at (international) conferences and PhD colloquia. The feedback was subsequently reflected on and used to further analyse the material and the ongoing research process.

Another aspect possibly influencing the reliability of the research results is the social desirability of the interviewees' answers. Qualitative research usually involves very direct interaction between the researcher and interviewee. In qualitative interviews, the relationship between the interview partners can significantly influence interviewees' responses (Flick 2019: 29). To minimise deviations from a natural response behaviour, a critical distance is initially required (Tilly 2006: 47). Nevertheless, the interview situation should also be familiar and provide a context in which sensitive questions can be answered appropriately. In this respect, a critical reflection of one's own position in the research process and in relation to the research topic is necessary. To contextualise the interviewees' responses, it is necessary to reflect on the extent to which one's own position influences interviewees' response behaviour and their narratives (Flick 2019: 29).

Reflecting on my own position throughout the research process, I tried to minimise any influence on the research. However, it can be assumed that certain differences in social background influenced response behaviour. One of the most obvious differences was that I and the other interviewers (with the exception of the interviewer who conducted the interviews in Arabic), unlike almost all of the interviewees, had no migration background of our own and were born and raised in Germany. Other aspects can also be of relevance to the interview situation. My position as a comparatively well-educated white man probably created a certain social distance for some interviewees, negatively impacting their response behaviour and openness. Furthermore, I do not claim to have fully understood the concerns and everyday challenges of the interviewees and to have been able to react in an appropriate manner during the interviews.

4 The sub-studies: summary of the main findings

The main aim of the thesis was to explore the extent to which arrival neighbourhoods provide integration opportunities for migrants in their initial arrival period. Divided into three sections, Chapter 4 illustrates the main (empirical) results of the sub-studies with regard to the overall research questions of this thesis. The articles are reproduced in full in the appendix (see Chapter A2).

4.1 Sub-study I: a critical literature review on the role of arrival spaces for immigrant integration

Sub-study I was published as:

Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H.; Polívka, J.; Beißwenger, S. (2019): Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes [The role of arrival spaces for immigrant integration: A critical literature review]. In: Raumforschung und Raumordnung, 77 (5), pp. 511–524. https://doi.org/10.2478/rara-2019-0019.

Sub-study I provides an overview of the current state of research on socially and ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods. Based on a critical literature review, it discusses how looking at arrival neighbourhoods and the migration dynamics there can contribute to the debate on integration and context effects in urban spaces shaped by migration.

Background

Due to increasing migration, especially in the last decade, the social composition of the population is changing. As a result of the influx of refugees arriving in urban areas since 2015, the immigrant population has further diversified, as witnessed by significant changes in its composition: the group of refugees is increasingly heterogeneous, in terms not only of ethnicity and culture, but also of social background, and therefore also differs in terms of resources (Hillmann/Alpermann 2018). Termed "super-diversity", this increasing heterogeneity is to be understood as a new demographic reality in urban spaces (Vertovec 2007). These new immigration developments and the related effects on urban spaces require a critical review of existing studies addressing the integration of immigrants.

Highly diverse urban neighbourhoods are closely linked to the discussion of potential context effects. Under this term, factors are analysed through which living in socially segregated neighbourhoods can lead to a further disadvantaging of residents (van Ham/Manley 2012). Several studies on context effects assume three decisive factors (e.g., Farwick 2012): One is the social environment which can have a disadvantaging effect in terms of social relations. A second factor are the neighbourhood (infra-)structures which influence the opportunities for interaction and access to resources. The third factor is the symbolic impact of the neighbourhood and urban governance. While most studies on ethnic segregation discuss long-term residence in ethnic communities as a hurdle to integration and emphasise the disintegrative effect (e.g., in Germany: Heitmeyer 1998), other studies in the context of integration research point to the integrative potential of ethnically segregated urban neighbourhoods (e.g., Zhou 2009). However, research on the potential of ethnic segregation for the socio-spatial integration of immigrants has so far been quite disconnected from studies on context effects (cf. Hoppe 2017). This points to a need for critical reflection.

The criticism voiced in this study is twofold. First, research on context effects tends to be deficit-oriented, i.e., primarily analysing the disadvantaging effects of the residential environment. Moreover, they remain insufficiently connected to the literature on ethnically segregated neighbourhoods as well as the "new" diversity and related resource access practices. Second, the idea of context effects is usually based on a spatial understanding of a neighbourhood as a closed "container space".

Arrival spaces as a lens for new immigration dynamics

This criticism is particularly relevant to the context of arrival spaces where migration dynamics can be observed in a concentrated form. In his book "Arrival City", Doug Saunders (2011) looks at the conditions and mechanisms of immigrant settlement in cities, using examples from different arrival contexts. He focuses on local factors influencing the access of different groups of residents to resources. The debate on arrival spaces has since found its way into academic research, with arrival spaces understood as urban areas characterised by international migration processes, diversity, high population fluctuation and a high spatial concentration of arrival-related infrastructures (e.g., Biehl 2014; Kurtenbach 2015; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019).

Instead of assuming, as often done in research on context effects, that a spatial concentration of poverty results in further disadvantages, studying arrival spaces offers the possibility to examine this connection in a more differentiated way. Following the three central factors for (dis)integration described in the literature on context effects, the critical discussion of the literature in this study is based on the following questions:

- How is the multi-layered social – from local to transnational – networking of residents discussed in the literature in terms of its relevance for the access to resources?
- What role is attributed to the spatial concentration of (migrant) opportunity structures for the immigrants' access to resources?
- How do urban governance processes affect the characteristics and dynamics of arrival spaces?

Multi-local networks and resource access

In the debate on context effects, the focus is on the social networks in the immediate residential surroundings and their disadvantaging effect. However, current literature shows that a focus on the residential environment is insufficient, as social networks, so far understood as quite static, are subject to increasing flexibility and fluidity (Bauman 2003). Looking at arrival spaces, it becomes clear that social disadvantage, possibly reinforced by the residential environment under less fluid conditions, is relativised by various aspects. First, the diversity of the newcomers (Pries 2016) and the concomitant diversification of the population (Vertovec 2015) broaden the spectrum of social, economic and cultural resources available in these urban

areas. Second, through increased mobility and growing information technology networks, there is an intensifying change in localisation practices towards fluid exchange networks (Urry 2007). This goes hand in hand with an increase in the relevance of transnational social spaces (Glick Schiller/Çağlar 2009). It becomes clear that migrant networks are not limited to the residential environment, but result from individual, multi-local social networks (Beck/Perry 2008).

Local opportunity structures as settings for resource access

Physical opportunity structures are still ascribed an important role despite simplified mobility and digital communication opportunities (Zapata-Barrero et al. 2017). Against the background of increasing immigration in recent years, access to these services, for example (affordable) housing, (mother-tongue) healthcare or places of worship, is considered to be of particular importance (Schillebeeckx et al. 2019). Not all neighbourhoods provide the same resources. Opportunity structures tend to be concentrated in certain arrival spaces, constituting key initial reference points for newcomers (Hall et al. 2017). In addition to providing services to the neighbourhood population, these structures also serve as places of encounter and as places for the transfer of social, cultural and economic capital – even beyond neighbourhood boundaries (Kurtenbach 2015; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019).

Governance processes and their impact on resource access

The role of "new" intermediaries for distributing resources is increasingly in focus, especially in neighbourhoods characterised by migration (Lang 2017). This concerns both top-down institutions (e.g., neighbourhood management, Drilling/Schnur 2009) and established bottom-up but increasingly professionalised social (migrant self-)organisations offering easy access to support services and constantly adapting to current needs and changes in the neighbourhoods. In addition to providing resources, these organisations play a key role in shaping discourse in and about the neighbourhood. Consideration of the governance of arrival spaces and residents' individual access to resources thus relativises the disadvantageous context effects deriving from an understanding of a neighbourhood as a "container space".

Conclusion: The value of studying arrival spaces

The more detailed analysis of arrival space dynamics and mechanisms widens concepts of closed neighbourhood spaces in which residents are seen as being primarily influenced by their disadvantaged social surroundings. Accordingly, current social processes in neighbourhoods characterised by migration cannot be adequately illustrated by neighbourhood-based context effects research. Instead, a broader perspective is necessary. The focus on arrival spaces and the specific consideration of the everyday practices of those living there open up the possibility to illustrate the overlapping of different transnational and multi-local social practices. By studying arrival spaces, the functions fulfilled by certain areas for the integration of immigrants can be understood holistically, with the transformative power of immigration explored in more detail.

4.2 Sub-study II: the significance of arrival infrastructures and (semi-)public spaces for encounters and access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods

Sub-study II was published as:

Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H. (2020): Accessing Resources in Arrival Neighbourhoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Offer Resources to Newcomers. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 78–88. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2977.

This paper discusses the role of (semi-)public spaces and arrival infrastructures in providing access to resources for newcomers. The empirical research in the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt provided insights into how newcomers draw on resources, supporting them in their individual arrival process – here understood as access to arrival-specific resources (such as finding housing or feeling at home in the new neighbourhood).

Background

Various studies point to the growing challenges for coexistence in urban areas featuring increased social and ethnic diversity and high population dynamics ("new complexities", Vertovec 2015: 2). For example, reference is made to increasing spatial, social and symbolic demarcations between groups along ethnic and social lines (Albeda et al. 2018). It is thus particularly interesting to analyse how newcomers gain access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods, as these are greatly dependent on arrival-specific knowledge such as local information

on job vacancies or available and affordable housing. For newcomers not (yet) part of locally embedded social networks, local infrastructures and more fluid forms of resource transfer gain importance.

The debate on the relevance of encounters has a long tradition in geographical research (for an overview, see Hanhörster/Hans 2019: 11f.). The effects of different forms of encounter in differently structured settings are controversially discussed in the literature. Research refers to certain semi-public, more or less institutionalised places enabling interactions with other people, thereby facilitating access to resources outside an individual's immediate network (Nast/Blokland 2014; Wessendorf 2014). Small (2017) directs our attention to more spontaneous forms of resource transfers. Summarising the literature and based on Lofland's (1998) classification of different types of contacts and relationships, Table 5 describes five different contact types and their potential outcomes:

Table 5: Types of contacts and resource access (adjusted based on Hans/Hanhörster 2020: 81)

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

While fleeting encounters describe very brief and often trivial contacts in public spaces, the term 'spontaneous foci-aided encounters' describes chance meetings of strangers connected by a common 'focus' (e.g., the playground where their children are playing). So-called 'routinised foci-aided encounters' can also be spontaneous and result from the common 'focus' (e.g., a bar visited regularly), but they differ from 'spontaneous foci-aided encounters' in that they are recurring. Unlike 'routinised foci-aided network relationships' (e.g., with work colleagues) or 'primary network relationships' (with family or friends), 'routinised foci-aided

encounters' are not classified as network relationships but as interactions between loose acquaintances.

Research on arrival neighbourhoods reveals that a concentration of arrival-specific infrastructures can promote such foci-aided encounters and serve as starting points for interaction and resource transfers, thus supporting newcomers in their individual arrival process (Hall et al. 2017). Focusing on newcomers and with reference to the classification of different contact types, this study describes how they gain access to resources in their daily arrival routines by answering the following questions:

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

Empirical findings

The relevance of arrival-specific knowledge

The interviews showed that newcomers felt quite comfortable living in the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt because of its diversity and openness to different lifestyles or cultural expressions. Such feelings of "familiarity" contribute to people spending (more) time in (semi-)public spaces – a precondition for encounters and the opportunity to receive arrival-specific resources.

The interviews revealed that there is a lack of arrival-specific knowledge on how to "navigate the system", for example on how to find affordable housing. Even though there are several institutions in Nordstadt providing formal information, there is still a need for "informal" arrival-specific knowledge, for example on vacant flats. As the interviewees had only a very limited network of acquaintances available on arrival, they had to find other ways to access this information. While transnational networks of friends and family – accessible via communication technology – can give emotional support, arrival-specific knowledge is necessary for gaining one's bearings in the new place of residence. But how can newcomers gain access to this arrival-specific knowledge without distinct social networks? The interviews showed that social interactions and resource transfers do not readily occur in public spaces. As described in

the following, routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters with strangers in settings enabling further social interaction are of particular relevance, whereby the "migrant social capital" (Wessendorf/Phillimore 2019) available in arrival neighbourhoods and the brokering capabilities of established immigrants play an important role.

Local settings facilitating resource transfer via routinised and spontaneous encounters

Based on various situations described in the interviews, different kinds of settings where routinised and spontaneous foci-aided encounters led to resource transfers and sometimes even to further contacts were identified. All described settings share "micropublic" characteristics (Amin 2002), i.e., connecting people in their everyday lives through common interests and activities. The following examples and narratives of recent immigrants reveal how newcomers gain access to arrival-specific knowledge through recurring and routinised, and sometimes spontaneous encounters. The examples underline the relevance of specific settings facilitating social interaction and resource transfer.

The first example characterises an institutionally embedded resource transfer. It describes how recurring and routinised encounters with different people in a mosque helped the interviewee find his way in the new community, for example in finding a flat. In this case, the arrival-specific knowledge was very much institutionalised, and its provision closely linked to community "membership". Even though worship was the main purpose for visiting the mosque, the example shows that recurring and routinised encounters with other Muslims at the mosque led to a transfer of resources by people not yet part of the interviewee's network.

The second example describes how regular visits to an Arabian café led to arrival-related interactions with other guests. The situation in the café can be described as an informal atmosphere facilitating spontaneous interaction with strangers. Whenever the interviewee needed help or information, he visited the café without knowing whom he would run into, placing his trust in the solidarity of the other visitors. The Arabian café is an example of a setting in which people with a similar background (in this case the same language and cultural background) meet to socialise. It describes a setting where newcomers can meet up with previous immigrants and where arrival-specific knowledge is transferred. In contrast to the mosque, the café's primary purpose is to provide an informal platform for communicating and sharing information among Arabic-speakers. Visitors do not need to be "members" to receive support.

Nevertheless, sitting in the café seems to imply a rule of communication and mutual support, based on a shared knowledge of arrival and the difficulties faced in the new environment.

The third example describes how spontaneous encounters in less institutionalised semi-public spaces led to deeper contacts and resource transfer between newcomers and previous immigrants. The interviewee regularly played football on a public football pitch in Dortmund's Nordstadt. Immigrants from different countries met there to play football, but also to informally discuss their everyday problems. The interviewee concerned received support from a previously unknown football player who helped him a lot in finding a flat.

All these examples demonstrate that newcomers are significantly supported in their arrival processes by routinised and spontaneous encounters in different semi-public spaces. In all described settings and encounter situations, a common interest or an informal "common activity" (Amin 2002: 696) were the starting points for further interactions with people who had experienced similar problems on arrival. Often serving as hubs for the transfer of arrival-specific knowledge (Schillebeeckx et al. 2019), such arrival-specific infrastructures can be understood as settings where "old" and "new" immigrants meet and mutually support each other.

What was surprising is that, in all examples, reciprocity – understood as 'giving something back for something you have received' – played an important role in sharing arrival-specific knowledge between people with migration backgrounds. While in the common understanding a given resource is returned to the same person or passed on to another person within the network, it was shown that reciprocity may also be expressed in a wider and more spontaneous social context. This process can be described as 'informal reciprocity' (Phillimore et al. 2017), meaning that immigrants routinely share their arrival-specific knowledge among other newcomers once they have become established.

Conclusion

The analysis shows that, alongside information and social support provided by NGOs and other formal institutions, newcomers can rely on more informal ways of gaining access to arrival-specific knowledge, for example information on a vacant apartment or a job vacancy. As the interviewed newcomers had no distinct locally embedded social networks upon arrival, encounters in semi-public spaces played an important role for them to come into contact and interact with other residents. The research underlines that arrival neighbourhoods like

Dortmund-Nordstadt offer many opportunities supporting newcomers in "navigating the system". Arrival-specific infrastructures can trigger interactions and thereby offer access to different kinds of resources, ranging from emotional and practical support to resources supporting upward social mobility (Schillebeeckx et al. 2019). Drawing on the concept of micropublics (Amin 2002), a variety of settings linking the everyday lives of people from different (migration) backgrounds were identified. These settings feature different levels of institutionalisation, from formal mosques to informal football pitches. The research showed the importance of differentiating forms of encounter: While fleeting encounters in public spaces were not mentioned (or remembered) by the interviewees as leading to resource transfer, encounters facilitating such took place in semi-public spaces, ranging from spontaneous foci-aided encounters to recurring and routinised foci-aided ones. Even though these two types of contact do not differ in the form of resources they may provide, it is analytically helpful to differentiate them. While spontaneous foci-aided encounters enable resource transfer between strangers, routinised foci-aided encounters provide access to resources of loose acquaintances – people not yet belonging to a person's social networks. Both types of contact can thus support newcomers with few locally embedded networks in their arrival processes.

4.3 Sub-study III: the role of established migrants acting as arrival brokers by sharing information with newcomers

Sub-study III was published as:

Hans, N. (2023): Arrival brokers as a key component of the arrival infrastructure: how established migrants support newcomers. In: Geographica Helvetica, 78 (3), pp. 381–391. https://doi.org/10.5194/gh-78-381-2023.

This study discusses the role of established immigrants in the arrival process of new immigrants. The empirical research in the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt allowed insights into the everyday practices of "arrival brokers" in providing information and support by sharing their arrival-specific knowledge with newcomers.

Background

In recent years, several studies have looked at the role of established migrants in providing access to settlement information (e.g., Wessendorf 2017). These studies reveal that arrival

brokers can be of particular importance in the arrival process of newcomers, providing them with support, for example in dealing with public authorities, and sharing arrival-specific knowledge such as local information on housing or jobs. Such brokering practices are predominantly to be observed in arrival neighbourhoods. While various studies point to growing challenges related to increasing migration-driven social and ethnic diversity, the concept of "arrival infrastructures" (Meeus et al. 2019) shifts the focus to infrastructural opportunities in a super-diverse context providing access to arrival-specific resources, taking into account both institutional infrastructures and informal practices. To date, little is known about these informal practices and the role of individuals in providing information and resources. Abdoumaliq Simone's (2004) concept of "people as infrastructure" highlights the transformative potential of people's everyday practices in an urban system, helping shift the focus from formal, institutionalised infrastructures to the agency of migrants themselves and the support structures they can provide. There is little research on the phenomenon of "arrival brokering" in super-diverse contexts, i.e., research analysing the forms and extent of these practices as well as individuals' motives for their behaviour. Focusing on established migrants acting as arrival brokers and providing arrival-specific knowledge and support, the aim of this study was to analyse their agency from an arrival infrastructure perspective, answering the following questions:

- Where and how (among which groups of people and in which situations) does an exchange of arrival-specific knowledge between established and more recent immigrants take place?
- What motivates arrival brokers to share their knowledge and what is the role of place in such processes?
- How do arrival brokers support the initial arrival process of newcomers?

Empirical findings

Arrival infrastructures and the brokering of arrival-specific knowledge

Overall, the interviews conducted within this study revealed that established migrants support newcomers in their settling-in process by sharing arrival-specific knowledge. This includes, on the one hand, formalised help provided through their work in (migrant) advisory organisations where they help their clients (mostly immigrants). On the other hand, the study

revealed that, to a certain extent, they also support other immigrants informally. Help includes assistance with dealing with German authorities, such as translating documents, filling out forms or arranging appointments, but also assistance relating to the newcomers' everyday life, such as accompanying them to authorities or doctors, or support in accessing important functional resources such as finding an affordable flat or a job. Besides this, arrival brokers fulfil an important mediation function. Due to their many contacts, they are able to link people to other individuals or institutions ("linking social capital", Woolcock 2001), thereby fulfilling an important function for newcomers by pre-structuring the often complex and not easily navigable network of players and infrastructures.

Arrival brokers and resource recipients primarily come into contact through the broker's phone number being passed on among the latter. Within the group of newcomers, word soon spreads about who has which information and contacts and who, above all, is willing to share this information with strangers. The study also underlines the important function of arrival-specific infrastructures, such as ethnic shops (Steigemann 2019), as first points of reference for newcomers where they can get in touch with other immigrants.

The study showed that situations of support or information exchange predominantly occur within linguistic-cultural boundaries (e.g., between Arabic-speakers). This is because newcomers particularly look for support in their mother tongue. Another interesting aspect is that these relationships between resource providers and resource recipients are quite functional. Even though those concerned sometimes meet more than once, sometimes even with emotional support being provided (see Small 2017), these meetings have a specific purpose and usually remain on a loose acquaintance footing. Wessendorf and Phillimore (2019: 131) call these relationships "crucial acquaintances", meaning that, while not usually turning into friendships, they can be crucial for the arrival process. This also applies to online brokering practices which also seem to play an important role in sharing information. Some interviewees reported that they were part of local WhatsApp or Facebook groups where immigrants came together and supported each other. In these groups, people with similar linguistic-cultural backgrounds who now live together in one city communicate and exchange information (e.g., a WhatsApp group for Arabic women in Dortmund). These virtual groups can be seen as online support infrastructures built by immigrants themselves and where settlement

information can be requested more or less anonymously and where a multitude of people share their accumulated arrival-specific knowledge.

One surprising finding was that there is not always a dichotomous interrelationship between established migrants as resource providers and recent immigrants as resource recipients. Instead, this research revealed that even recent immigrants start passing on their knowledge once they have gained experience in a certain field.

Overall, the study revealed that people can play an important role as informal information nodes in the arrival infrastructure network and that they are an important complement to more formal support infrastructures. This particular importance of people voluntarily supporting others increased during the COVID-19 pandemic (Bynner 2019) when many support services (such as advisory organisations) had to close temporarily (Rebhun 2021), increasing the need for informal support by arrival brokers. The study indicated that arrival brokers, during the temporary closure of many infrastructures, were at least partially able to fill the gaps in support provision.

Motives behind brokering: solidarity in super-diverse contexts

But why do arrival brokers share their experience that they themselves have collected with much effort and often with a lot of difficulty? The reasons are manifold. Studies researching exchange between immigrants have shown that "informal reciprocity" (Phillimore et al. 2017: 224), understood as giving something back (to a new immigrant) for something that one received on one's own arrival, is a key reason for sharing arrival-specific knowledge (Phillimore et al. 2017; Hans/Hanhörster 2020). But the interviews also showed that not all people who now act as arrival brokers received something from others in their settling-in process, suggesting that it is more than "giving something back".

One aspect found in nearly all answers to the question about motivation was solidarity. The literature on solidarity discusses "shared norms and values" as a key source of solidarity (Oosterlynck et al. 2015). As explained above, the concrete transfer of arrival-specific knowledge in this study predominantly took place between people of similar ethnic or linguistic-cultural backgrounds, i.e., between people likely to have grown up in similar societal systems of norms and values. However, the interviews also revealed that this is not the decisive reason for the interviewees' solidarity. Instead, it seems to relate to the fact that the people

now find themselves in similar situations and have experienced and gone through similar problems. The literature points to the role of place in binding people together (Meeus 2017; Oosterlynck et al. 2015), leading to the assumption that the decisive driver for the emergence of solidarity in super-diverse contexts is not common origins, norms or values. Instead, the sense of connection arises from collective migration histories, shared experiences of everyday life and joint practices. This can be described as situational place-based solidarity, meaning that solidarity emerges through people who have experienced similar situations now living together in one place.

Conclusion

The empirical analysis shows that arrival brokers, alongside more formal arrival-specific infrastructures, play an important role in the arrival process of more recent immigrants, providing them with support and sharing arrival-specific knowledge. With reference to the concept of "people as infrastructure" (Simone 2004), it can be argued that people (or groups of people) who themselves have a migration history and who provide support for other immigrants, are often able to form informal arrival infrastructure systems on their own (Wajsberg/Schapendonk 2022). These improvised networks fill the gaps resulting from the absence of appropriate formal support infrastructures and from barriers (e.g., language, trust) to accessing them. Thus, they help overcome the hurdles faced by migrants in accessing services. Even if an individual's brokering practices may only be temporary, collective "infrastructural practices" form an important permanent extension of the arrival infrastructures system, helping shape arrival processes more effectively.

The emergence of these informal infrastructures can be related to a situational place-based solidarity among migrants living together in a neighbourhood and using the same infrastructures, identified in this study as the main reason for arrival brokers' practices. Overall, this study shows that using the infrastructure perspective for analysing migrants' brokering practices helps understand the transformative power of migrants themselves in making, shaping and maintaining arrival support structures.

5 Discussion: Results in the light of current debates

While in the past neighbourhoods shaped by migration have often been studied in the light of negative context effects (see Sub-study I, Chapter 4.1), this thesis has focused on integration-

supporting structures. The spatial focus was thus on arrival neighbourhoods where processes related to the initial period of newcomers' arrival can be observed. The analysis focused on the following main research questions:

- To what extent do arrival neighbourhoods provide integration opportunities for newcomers?
- What is the relevance of arrival infrastructures and brokering practices for newcomers' access to resources?

The findings of this study indicate that structures promoting integration in arrival neighbourhoods can be related, *inter alia*, to social networks, opportunity structures and governance structures (see Sub-study I, Chapter 4.1) providing access to societal resources. In the empirical part of this study, the focus was on (semi-)public spaces and opportunity structures in their resource exchange role (see Sub-Study II, Chapter 4.2), and on arrival brokers in their role of providing access to resources (see Sub-Study III, Chapter 4.3). This chapter aims to synthesise the key findings of the sub-studies and discuss them in the light of current debates.

The following thus highlights the specific role of the local context for newcomers' initial arrival period with the help of Robinson's (2010) model (see Chapter 5.1). I go on to analyse how this specific local context of the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt with its structures and networks provides integration opportunities in the initial arrival period. This is done with the help of the integration framework developed by Ager and Strang (2008) which is widely used in migration research to analyse integration processes at local level and which provides a framework for analysing an individual's access to societal resources (see Chapter 5.2). The findings are then examined with regard to their relevance for local integration strategies (see Chapter 5.3).

5.1 The role of the local context for newcomers' initial arrival period

Described in detail in the literature (e.g., Platts-Fowler/Robinson 2015; Phillimore 2020), the relevance of place for migrant integration is undisputed. To understand the functions of arrival neighbourhoods with regard to individual integration processes, the local level must be taken into account. The three dimensions developed by David Robinson (2010) (see Figure 2) help illustrate that opportunities for resource access are significantly influenced by place, in

this case the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund-Nordstadt, and that this local context can promote the initial arrival process of newcomers more than others.
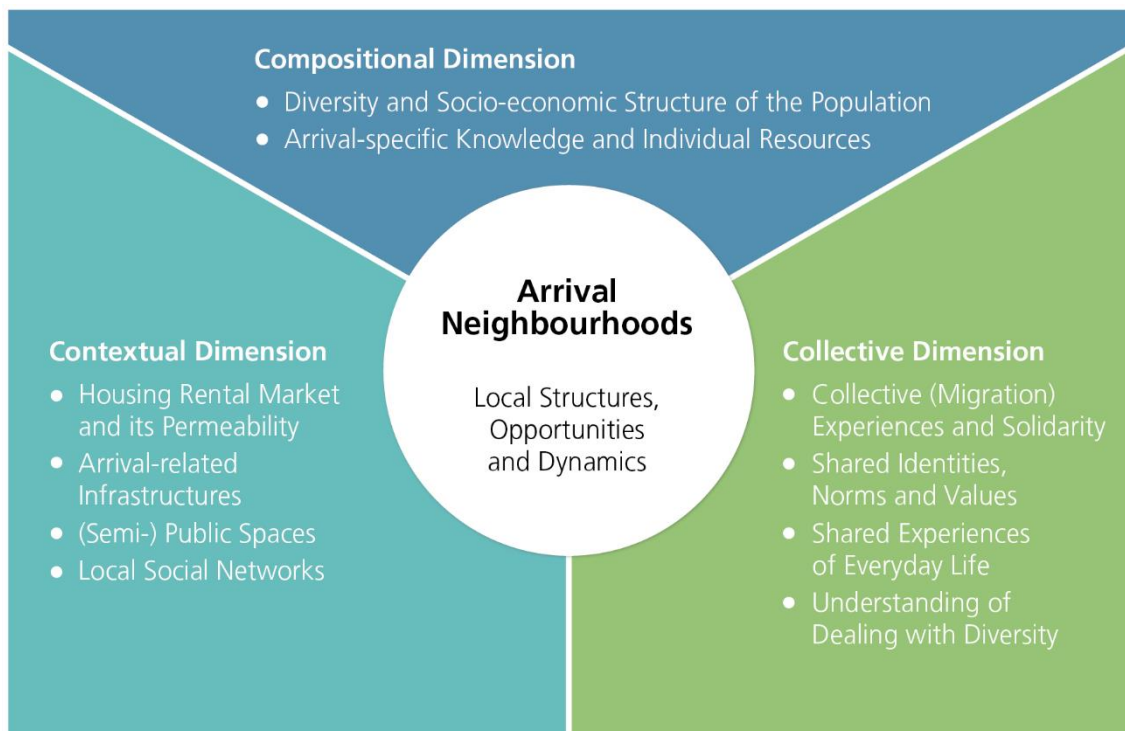
Figure 2: Local structures, opportunities and dynamics of traditional arrival neighbourhoods (illustration based on Robinson 2010)[6]

The *compositional dimension* addresses the population composition in the neighbourhood, i.e., the size of the different population groups as well as the characteristics of the established and the newly arrived population, including their socio-economic situation as well as their personal resources (Robinson 2010: 2461). Looking at Nordstadt, it can be noted that this traditional arrival neighbourhood has seen different immigration phases over the decades (see Chapter 3.2.1). Accordingly, the neighbourhood's population is now highly diversified (e.g., in terms of ethnicity and religion, language, socio-economic situation, lifestyle, migration history, residence status and personal resources) (Hanhörster et al. 2020; Gerten et al. 2023). Although the population in most traditional arrival neighbourhoods, such as Nordstadt, is affected by poverty more often than the city as a whole, these neighbourhoods cannot be described as having limited resources. Poverty or socio-economic disadvantage is not

---

[6] This illustration was developed together with Heike Hanhörster and Susanne Wessendorf as part of a project funded by the Mercator Foundation (Stiftung Mercator) entitled "Arrival Neighbourhoods: Characteristics and Function for the Integration of Immigrants and the Social Cohesion of Urban Societies" in 2021 (unpublished).

synonymous with resource poverty and does not directly determine opportunities to access resources. Rather, the other resources available in the neighbourhood must also be brought into focus (see also the contextual dimension below). The populations' diversity in the arrival neighbourhood contributes to a situation where many people with different characteristics and multiple experiences live in Nordstadt and where "migrant social capital" (Wessendorf/Phillimore 2019: 124) and arrival brokers are potentially available. Thus, the population composition in Nordstadt provides the opportunity for newcomers of different origins to access the specific support they need (e.g., in their mother tongue). As we will see, the contextual dimension of the neighbourhood contributes significantly to the accessibility of this social capital.

The *contextual dimension* refers to the specific features of the neighbourhood's social and physical environment, i.e., available access to different kinds of resources (including services, shops, social facilities and housing) as well as existing social networks and opportunities for encounters and interactions (Robinson 2010: 2461). Playing an important role, the number, quality and structure of public spaces and opportunity structures can significantly influence the opportunities for resource access (Saunders 2011). Instead of assuming, as done in research on context effects, that a spatial concentration of poverty leads to further disadvantages, it is a good idea to consider the other resources available in the neighbourhood that are important for immigrants' arrival processes. In socio-economically less privileged neighbourhoods like Nordstadt, there is often more affordable and easily accessible housing (Hanhörster et al. 2023), helping newcomers with often limited financial resources to find a place to live. In addition, these neighbourhoods offer other resources less likely to be found in more privileged urban neighbourhoods, such as affordable shops and services, as well as access to (informal) labour markets (Meeus et al. 2019; Jung/Buhr 2022).

Looking at Nordstadt, we find a dense urban neighbourhood offering a variety of resource access opportunities. Alongside population diversification, the infrastructures in Nordstadt are also diversifying. A variety of arrival-related infrastructures can be found there, some of which are set up top-down (e.g., municipal advisory services, language courses), but many of which have emerged bottom-up, i.e., founded and run by people with a migration background. These infrastructures offer functional resources for newcomers from different backgrounds (e.g., goods and services offered in different languages, cafés, religious sites), while also

providing opportunities for exchange by serving as places of encounter for migrants from different language groups (Hall et al. 2017; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019: 149).

This thesis has shown that these places of encounter are important, especially for newcomers without many contacts upon arrival, as they provide access to the many social networks in Nordstadt. As we have seen, many newcomers used opportunity structures to get in touch with arrival brokers who then supported them in their initial arrival process (see Sub-studies II and III). Evidence from other research also shows that the provision of arrival-specific infrastructure is crucial for access to the many social (ethnic) networks existing in arrival neighbourhoods and thus also for access to resources (Saunders 2011; Hanhörster/Hans 2019; Meeus et al. 2019; Wessendorf 2022; Zill 2023).

The *collective dimension* describes a place's socio-cultural and historical dimension. Referring to its "collective social functioning" (Robinson 2010: 2461), this includes the history of norms and values associated with shared (ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or national) identities. Likewise, common (discrimination) experiences, the history of dealing with cultural differences as well as the acceptance of diversity and difference play a role here (Robinson 2010: 2461).

Looking specifically at Nordstadt, we observe a local climate of "commonplace diversity" (Wessendorf 2014), indicating that cultural diversity is perceived as a normal feature of social life in super-diverse urban neighbourhoods and describing a widely conflict-free coexistence based on collective migration histories and many years of experience in dealing with diversity. These collective experiences contribute to people of different origins interacting and supporting each other. As this study has shown, solidarity is a key motive for passing on arrival-specific knowledge (see Sub-study III), whereby the key driver of solidarity in the super-diverse context in Nordstadt is not common origins, norms or values, but the sense of connection brought about by collective migration histories, shared experiences of everyday life and joint practices (see also Meeus 2017; Oosterlynck et al. 2017).

Even though Nordstadt faces several challenges – the media often associate it with deprivation and crime –, the aforementioned aspects contribute to the neighbourhood providing opportunities supporting a newcomer's initial arrival period. In summary, these result from the existence of a vast range of knowledge and experience shared by a very diverse local

population, as well as from the availability of affordable and easily accessible housing and a wide range of arrival-related infrastructures which, beyond their primary functions, offer opportunities for exchange and access to social networks. Last but not least, Nordstadt features a certain solidarity between immigrants with similar migration experiences and conducive to sharing arrival-specific knowledge.

This study in Dortmund-Nordstadt indicates that support structures for a newcomer's initial arrival period are primarily to be found in dense urban areas featuring many infrastructures and collective migration experiences. However, it should be emphasised that not all arrival contexts provide these conditions, and that arrival neighbourhoods differ considerably in terms of *inter alia* their location within the city, the diversity of their population and their infrastructures (Gerten et al. 2023).

Based on the empirical results from Sub-studies II and III, I now analyse how the described structures in the arrival neighbourhood contribute in concrete terms to integration processes in the initial arrival period.

5.2 Integration in arrival neighbourhoods? An analysis based on the integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008)

The empirical part of this study (Sub-studies II and III, see Chapters 4.2 and 4.3) focused on the arrival process of newcomers, i.e., the process of accessing arrival-specific resources enabling newcomers in the initial period of arrival to navigate the system. The findings show that newcomers without distinct social networks at their place of arrival often rely on the arrival-specific knowledge of already established immigrants alongside more formal social support services provided for example by advisory organisations. It became clear that arrival brokers play an important role in the arrival process and that semi-public spaces are an essential platform for establishing such contacts. These findings are now discussed in greater detail with regard to the main research questions. The integration framework developed by Ager and Strang (2008) is used as a basis, whereby the additions made by Ndofor-Tah et al. (2019) are also taken into account. The framework allows the findings to be discussed in the context of the integration debate, with a focus on how they contribute to it.

The integration framework developed by Ager and Strang (2008) defines integration as access to various societal sectors such as employment, housing, education and health ("markers and

means", ibid.: 169). To gain access to these sectors, establishing "social connections" (ibid.: 177) and overcoming structural barriers through so-called "facilitators" (ibid.: 181) are cited as being of particular importance, whereby the rights and responsibilities associated with citizenship constitute the "foundation" (ibid.: 173) (see Chapter 2.1 and Figure 3).

The empirical research in Dortmund-Nordstadt has shown that this arrival neighbourhood provides various opportunities for newcomers to access resources. Alongside more formal infrastructures (e.g., professional support and advisory organisations), informal practices play an important role in the initial arrival process. In this study, the role of physical arrival infrastructures serving as semi-public spaces for encounters and resource access as well as the role of arrival brokers in sharing information and resources were spotlighted. But how do these infrastructures and practices contribute to integration in the initial period of arrival in concrete terms? Linking the findings to Ager and Strang's (2008) integration framework helps capture the social impact of semi-public spaces and arrival brokering practices.

Social connections can be understood as a key integration component. According to Ager and Strang (2008: 177), these are crucial for gaining access to various societal sectors (e.g., employment, education, housing, healthcare). The framework mentions *Language and Cultural Knowledge* as well as *Safety and Stability* as important *facilitators* of social contacts (ibid.: 181ff.). Ndofor-Tah et al. (2019: 17) have added *Digital Skills* as a further *facilitator*. The empirical research conducted in Dortmund-Nordstadt shows that encounters in semi-public spaces and arrival brokers (often to be found in such spaces) also contribute significantly to the formation of social connections. It became clear that encounters (with strangers) are of particular importance for newcomers' resource access and that semi-public spaces as physical opportunity structures play an important role in enabling such encounters. Arrival neighbourhoods are typically endowed with a wealth of arrival experience and knowledge (see Chapter 5.1, "Compositional dimension") on how to navigate the system as a newcomer. However, research shows that encounters in public spaces do not usually lead to meaningful contacts resulting in an exchange of resources (Valentine 2008). We have seen that semi-public spaces, and especially arrival-specific infrastructures featuring micropublic characteristics (Amin 2002), i.e., settings linking the everyday lives of people from different (migration) backgrounds, have the potential to bring people together. The findings illustrate that these settings contribute to both spontaneous and recurring and routinised encounters, often leading

to an exchange of resources and thus supporting newcomers with few locally embedded networks (see Sub-study II). Such places of interaction and exchange form a basis for establishing social connections and can thus be described as important *facilitators* in the initial integration process.

Semi-public spaces similarly contribute to newcomers coming into contact with established migrants, referred to in this study as arrival brokers. The analysis shows that the latter contribute significantly to the integration of newcomers in various respects, with the integration framework of Ager and Strang (2008) highlighting the fundamental role of *social connections* for the individual integration process at local level. As the empirical findings in Dortmund-Nordstadt have shown, arrival brokers not only provide assistance in coping with everyday life or in accessing societal sectors such as employment or housing through sharing their own knowledge, but also fulfil an important mediation function by helping people get in touch with others ("social bridges", ibid.: 179) or connecting them with institutions ("social links", ibid.: 181). The residence status (cf. "foundation", ibid.: 173) of the very heterogeneous group of Nordstadt immigrants varies, thus determining their access to state support services (free language courses and so-called "integration courses" mainly target refugees). Due to their local knowledge and their many contacts, arrival brokers are able to link people to governmental support services ("linking social capital", Woolcock 2001), fulfilling an important function for newcomers without access to all state services or often distrustful of government bodies or mainstream services (Quinn 2014: 67). The brokers thus structure the often complex and not easily navigable network of formal and non-formal players and infrastructures. In doing so, they are able, at least partially, to fill the gaps resulting from the absence of appropriate formal support infrastructures or from access barriers (e.g., language, cultural knowledge, trust). They thus help overcome the hurdles migrants face in accessing services (see Sub-study III). With reference to the integration framework, arrival brokers represent another important *facilitator* for establishing *social connections* and for gaining access to the various societal sectors.

In sum, linking the findings of this study with the integration framework makes it clear that semi-public spaces and arrival brokering practices can make a key contribution to a newcomers' individual integration process by facilitating social connections that help access different societal sectors. The linking demonstrates that the framework is useful for explaining

individual integration processes and their contributory factors. However, it also shows that the framework only explains to a limited extent how the very important *social connections* are formed, especially for people (as yet) without a distinct local social network, as it very much focuses on competences to be attained individually (language, cultural knowledge, digital skills) as *facilitators*. Similarly playing a decisive role as integration *facilitators*, context-specific aspects have so far been insufficiently represented in the framework. Even though Ndofor-Tah et al. (2019: 11) mention in their update to the framework that integration is context-specific (see also Phillimore 2020), this aspect is not yet sufficiently considered. Based on the findings of this study, semi-public spaces and arrival brokers could be added to the framework as important *facilitators*. Therefore, a distinction could be made between *context-specific* and *competence-based facilitators*, both of which contribute to establishing *social connections* and significantly influence an individual's integration (see Figure 3).
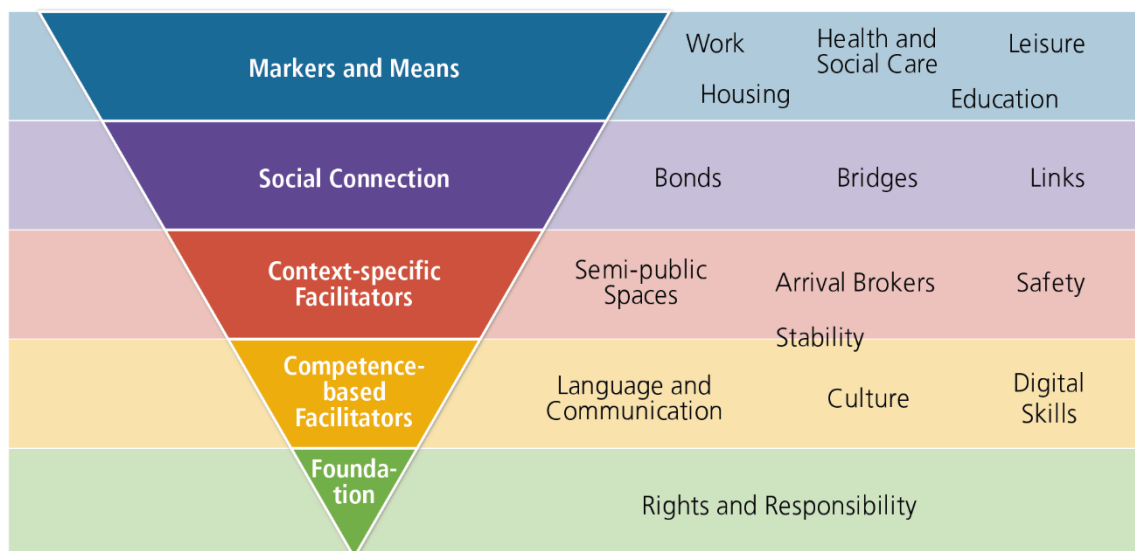
Figure 3: Core Domains of Integration (own illustration based on Ager/Strang 2008 and Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019)

Extending the framework contributes to the debate by highlighting the role of place, as the availability of spaces of encounter and arrival brokers are context-specific features of a place. The addition of aspects going beyond newcomers' individual efforts points to integration being highly influenced by external factors. This contributes to an understanding of integration as a process influenced by shared responsibility, i.e., a responsibility assigned not only to the newcomers themselves, but also to the receiving communities and governments at all levels to shape arrival structures more effectively (Ndofor-Tah et al. 2019: 21).

5.3 Implications for local integration policies in Germany

As we have seen, integration is very much related to the contextual, compositional and collective dimensions of the places in which newcomers live (Robinson 2010; Platts-Fowler/Robinson 2015) (see Chapter 5.1). Even though this study is primarily a contribution to basic research, the empirical findings are also of use for local integration policies in Germany. The findings highlight the importance for cities to recognise that integration opportunities vary according to spatial circumstances – and that opportunities may to some extent be influenced by interventions (or also non-intervention).

In Germany, migration and integration responsibilities are distributed between the federal government *(Bund)*, the federal states (*Bundesländer*) and municipalities *(Kommunen)*. The federal government and the federal states define the (legal) framework for tasks that municipalities have to fulfil and in which they can actively engage with a view to promoting integration (Bogumil/Hafner 2021: 14). In contrast to many other European countries, municipalities in Germany bear significant responsibility for providing local-level integration opportunities. A distinction is made here between mandatory tasks, mandatory self-government tasks and voluntary tasks. While mandatory tasks include the enforcement of the Residency Act, for example issuing residence permits, accommodating people during the asylum procedure or providing access to health services and other welfare state facilities, mandatory self-government tasks include education and youth activities such as childcare, youth centres and schools. There are also a variety of voluntary tasks, such as the provision of language courses or migration advisory service. Municipalities can decide whether or not to open existing services to people without a (national) right to participate (Schammann 2018: 79ff.). In sum, municipalities are responsible for developing strategies and establishing structures providing adequate local-level integration opportunities.

What can be learned from the findings of this study for municipal policies? The findings can help strengthen local-level integration opportunities. As described above, these are influenced by three dimensions: *compositional*, *contextual* and *collective*.

The *compositional dimension*, i.e., the population composition and spatial dispersion of immigrants can only be influenced indirectly and to a limited extent by municipalities, for example through the local-level allocation of refugees (in the asylum process) or the provision of social

housing. Municipalities often aim to distribute immigrants throughout the municipality in order not to further "burden" those neighbourhoods already facing the most physical, economic and social challenges and already the most attractive and affordable for newcomers. Municipalities commonly continue to pursue the guiding principle of social mix, i.e. a social and ethnic residential mix deemed able to achieve "stable neighbourhoods" and avoid a so-called "ghettoisation" and increasing conflicts. This should be viewed critically, as it expresses a deficit-oriented perspective on migrant population groups. There is no convincing empirical evidence that "mixing" makes a lasting contribution to minimising conflict and strengthening the resource access of disadvantaged population groups (DeFilippis/Fraser 2020; Jünger/Schaeffer 2022; Hanhörster et al. 2023: 2). As this study has conversely shown, the spatial concentration of immigrants can actually promote the initial arrival process of newcomers. One important factor here is the availability of a variety of arrival-specific infrastructures, many of which have been created by migrants themselves and thus reflect the very diverse population composition. Furthermore, arrival neighbourhoods feature many social (ethnic) networks and contact opportunities to people with similar experiences and already possessing arrival-specific knowledge. Alongside the provision of affordable and adequate housing, a decisive factor for the stabilisation of arrival neighbourhoods is the provision of social infrastructures and places of encounter that correspond to local needs. This includes not undermining structures developed in the neighbourhood itself, for example through social and ethnic mixing strategies (Hans et al. 2020: 172). Municipalities should therefore review and question local mixing practices and their impact on the local population. And they should ensure that structures are permeable and that people who have lived in an arrival neighbourhood for a certain time have the possibility to move to other neighbourhoods, in line with their personal preferences. Therefore, it is important to strengthen the permeability of the entire housing market and to provide affordable and accessible housing in other parts of the city, as well as counteracting discriminatory practices in the allocation of housing (Hanhörster et al. 2023: 18).

The term "arrival neighbourhood" is not just a new label for migrant neighbourhoods characterised by poverty. It describes neighbourhoods that provide important integration functions for a whole city. With regard to the *collective dimension*, it is first of all important for municipalities to accept the neighbourhood in this role, to recognise this function and to communicate it both internally (to the municipal administration) and externally (to the population). It

is therefore important to initiate a (political) debate on the role of those neighbourhoods shaped by current immigration, making it clear that they will probably continue to be spaces of arrival for a longer period of time and thus require appropriate support. On this basis, municipal and state financial resources should be permanently directed towards them (Hanhörster et al. 2022: 2). Municipal policymakers also have a key role to play in positively influencing society's attitudes towards arrival neighbourhoods and integration policies. Therefore, the important function of arrival neighbourhoods must be actively communicated to a city's population (Hans/Zimmer-Hegmann 2022: 11). This debate on arrival neighbourhoods can strengthen the city-wide image of such neighbourhoods and the identification of those living there – and thus also strengthen place-based solidarity, thereby contributing to better coexistence and the sharing of experiences and information among immigrants (see Sub-study III, Hans 2023).

The greatest scope for municipal action is probably to be found in the *contextual* dimension, i.e., in the concrete provision of appropriate infrastructures. This study has shown that arrival-specific infrastructures are of great importance for the arrival process of newcomers – not least because of their role as information hubs. We have seen that newcomers, in addition to "formal" advisory services provided by civil society players, often turn to people with a migration history of their own who serve as a first point of contact and share information (e.g., on where to find a job or a flat). This important role of civil society organisations and "arrival brokers" must be recognised. At the same time, municipalities should not rely on the engagement of civil society but should check whether municipal services are adequate, easily accessible and sufficiently visible. Based on the findings of this study, a number of suggestions for the development of appropriate infrastructural services can be derived.

Municipal advisory services should be organised decentrally in the (arrival) neighbourhoods. It is important that the services are visible and that official information is easy to find. Research shows that services are more likely to be used if they are visible and easily accessible. Offices should be located in busy places in the neighbourhood, with a window front offering a view inside and attracting the attention of passers-by (Hanhörster et al. 2022: 3; Wessendorf 2022). Services should be offered in cooperation with local partners, especially housing companies and welfare organisations, as these are often already present in the neighbourhood. Closer linkages between municipal and civil society services can help identify gaps in the

system and ensure that people are directed to those services providing the most effective individual support (Hanhörster et al. 2022: 4; Schiller et al. 2023). Also imaginable are cooperation projects with local businesses that already function as "informal" information hubs for newcomers and that could be linked to formal services.

Another important aspect is the intercultural opening of institutions and organisations, an aspect playing a decisive role when it comes to the accessibility of services for immigrants. Contact persons with a migration history of their own can improve the inclusiveness of facilities (through language skills, cultural proximity, etc.) and thus organise advisory services more individually. Municipalities should therefore assess and, if necessary, adjust the personnel structure of such services (Hanhörster et al. 2022: 3), for example leveraging the resources of arrival brokers by formally integrating their skills and knowledge into their activities and services to improve communication with newcomers.

There are thus several factors that municipalities can address in order to better shape arrival processes. However, they are also dependent on the support of the higher governmental levels (the German federal government, the federal states), e.g., in terms of coordinated strategies and effective funding programmes (Hanhörster et al. 2022: 4).

6 Conclusions

6.1 Arrival neighbourhoods as spaces of integration?

This thesis analysed how newcomers in arrival neighbourhoods access arrival-specific resources in their daily routines and practices. The study asked to what extent these neighbourhoods provide integration opportunities and which role arrival infrastructures and brokering practices play in facilitating newcomers' access to resources. As the findings are based on research in Dortmund-Nordstadt, the following conclusions refer specifically to so-called traditional arrival neighbourhoods.

The study showed that certain arrival infrastructures and brokering practices located in arrival neighbourhoods can indeed play a key role in facilitating newcomers' access to resources. Alongside the many formal (municipal and civil society) advisory and support institutions, this study revealed that access to resources is often gained through social connections established in non-formal semi-public spaces, such as cafés, shops and service facilities or places of

worship (see also Jung/Buhr 2022; Kox/van Liempt 2022; Nyakabawu 2023). Established migrants in these semi-public spaces often act as arrival brokers, significantly contributing to a newcomer's arrival process. Due to their local knowledge and many contacts, they are able to link people to support services. In doing so, they fulfil an important function, structuring the often complex and not easily navigable network of formal and informal players and infrastructures. They thus help overcome the hurdles newcomers face in accessing resources. Even if an individual's brokering practices may only be temporary, collective practices form an important permanent extension of the arrival infrastructure network.

In summary, the study showed that traditional arrival neighbourhoods offer a variety of resource access opportunities for newcomers. These result from the compositional, contextual and collective dimension of the neighbourhoods, i.e., from their very diverse population composition, the various local infrastructures, and the collective migration history of the neighbourhood and the related solidarity of the people there. Can arrival neighbourhoods thus be described as spaces of integration, as indicated in the title of this thesis? Based on the previous analyses, this can be deemed true – although with some important limitations:

a) If, as in this study, integration is understood as access to various societal resources and if the initial arrival period of newcomers is considered, arrival neighbourhoods can be described as spaces of integration. The study showed that these neighbourhoods offer a wide range of support structures and opportunities for the initial period of arrival. Alongside municipal and civil society support structures, established migrants transfer resources helping newcomers to gain orientation and a foothold in the new surroundings. It should not however be assumed that these neighbourhoods are the only spaces where newcomers can access resources. It is important to emphasise that the infrastructures and practices described are not to be found throughout an arrival neighbourhood but are often concentrated in a very small section thereof.

b) Combining the different dimensions of an arrival neighbourhood contributes to resource access. However, it is not the neighbourhood itself, but the concentration of arrival infrastructures co-produced by state and non-state players and individuals that creates integrative effects. Similarly, these do not result from the arrival neighbourhood as a residential location, but as a space where the interplay of formal structures and more informal practices form an effective arrival infrastructure. As seen, arrival neighbourhoods feature

a concentration of such infrastructures. However, it should be emphasised that an arrival neighbourhood should not be understood as a closed container, but as a permeable space where the infrastructures are also accessible to non-residents. Conversely, arrival neighbourhood residents can make use of resources from outside.

c) This study has focused on the inclusive effects of arrival neighbourhoods and their infrastructures and thus on the opportunities they provide for individual arrival processes. However, it has also been shown that not all people or all newcomers benefit from these structures to the same extent and that support structures are not always available. With regard to semi-public spaces, to which this study ascribes great importance for interaction and resource exchange, this means that, though these spaces are generally open to the public, they are not, depending on their characteristics, visited by all people or social groups (or are not accessible to all). Most of the semi-public spaces considered in this study were quite gendered (see also Hall 2015: 859) and often also linguistic-culturally segregated (e.g., the Arabian café was mainly frequented by male Arabs), meaning that they do not provide resources for everyone. It is also known from the literature that some arrival infrastructures have less positive facets. For example, brokering practices are not always altruistic and supportive, but may also be exploitative in the sense that the urgent needs of newcomers can be used to earn money (for example by pushing people into substandard housing) (Kohlbacher 2020: 133; Wessendorf 2022: 9). Arrival infrastructures must therefore be discussed controversially because they cannot satisfy the needs of all people to the same extent and cannot offer the same support to everybody. While infrastructures may be supportive for some, they may be exclusionary for others (Hoekstra/Pinkster 2019; Felder et al. 2020). This study thus indicates that certain population groups benefit from more support structures than others, and that arrival neighbourhoods can therefore be described more as spaces of integration for some and less for others. This particularly affects stigmatised and marginalised groups, as well as those unable to rely on previous migrants and appropriate social networks.

d) As already pointed out, the processes described in this study are related to traditional arrival neighbourhoods featuring a variety of social networks and a concentration of arrival infrastructures. However, the literature also describes other types of arrival neighbourhoods characterised by current international immigration but not (yet) featuring social networks and arrival infrastructures to the same extent (El-Kayed et al. 2020; Gerten et al.

2023). These neighbourhoods often lack experience in dealing with diversity, while the formal state infrastructures found there often do not target newcomers. Furthermore, they often lack the non-formal infrastructures (shops, restaurants, organisations, etc.) serving as places of interaction and resource exchange (El-Kayed/Keskinkılıç 2023: 363). As shown in this thesis, the statement that arrival neighbourhoods, with the limitations mentioned, can be described as spaces of integration cannot be made for all types of arrival neighbourhoods, but only for traditional arrival neighbourhoods with long experience of immigration.

e) The above statement is not intended to suggest that these neighbourhoods "function" on their own, without external support structures. The ongoing funding and further development of formal support infrastructures by the municipality and the linkage with non-formal structures remain still essential and permanent factors. Besides the aforementioned positive aspects concerning arrival processes, arrival neighbourhoods also have some problematic aspects, for instance often being affected by poverty, socio-economic deprivation and stigmatisation. These neighbourhoods therefore need long-term structural support targeting not just newcomers, but everyone living there.

6.2 Contributions of this thesis

This study contributes to the various debates on ethnically segregated neighbourhoods (e.g., Wilson/Martin 1982; Zhou 2009) by clearly confirming that living in such neighbourhoods can have a positive impact on access to important societal resources in the initial period of arrival. It similarly contributes to the debates on super-diverse arrival neighbourhoods (e.g., Kurtenbach 2015; Schillebeeckx et al. 2019; Hanhörster/Wessendorf 2020), providing empirical evidence that the structures, dynamics and characteristics of traditional arrival neighbourhoods enable newcomers to gain a foothold in their new surroundings. It also contributes to a more in-depth picture on how arrival infrastructures (e.g., Meeus et al. 2019; Schrooten/Meeus 2020; Wessendorf 2022) are used, providing empirical evidence on how non-formal infrastructures in particular, i.e., local facilities such as cafés, shops, services or places of worship, contribute to interaction and resource exchange in their role as micropublics (Amin 2002) and places of encounter. The study also provides empirical insights into the important role played by arrival brokers and their practices, highlighting their relevance in the co-production of arrival infrastructures, of which they form a fundamental part through their collective practices.

By highlighting the relevance of non-formal infrastructures and brokering practices at the local level, this thesis contributes to a better understanding of the role of place for migrant integration (e.g., Robinson 2010; Platts-Fowler/Robinson 2015; Phillimore 2020), adding aspects to the integration framework developed by Ager and Stang (2008). These extend beyond newcomers' individual efforts, showing that integration is highly influenced by different local-level dimensions such as the availability of semi-public spaces and arrival brokers. The study thus indicates successful arrival is highly dependent on where someone arrives.

By linking the research on newcomers' "arrival" with the concept of "integration" (according to Ager/Strang 2008), this thesis contributes to understanding how the two concepts are interrelated – an aspect only recently discussed. The two concepts have in common that they analyse immigrants' access to societal resources and are thus not fundamentally different. Nevertheless, this thesis can be seen as a plea in favour of using the arrival lens when investigating the settlement patterns of newcomers. Arrival, as understood in this study, focuses on the first steps (not defined in time) allowing newcomers to gain a foothold in the new surroundings through accessing resources. Focusing on the process of access rather than on the outcome (El-Kayed/Keskinkılıç 2023: 357), it is less normative than discussions on immigrant integration which suggest that in the longer term immigrants must invest effort to achieve societal progress or social mobility. In the German context in particular, the term "integration" has a very demanding connotation and is often used in public discourse as a call for immigrants to "integrate into society as a whole". Arrival, by contrast, reflects the increasing diversity of lifestyles and migration patterns, focusing on individual processes of finding one's way (sometimes only temporarily) in a new place according to one's own preferences and needs.

6.3 Limitations and need for further research

Based on the selection of the case study area and the research design, this study was unable to provide evidence-based conclusions on some important aspects, as its focus was on the inclusive effects of arrival infrastructures. Further research is therefore needed on their exclusionary effects, for example on which infrastructures are used by some but not others (e.g., with regard to gender, linguistic-cultural background, residence status). Although the selected interviewees in this study broadly reflected the characteristics of newcomers in the neighbourhood, the recruitment process gave precedence to people who had been in contact with formal advisory organisations. Further research needs to cover those without access to

formal support structures, looking at their ways of accessing resources. When considering informal structures, it should also be acknowledged that arrival brokering practices are not always altruistic and often take advantage of people's needs. Outside the focus of this study, the role of such exploitative informal structures in the arrival infrastructure network also needs further investigation. Moreover, this study focused on physical encounters and resource exchange, to a large extent ignoring the fact that non-physical, digital encounters and virtual networks are also of relevance for the exchange of arrival-specific knowledge. Further research is needed on how these networks are developed, how accessible they are and how the exchange of resources is organised there. While there is an increasing body of literature looking at structural conditions, newcomers' agency and their relevance for shaping arrival processes, little is known about how formal and informal arrival infrastructures are interlinked. Further research is needed on how the different players interact, whether from the state, the private sector or civil society, and how they co-produce the arrival infrastructure network. Like many other studies, this study has focused on traditional arrival neighbourhoods with many years of experience in dealing with immigration and in which a variety of social networks and infrastructures are located. Further research is needed on how newcomers living in newly emerging arrival spaces – whether on urban peripheries, in small towns or more rural areas – without a distinct formal and informal arrival infrastructure network can gain access to arrival-specific resources and manage their arrival processes.

References

Ager, A.; Strang, A. (2008): Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. In: Journal of Refugee Studies, 21 (2), pp. 166–191. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016.

Albeda, Y.; Tersteeg, A.; Oosterlynck, S.; Verschraegen, G. (2018): Symbolic Boundary Making in Super-Diverse Deprived Neighbourhoods. In: Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie, 109 (4), pp. 470–484. https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12297.

Amin, A. (2002): Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity. In: Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 34 (6), pp. 959–980. https://doi.org/10.1068/a3537.

Bauman, Z. (2003): Flüchtige Moderne. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-518-12447-5.

Beck, S.; Perry, T. (2008): Studie Soziale Segregation: Nebeneinander und Miteinander in der Stadtgesellschaft. In: Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung, 3, pp. 115–122.

Biehl, K. S. (2014): Exploring migration, diversification and urban transformation in contemporary Istanbul: The case of Kumkapı. Göttingen. Available at https://www.mmg.mpg.de/61261/WP_14-11_Biehl_Exploring-migration.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Blommaert, J. (2014): Infrastructures of superdiversity: Conviviality and language in an Antwerp neighborhood. In: European Journal of Cultural Studies, 17 (4), pp. 431–451. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549413510421.

Bogumil, J.; Hafner, J. (2021): Kommunale Integrationspolitik in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Bestandsaufnahme und Zukunftsoptionen. Available at https://www.mkjfgfi.nrw/sites/default/files/documents/gutachten.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Boost, D.; Oosterlynck, S. (2019): "Soft" Urban Arrival Infrastructures in the Periphery of Metropolitan Areas: The Role of Social Networks for Sub-Saharan Newcomers in Aalst, Belgium. In: Meeus, B.; Arnaut, K.; van Heur, B. (Eds.): Arrival Infrastructures. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 153–177. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_7.

Bourdieu, P. (1983): Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital. In: Kreckel, R. (Ed.): Soziale Ungleichheiten. Göttingen: Schwartz. ISBN: 9783509013412, pp. 183–199.

Bovo, M. (2020): How the Presence of Newly Arrived Migrants Challenges Urban Spaces: Three Perspectives from Recent Literature. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 23–32. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2894.

Burt, R. S. (1995): Structural holes. The social structure of competition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. ISBN: 067484372X.

Bussemer, J. (2022): Schutz für Millionen. In: Bussemer, J.; Albrecht, F.; Riethmüller, D.; Jakob, C. (Eds.): Atlas der Migration. Neue Daten und Fakten über Menschen in Bewegung, pp. 16–17.

Bynner, C. (2019): Intergroup relations in a super-diverse neighbourhood: The dynamics of population composition, context and community. In: Urban Studies, 56 (2), pp. 335–351. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017740287.

Dahinden, J. (2016): Migration im Fokus? Plädoyer für eine reflexive Migrationsforschung. In: Carvill Schellenbacher, J.; Dahlvik, J.; Fassmann, H.; Reinprecht, C. (Eds.): Migration und Integration – wissenschaftliche Perspektiven aus Österreich. Göttingen: V&R unipress, pp. 11–30. https://doi.org/10.14220/9783737005951.11.

DeFilippis, J.; Fraser, J. (2020): Why Do We Want Mixed-Income Housing and Neighborhoods? In: Schipper, S.; Vollmer, L. (Eds.): Wohnungsforschung. transcript Verlag, pp. 353–368. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839453513-016.

Deinet, U. (2009): Der offene Bereich als Aneignungs- und Bildungsraum. Sozialräumliche Aspekte zum Verständnis und zur Gestaltung der offenen Bereiche, Eingangsbereiche, offenen Treffs usw. in Einrichtungen der Offenen Kinder- und Jugendarbeit. Available at https://www.sozialraum.de/der-offene-bereich-als-aneignungs-und-bildungsraum.php, accessed 09.01.2024.

Die Bundesregierung (Ed.) (2021): Nationaler Aktionsplan Integration. Bericht Phase IV – Zusammenwachsen: Vielfalt gestalten – Einheit sichern. Available at https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/992814/1889012/09dc9e9fbe51188f8e108d6e436280a2/nationaler-aktionsplan-integration-phase-iv-download-ba-ib-data.pdf?download=1, accessed 13.01.2024.

Dieterich, M.; Nieswand, B. (2020): Reflexive Migrationsforschung: Zur Etablierung eines neuen Forschungsparadigmas. In: Migration und Soziale Arbeit, (2), pp. 146–152. https://doi.org/10.3262/MIG2002146.

Drilling, M.; Schnur, O. (Eds.) (2009): Governance der Quartiersentwicklung. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92875-3.

El-Kayed, N.; Bernt, M.; Hamann, U.; Pilz, M. (2020): Peripheral Estates as Arrival Spaces? Conceptualising Research on Arrival Functions of New Immigrant Destinations. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 103–114. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2932.

El-Kayed, N.; Keskinkılıc, L. (2023): Infrastructures in the context of arrival – multidimensional patterns of resource access in an established and a new immigrant neighborhood in Germany. In: Geographica Helvetica, 78 (3), pp. 355–367. https://doi.org/10.5194/gh-78-355-2023.

Esser, H. (2001): Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Arbeitspapiere - Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung. Available at https://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/publications/wp/wp-40.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Fachkommission Integrationsfähigkeit (Ed.) (2020): Gemeinsam die Einwanderungsgesellschaft gestalten. Bericht der Fachkommission der Bundesregierung zu den Rahmenbedingungen der Integrationsfähigkeit. Available at https://www.integrationsbeauftragte.de/resource/blob/1872554/1875934/b4b9f15052d181942da9e5bbb9134544/2021-01-20-bericht-fachkommission-data.pdf?download=1, accessed 13.01.2024.

Fajth, V.; Bilgili, Ö. (2020): Beyond the isolation thesis: exploring the links between residential concentration and immigrant integration in the Netherlands. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 46 (15), pp. 3252–3276. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1544067.

Farwick, A. (2012): Segregation. In: Eckardt, F. (Ed.): Handbuch Stadtsoziologie. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 381–419. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-94112-7_18.

Felder, M.; Stavo-Debauge, J.; Pattaroni, L.; Trossat, M.; Drevon, G. (2020): Between Hospitality and Inhospitality: The Janus-Faced 'Arrival Infrastructure'. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 55–66. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2941.

Flick, U. (2019): Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung. Reinbek: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag. ISBN: 3499556944.

Foroutan, N. (2019): Die postmigrantische Gesellschaft. Ein Versprechen der pluralen Demokratie. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-8394-4263-0.

Galster, G. C. (2008): Quantifying the Effect of Neighbourhood on Individuals: Challenges, Alternative Approaches, and Promising Directions. In: Schmollers Jahrbuch – Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, 128 (1), pp. 7–48. https://doi.org/10.3790/schm.128.1.7.

Gerten, C.; Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2023): How to identify and typify arrival spaces in European cities—A methodological approach. In: Population, Space and Place, 29 (2), pp. 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2604.

Glick Schiller, N.; Çağlar, A. (2009): Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35 (2), pp. 177–202. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802586179.

Gottschalk, I.; Tepeli, D. A. (2019): Etablierten-Außenseiter-Beziehungen im Ankunftsstadtteil Dortmunder Nordstadt. In: Negnal, D. (Ed.): Die Problematisierung sozialer Gruppen in Staat und Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 63–81. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-22442-4_4.

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A.; Phillimore, J. (2018): Introduction: rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44 (2), pp. 179–196. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706.

Hall, S.; King, J.; Finlay, R. (2017): Migrant infrastructure: Transaction economies in Birmingham and Leicester, UK. In: Urban Studies, 54 (6), pp. 1311–1327. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016634586.

Hall, S. M. (2015): Migrant Urbanisms: Ordinary Cities and Everyday Resistance. In: Sociology, 49 (5), pp. 853–869. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038515586680.

Hanewinkel, V. (2022): Neuer Höchststand. In: Bussemer, J.; Albrecht, F.; Riethmüller, D.; Jakob, C. (Eds.): Atlas der Migration. Neue Daten und Fakten über Menschen in Bewegung, pp. 12–13.

Hanhörster, H.; Gerten, C.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2020): Ankunftsquartiere – Identifizierung und Funktionsbestimmung. ILS-Trends 2/20. Available at https://www.ils-forschung.de/files_publikationen/pdfs/ILS-TRENDS_2-20_Ankunftsquartiere_ONLINE.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Hanhörster, H.; Haase, A.; Hans, N.; Rink, D.; Schmiz, A.; Schrader, S. (2023): The (co-)production of arrival neighbourhoods. Processes governing housing markets in three german

cities. In: Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 38 (3), pp. 1409–1429. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-022-09995-5.

Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N. (2019): Zusammenhalt im Kontext von Diversität und Fluktuation? Zur besonderen Rolle von Ankunftsquartieren. ILS-Working Paper 2019. Available at https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/67132/ssoar-2019-hanhorster_et_al-Zusammenhalt_im_Kontext_von_Diversitat.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-2019-hanhorster_et_al-Zusammenhalt_im_Kontext_von_Diversitat.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Hanhörster, H.; Hans, N.; Liebig, S. (2022): Ankunftsquartiere als Integrationsmotor – Handlungsempfehlungen für kommunale Akteure. ILS-IMPULSE 1/22. Available at https://www.ils-forschung.de/files_publikationen/pdfs/ILS-IMPULSE_1.22_ONLINE.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Hanhörster, H.; Wessendorf, S. (2020): The Role of Arrival Areas for Migrant Integration and Resource Access. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 1–10. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2891.

Hans, N. (2023): Arrival brokers as a key component of the arrival infrastructure: how established migrants support newcomers. In: Geographica Helvetica, 78 (3), pp. 381–391. https://doi.org/10.5194/gh-78-381-2023.

Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H. (2020): Accessing Resources in Arrival Neighbourhoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Offer Resources to Newcomers. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 78–88. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2977.

Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H.; Polívka, J.; Beißwenger, S. (2019): Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes. In: Raumforschung und Raumordnung, 77 (5), pp. 511–524. https://doi.org/10.2478/rara-2019-0019.

Hans, N.; Wallraff, M.; Zimmer-Hegmann, R. (2020): Ankunftsquartiere als Kontext der Integration. In: Jepkens, K.; Scholten, L.; van Rießen, A. (Eds.): Integration im Sozialraum. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 163–176. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-28202-8_11.

Hans, N.; Zimmer-Hegmann, R. (2022): Was bewegt Kommunen? Erfolgsfaktoren für wirkungsvolle Projekte vor Ort. Thesen zur Förderung von Teilhabe, Zusammenhalt und Integration in Städten und Gemeinden. Available at https://www.ils-forschung.de/files_publikationen/pdfs/WorkingPaper_Was_bewegt_Kommunen.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Häußermann, H.; Siebel, W. (2004): Stadtsoziologie. Eine Einführung. Frankfurt am Main: Campus. ISBN: 9783593374970.

Heckmann, F. (1981): Die Bundesrepublik, ein Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwandererminorität. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Hedman, L. (2013): Moving Near Family? The Influence of Extended Family on Neighbourhood Choice in an Intra-urban Context. In: Population, Space and Place, 19 (1), pp. 32–45. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1703.

Heider, B.; Stroms, P.; Koch, J.; Siedentop, S. (2020): Where do immigrants move in Germany? The role of international migration in regional disparities in population development. In: Population, Space and Place, 26 (8), pp. 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2363.

Heitmeyer, W. (1998): Versagt die „Integrationsmaschine" Stadt? Zum Problem der ethnisch-kulturellen Segregation und ihrer Konfliktfolgen. In: Backes, O.; Heitmeyer, W.; Dollase, R. (Eds.): Die Krise der Städte. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. ISBN: 9783518120361, pp. 443–468.

Helbig, M.; Jähnen, S. (2018): Wie brüchig ist die soziale Architektur unserer Städte? Trends und Analysen der Segregation in 74 deutschen Städten. Available at https://bibliothek.wzb.eu/pdf/2018/p18-001.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Hillmann, F.; Alpermann, H. (2018): Kulturelle Vielfalt in Städten. Fakten - Positionen - Strategien. Available at https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/Projekte/Vielfalt_Leben/Studie_LW_Kulturelle_Vielfalt_in_Staedten_2018_01.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Höcke, C.; Schnur, O. (2016): Integration von Geflüchteten – Quo vadis?: Diskussionen und Positionen im Spiegel der vhw-Kommunalbefragung. In: Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung, (4), pp. 201–207.

Hoekstra, M. S.; Pinkster, F. M. (2019): 'We want to be there for everyone': imagined spaces of encounter and the politics of place in a super-diverse neighbourhood. In: Social & Cultural Geography, 20 (2), pp. 222–241. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2017.1356362.

Hoppe, L. (2017): It's for the Neighbourhood. Influences of the Local. Social Context on Immigrant Integration in Germany. Universität Bremen.

Jenkins, R. (1967): Essays and Speeches. London: Collins.

Jerolmack, C.; Khan, S. (2014): Talk Is Cheap: Ethnography and the attitudinal fallacy. In: Sociological Methods & Research, 43 (2), pp. 178–209. https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124114523396.

Jung, P. R.; Buhr, F. (2022): Channelling mobilities: migrant-owned businesses as mobility infrastructures. In: Mobilities, 17 (1), pp. 119–135. https://doi.org/10.1080/17450101.2021.1958250.

Jünger, S.; Schaeffer, M. (2022): Ethnic Diversity and Social Integration—What are the Consequences of Ethnic Residential Boundaries and Halos for Social Integration in Germany? In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, 75 (S1), pp. 179–203. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11577-023-00888-1.

Kohlbacher, J. (2020): Frustrating Beginnings: How Social Ties Compensate Housing Integration Barriers for Afghan Refugees in Vienna. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 127–137. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2872.

Kox, M.; van Liempt, I. (2022): "I Have to Start All over Again." The Role of Institutional and Personal Arrival Infrastructures in Refugees' Home-making Processes in Amsterdam. In: Comparative Population Studies, 47, pp. 165–183. https://doi.org/10.12765/CPoS-2022-07

Kurtenbach, S. (2015): Ankunftsgebiete – Segregation als Potenzial nutzen. In: El-Mafaalani, A.; Kurtenbach, S.; Strohmeier, K. P. (Eds.): Auf die Adresse kommt es an. Segregierte

Stadtteile als Problem- und Möglichkeitsräume begreifen. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa. ISBN: 9783779932932, pp. 306–328.

Kurtenbach, S.; Döring, H.; Khalaf, A. (2023): Ankommen und Bleiben in Dortmund. Ergebnisse einer Studie über Quartiere mit geringer und hoher Fluktuation – Ergebniszusammenfassung. Dortmund.

Kurtenbach, S.; Rosenberger, K. (2021): Nachbarschaft in diversitätsgeprägten Stadtteilen. Handlungsbezüge für die kommunale Integrationspolitik. Münster: FH Münster. Available at https://www.hb.fh-muenster.de/opus4/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/13263/file/KurtenbachRosenberger2021NEU.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Kusenbach, M. (2018): Go-Alongs. In: Flick, U. (Ed.): The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. ISBN: 9781473952133, pp. 344–361.

Lang, C. (2017): Von ‚typischen' und ‚untypischen' Einwanderungsbezirken: Migrationsbedingte Vielfalt und die Interkulturelle Öffnung lokaler Verwaltungen in Berlin. In: Barbehön, M.; Münch, S. (Eds.): Variationen des Städtischen – Variationen lokaler Politik. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 351–373. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-13394-8_14.

Lindquist, J. (2015): Of figures and types: brokering knowledge and migration in Indonesia and beyond. In: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 (S1), pp. 162–177. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12172.

Lofland, L. H. (1998): The Public Realm. Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory. London: Taylor and Francis. ISBN: 9780202306087.

Meeus, B. (2017): Challenging the figure of 'migrant entrepreneur': Place-based solidarities in the Romanian arrival infrastructure in Brussels. In: Oosterlynck, S.; Loopmans, M.; Schuermans, N. (Eds.): Place, diversity and solidarity. London: Routledge. ISBN: 9780367218904, pp. 91–108.

Meeus, B.; Beeckmans, L.; van Heur, B.; Arnaut, K. (2020): Broadening the Urban Planning Repertoire with an 'Arrival Infrastructures' Perspective. In: Urban Planning, 5 (3), pp. 11–22. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.3116.

Meeus, B.; van Heur, B.; Arnaut, K. (2019): Migration and the Infrastructural Politics of Urban Arrival. In: Meeus, B.; Arnaut, K.; van Heur, B. (Eds.): Arrival Infrastructures. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 1–32. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_1.

Müller, A.-L.; Tuitjer, L. (2023): Editorial: Infrastructures and migration. In: Geographica Helvetica, 78 (4), pp. 559–565. https://doi.org/10.5194/gh-78-559-2023.

Nast, J.; Blokland, T. (2014): Social Mix Revisited: Neighbourhood Institutions as Setting for Boundary Work and Social Capital. In: Sociology, 48 (3), pp. 482–499. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038513500108.

Ndofor-Tah, C.; Strang, A.; Phillimore, J.; Morrice, L.; Michael, L.; Wood, P.; Simmons, J. (2019): Home Office Indicators of Integration framework 2019. Available at https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/627cc6d3d3bf7f052d33b06e/home-office-indicators-of-integration-framework-2019-horr109.pdf, accessed 13.01.2024.

Nyakabawu, S. (2023): Migrant arrival infrastructures and their impact on Zimbabweans' mobility and integration in South Africa. In: Anthropology Southern Africa, 46 (4), pp. 288–300. https://doi.org/10.1080/23323256.2023.2261512.

Oltmer, J. (2022): Menschen in Bewegung. In: Bussemer, J.; Albrecht, F.; Riethmüller, D.; Jakob, C. (Eds.): Atlas der Migration. Neue Daten und Fakten über Menschen in Bewegung, pp. 10–11.

Oosterlynck, S.; Loopmans, M.; Schuermans, N.; Vandenabeele, J.; Zemni, S. (2015): Putting flesh to the bone: Looking for solidarity in diversity, here and now. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39 (5), pp. 764–782. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1080380.

Oosterlynck, S.; Schuermans, N.; Loopmans, M. (2017): Beyond social capital. In: Oosterlynck, S.; Loopmans, M.; Schuermans, N. (Eds.): Place, diversity and solidarity. London: Routledge. ISBN: 9780367218904, pp. 1–18.

Park, R. E.; Burgess, E. W. (Eds.) (1925): The City. Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment. Chicago/London.

Park, R. E.; Burgess, E. W.; McKenzie, R. D. (1968): The City. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

Penninx, R.; Garcés-Mascareñas, B. (2016): The Concept of Integration as an Analytical Tool and as a Policy Concept. In: Garcés-Mascareñas, B.; Penninx, R. (Eds.): Integration Processes and Policies in Europe. Cham: Springer International Publishing, pp. 11–29. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21674-4_2.

Phillimore, J. (2020): Refugee-integration-opportunity structures: Shifting the focus from refugees to context. In: Journal of Refugee Studies, 45 (4), pp. 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa012.

Phillimore, J.; Humphris, R.; Khan, K. (2017): Reciprocity for new migrant integration: Resource conservation, investment and exchange. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44 (2), pp. 215–232. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341709.

Platts-Fowler, D.; Robinson, D. (2015): A Place for Integration: Refugee Experiences in Two English Cities. In: Population, Space and Place, 21 (5), pp. 476–491. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1928.

Portes, A.; Manning, R. D. (1986): The Immigrant Enclave: Theory and Empirical Examples. In: Olzak, S. (Ed.): Competitive ethnic relations. Orlando u.a.: Acad. Press. ISBN: 0125258909, pp. 47–86.

Pries, L. (2016): Migration und Ankommen. Die Chancen der Flüchtlingsbewegung. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag. ISBN: 9783593506388.

Putnam, R. D. (2007): E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century: The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. In: Scandinavian Political Studies, 30 (2), pp. 137–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x.

Quinn, N. (2014): Participatory action research with asylum seekers and refugees experiencing stigma and discrimination: the experience from Scotland. In: Disability & Society, 29 (1), pp. 58–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2013.769863.

Radtke, K.; Schneider, S. (2022). In: Bussemer, J.; Albrecht, F.; Riethmüller, D.; Jakob, C. (Eds.): Atlas der Migration. Neue Daten und Fakten über Menschen in Bewegung, pp. 14–15.

Rebhun, U. (2021): Immigrant Integration and COVID-19. In: Border Crossing, 11 (1), pp. 17–23. https://doi.org/10.33182/bc.v11i1.1291.

Robinson, D. (2010): The Neighbourhood Effects of New Immigration. In: Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 42 (10), pp. 2451–2466. https://doi.org/10.1068/a4364.

Sampson, R. J. (2013): Great American city. Chicago and the enduring neighborhood effect. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 022605568X.

Saunders, D. (2011): Arrival city. How the largest migration in history is reshaping our world. London: Windmill. ISBN: 9780099522393.

Schammann, H. (2018): Migrationspolitik. In: Blank, B.; Gögercin, S.; Sauer, K. E.; Schram-kowski, B. (Eds.): Soziale Arbeit in der Migrationsgesellschaft. Wiesbaden: Springer Fach-medien, pp. 67–85. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-19540-3_6.

Schillebeeckx, E.; Oosterlynck, S.; de Decker, P. (2019): Migration and the Resourceful Neigh-borhood: Exploring Localized Resources in Urban Zones of Transition. In: Meeus, B.; Ar-naut, K.; van Heur, B. (Eds.): Arrival Infrastructures. Cham: Springer International Publish-ing, pp. 131–152. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_6.

Schiller, M.; Awad, I.; Buijse, N.; Chantre, M.; Huang, Y.-C.; Jonitz, E.; van den Brink, L.; van Dordrecht, L. (2023): Brokerage in urban networks on diversity and inclusion: The case of Rotterdam. In: Cities, 135 (1), pp. 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2023.104219.

Schrooten, M.; Meeus, B. (2020): The possible role and position of social work as part of the arrival infrastructure. In: European Journal of Social Work, 23 (3), pp. 414–424. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2019.1688257.

Simone, A. (2004): People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg. In: Public Culture, 16 (3), pp. 407–429. https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-16-3-407.

Small, M. L. (2017): Someone to talk to. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 9780190661427.

Spencer, S.; Charsley, K. (2021): Reframing 'integration': acknowledging and addressing five core critiques. In: Comparative Migration Studies, 9 (18), pp. 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00226-4.

Stadt Dortmund (Ed.) (2018): Jahresbericht Dortmunder Statistik: Bevölkerung. Available at https://www.dortmund.de/dortmund/projekte/rathaus/verwaltung/dortmunder-statis-tik/downloads/211_-_jahresbericht_2018_dortmunder_bevoelkerung.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Stadt Dortmund (Ed.) (2019a): Jahresbericht Bevölkerung. Available at https://www.dort-mund.de/dortmund/projekte/rathaus/verwaltung/dortmunder-statistik/down-loads/213_-_jahresberich_2019_dortmunder_bevoelkerung.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Stadt Dortmund (Ed.) (2019b): Statistikatlas Dortmunder Stadtteile. Available at https://www.dortmund.de/dortmund/projekte/rathaus/verwaltung/dortmunder-statis-tik/downloads/215_-_statistikatlas_-_2019.pdf, accessed 12.01.2024.

Steele, W.; Legacy, C. (2017): Critical Urban Infrastructure. In: Urban Policy and Research, 35 (1), pp. 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1080/08111146.2017.1283751.

Steigemann, A. (2019): The Places Where Community Is Practiced. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien. ISBN: 978-3-658-25392-9.

Sykes, B.; Musterd, S. (2011): Examining Neighbourhood and School Effects Simultaneously. In: Urban Studies, 48 (7), pp. 1307–1331. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010371393.

Tilly, C. (2006): Why? What happens when people give reasons…and why. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. ISBN: 9780691136486.

Urry, J. (2007): Mobilities. Cambridge: Polity Press. ISBN: 9780745634197.

Valentine, G. (2008): Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. In: Progress in Human Geography, 32 (3), pp. 323–337. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309133308089372.

van Ham, M.; Manley, D. (2012): Neighbourhood Effects Research at a Crossroads. Ten Challenges for Future Research Introduction. In: Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 44 (12), pp. 2787–2793. https://doi.org/10.1068/a45439.

Vertovec, S. (2007): Super-diversity and its implications. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30 (6), pp. 1024–1054. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465.

Vertovec, S. (2015): Introduction: Migration, Cities, Diversities 'Old' and 'New'. In: Vertovec, S. (Ed.): Diversities Old and New. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137495488_1.

Wajsberg, M.; Schapendonk, J. (2022): Resonance beyond regimes: Migrant's alternative infrastructuring practices in Athens. In: Urban Studies, 59 (11), pp. 2352–2368. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211044312.

Wessendorf, S. (2014): Introduction: Studying Commonplace Diversity. In: Wessendorf, S. (Ed.): Commonplace Diversity: Social Relations in a Super-Diverse Context. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137033314_1.

Wessendorf, S. (2017): Pathways of settlement among pioneer migrants in super-diverse London. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 44 (2), pp. 270–286. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341719.

Wessendorf, S. (2022): 'The library is like a mother': Arrival infrastructures and migrant newcomers in East London. In: Migration Studies, 10 (2), pp. 172–189. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnab051.

Wessendorf, S.; Farrer, J. (2021): Commonplace and out-of-place diversities in London and Tokyo: migrant-run eateries as intercultural third places. In: Comparative Migration Studies, 9 (1), pp. 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00235-3.

Wessendorf, S.; Phillimore, J. (2019): New Migrants' Social Integration, Embedding and Emplacement in Superdiverse Contexts. In: Sociology, 53 (1), pp. 123–138. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518771843.

Wilson, H. F. (2022): Arrival cities and the mobility of concepts. In: Urban Studies, 59 (16), pp. 3459–3468. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221135820.

Wilson, K. L.; Martin, W. A. (1982): Ethnic Enclaves: A Comparison of the Cuban and Black Economies in Miami. In: American Journal of Sociology, 88 (1), pp. 135–160. https://doi.org/10.1086/227637.

Woolcock, M. (2001): The place of social capital in understanding social and economic outcomes. In: Canadian Journal of Policy Research, 2 (1), pp. 11–17.

Yildiz, E.; Hill, M. (Eds.) (2015): Nach der Migration. Postmigrantische Perspektiven jenseits der Parallelgesellschaft. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag. ISBN: 978-3-8376-2504-2.

Zapata-Barrero, R.; Caponio, T.; Scholten, P. (2017): Theorizing the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: a case study in immigrant policies. In: International Review of Administrative Sciences, 83 (2), pp. 241–246. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020852316688426.

Zhou, M. (1992): Chinatown. The socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. ISBN: 156639337X.

Zhou, M. (2009): How Neighbourhoods Matter for Immigrant Children: The Formation of Educational Resources in Chinatown, Koreatown and Pico Union, Los Angeles. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 35 (7), pp. 1153–1179. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830903006168.

Zill, M. O. (2023): Navigating constraints, finding freedom: exploring asylum seekers' access to urban arrival infrastructures. In: Urban Geography, 16, pp. 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2023.2276608.

Appendix

A.1 Eidesstattliche Versicherung

Gemäß § 11 der Promotionsordnung Fakultät Raumplanung der Technischen Universität Dortmund (in der Neubekanntmachung von 2018) erkläre ich:

Ich versichere hiermit an Eides statt, dass ich die vorliegende Dissertation mit dem Titel „Arrival Neighbourhoods as Spaces of Integration? The Relevance of Arrival Infrastructures and Brokering Practices for Newcomers' Access to Resources" selbstständig und ohne unzulässige fremde Hilfe angefertigt habe. Ich habe keine anderen als die angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel benutzt sowie wörtliche und sinngemäße Zitate kenntlich gemacht. Die Arbeit hat in gegenwärtiger oder in einer anderen Fassung weder der TU Dortmund noch einer anderen Hochschule im Zusammenhang mit einer staatlichen oder akademischen Prüfung vorgelegen.

Ort, Datum	Nils Hans

A.2 Journal papers meeting the requirements of a cumulative dissertation

In the following sub-chapters, the reader will find the three journal articles that form the basis of this PhD-thesis.

A.2.1 Article I: Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H.; Polívka, J.; Beißwenger, S. (2019): Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes.

Beitrag / Article   **Open Access**

Nils Hans*, Heike Hanhörster, Jan Polívka, Sabine Beißwenger

Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes
The role of arrival spaces in integrating immigrants. A critical literature review

Zusammenfassung: Die neue Migrationsvielfalt und zunehmende Diversifizierung unserer Gesellschaft verändert urbane Räume. In den von Migration besonders geprägten Ankunftsräumen konzentrieren sich auch in erhöhtem Ausmaß von Armut betroffene Haushalte mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund. Dieser Quartierstypus, häufig als „Migrantenviertel" oder „ethnische Kolonie" bezeichnet, steht schon seit langer Zeit im Fokus geographischer und soziologischer Stadtforschung. Eng verknüpft mit diesen Quartieren ist die Diskussion potenziell benachteiligender Kontexteffekte. Ausgangspunkt des hier vorliegenden Beitrags ist die Beobachtung, dass Forschungen zu Kontexteffekten zumeist stark defizitorientiert sind. Es werden noch unzureichend jene Faktoren und Mechanismen in den Blick gerückt, welche die Zugänge von Migranten zu gesellschaftlichen Ressourcen beeinflussen. Der Beitrag sichtet empirische und theoretische Forschungsbeiträge und stellt dabei drei aktuelle Dynamiken, die die Ressourcenzugänge der in Ankunftsräumen Lebenden beeinflussen, in den Mittelpunkt. Dies sind die zunehmend multilokalen Bezüge Zugewanderter, die besondere Konzentration von migrantischen Gelegenheitsstrukturen in bestimmten Teilräumen unserer Städte sowie *Governance*-Prozesse in Reaktion auf zunehmende Diversität und sich stetig verändernde Bedarfe. Der Artikel möchte dazu beitragen, die bislang stark an Quartiersgrenzen ausgerichtete Integrationsforschung weiter zu öffnen und plädiert für eine gezieltere Betrachtung der Alltagspraktiken Zugewanderter. Die Charakteristika und Dynamiken von Ankunftsräumen illustrieren die zunehmende Durchlässigkeit räumlicher und sozialer Strukturen und damit auch die Bedeutung, Integration über den Quartierskontext hinaus zu denken.

Schlüsselwörter: Ankunftsräume, Migration, (Super)Diversität, Kontexteffekte, Integration, Multilokalität, Gelegenheitsstrukturen

Abstract: The many new forms of migration and the increasing diversification of our societies are leaving their mark on urban spaces. In the arrival spaces featuring high levels of migrants, we tend also to find higher levels of poverty, irrespective of whether the households concerned have a migration background or not. Such neighbourhoods, often referred to in Germany as "migrant neighbourhoods" or "ethnic colonies", have long been a focus of geographic and

*Corresponding author: Nils Hans, ILS – Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung, Brüderweg 22-24, 44135 Dortmund, Deutschland, E-mail: nils.hans@ils-forschung.de
Dr. Heike Hanhörster: ILS – Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung, Brüderweg 22-24, 44135 Dortmund, Deutschland
Jun. Prof. Dr. Jan Polívka: ILS – Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung, Brüderweg 22-24, 44135 Dortmund, Deutschland
Sabine Beißwenger: ILS – Institut für Landes- und Stadtentwicklungsforschung, Brüderweg 22-24, 44135 Dortmund, Deutschland

sociological urban research. Closely connected with such neighbourhoods is the discussion over context effects and their potential to create disadvantage. The starting point for this paper is the observation that most research into such context effects highlights deficits, without taking sufficient account of those factors and mechanisms influencing migrants' access to societal resources. The article thus takes a look at available empirical and theoretical research, highlighting three current aspects influencing such access in arrival spaces: the increasingly multi-local contacts of these migrants, the specific concentration of migrant-related opportunity structures in certain sub-districts of our cities, and governance processes reacting to increasing diversity and constantly changing needs. Currently predominantly focused on ring-fenced neighbourhoods, the article aims to further integration research, calling for greater priority to be attached to looking at the day-to-day lives and practices of migrants. The characteristics and dynamics of arrival spaces illustrate the growing permeability of spatial and social structures, highlighting the need to think out of the neighbourhood box when discussing integration.

Keywords: Arrival spaces, Migration, (Super-)Diversity, Neighbourhood effects, Immigrant integration, Cross-local ties, Opportunity structures

1 Einleitung

Zunehmende soziale und ethnische Diversität stellt urbane Räume vor besondere Herausforderungen. Prozesse, die maßgeblich zu dieser Entwicklung beitragen, sind die Zunahme von Mobilität und Migrationsbewegungen im Allgemeinen (Urry 2007) und die Fluchtzuwanderung seit 2015 im Speziellen (Ceylan/Ottersbach/Wiedemann 2018). Mit dem Zuzug verändern sich soziale Gefüge, die sich auch auf die ‚Integrationschancen' Zugewanderter – hier verstanden als die Zugangschancen zu funktionalen, sozialen und symbolischen Ressourcen[1] – auswirken.

Die zunehmende Diversität („super-diversity", Vertovec 2007) zeigt sich bei der Gruppe der Zugewanderten in ihrer Unterschiedlichkeit beispielsweise bezüglich Alter, Ethnizität und Religion, sozioökonomischer Position, transnationaler Vernetzungspraktiken, Migrationsgeschichten und Aufenthaltsstatus. Durch die seit 2015 zunehmende Fluchtzuwanderung insbesondere in städtische Räume[2] erreicht die Diversifizierung der Bevölkerung eine neue Qualität, denn es lassen sich wesentliche Veränderungen in der Zusammensetzung der Ankommenden ausmachen: Die Gruppe der geflüchteten Zuwanderer ist zunehmend heterogen, nicht nur in Bezug auf ihre ethnische und kulturelle, sondern ebenfalls auf ihre soziale Her-

kunft, und unterscheidet sich dementsprechend ebenso bezüglich ihrer Ressourcenausstattung (Pries 2016; Bertelsmann Stiftung 2018). Vertovec (2015: 2) nennt diese neuen Komplexitäten „another important feature of urban diversification". Sie entstehen dadurch, dass neue Migranten in die urbanen Räume ziehen, die von bereits länger ansässigen Zugewanderten geprägt sind, und dort vorhandene Infrastrukturen nutzen. Diese qualitativ und quantitativ neuen Dynamiken der Zuwanderung und die damit verbundene Ausdifferenzierung städtischer Räume bedürfen eines kritischen Blicks auf bestehende empirische und konzeptionelle Studien, die die Integration von Zugewanderten thematisieren – denn „super-diversity represents the emergence of a new demographic reality" (Grzymala-Kazlowska/Phillimore 2017: 182).

In jenen von Migration geprägten Stadtvierteln konzentrieren sich oft auch in besonderem Ausmaß von Armut betroffene Haushalte. Ethnisch und/oder sozial segregierte Quartiere sind eng verknüpft mit der Diskussion potenzieller Kontexteffekte (auch bezeichnet als Quartiers-, Nachbarschafts-, Gebiets- oder Ortseffekte): Unter diesen Stichwörtern werden Einflussfaktoren analysiert, durch die das Leben in diesen Quartieren zu weiterer Benachteiligung der Bewohner führen kann. Dabei wird davon ausgegangen, dass der Quartierskontext einen Effekt hat, der über die individual- und haushaltsseitigen Ursachen hinaus Wirkung zeigt und damit eine Benachteiligung der Bewohnerschaft weiter verstärkt (van Ham/Manley 2012).[3] Zahlreiche empirische Studien – insbesondere aus dem Kontext US-amerikanischer

---

[1] Unter „Ressourcen" werden im Sinne von Bourdieu (1983) ökonomische, soziale und kulturelle Kapitalien verstanden.

[2] Obwohl der „Königsteiner Schlüssel" eine ausgewogene Verteilung der geflüchteten Zuwanderer auf das deutsche Bundesgebiet regelt und die 2016 eingeführte Wohnsitzauflage vorsieht, dass die Menschen zumindest temporär in der ihnen zugewiesenen Kommune verweilen, war im Sommer 2017 eine deutliche Ungleichverteilung zugunsten städtischer Räume zu beobachten (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2018: 36).

---

[3] Ausgangspunkt bilden diverse Studien aus den USA, beginnend mit der „Chicagoer Schule" zur Wirkung von Wohngebieten und im weiteren Verlauf insbesondere Studien zur „urban underclass" von Wilson (1987).

sciendo

Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. ⎯ **513**
Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes

Städte – identifizieren einen negativen Einfluss durch Wohnquartiere, die von Armut und sozialer Benachteiligung geprägt sind, auf die dort lebenden Menschen (Galster 2008; Sampson 2012). Kontexteffekte konnten ebenfalls für (ethnisch und sozial zumeist deutlich weniger segregierte) europäische Wohnquartiere nachgewiesen werden, wenn auch in geringerem Maße und mit teils widersprüchlichen Befunden (Friedrichs 1998; Buck 2001; Musterd/Ostendorf/de Vos 2003; Sykes/ Musterd 2011). Je nach gewählter räumlicher Maßstabsebene, der betrachteten Gruppe, dem methodischen Vorgehen und dem Betrachtungszeitraum unterscheiden sich die Schlussfolgerungen (Friedrichs 2014; Horr 2016).

Eine Vielzahl an Studien zu Kontexteffekten geht von drei maßgeblichen Einflussfaktoren aus (z. B. Häußermann 2003; Farwick 2012). Einer ist das soziale Umfeld, welches das Quartier den Bewohnern bietet und das über die Rahmenbedingungen zur Ausbildung von Kontakten, Beziehungen und positiven Rollenmodellen eine benachteiligende Wirkung erzeugen kann. Einen zweiten Faktor stellen die physisch-räumlichen Strukturen des Quartiers dar, welche vor allem über den Ausstattungsgrad mit Infrastrukturen die Ressourcenzugänge und Interaktionsmöglichkeiten vorstrukturieren. Den dritten Einflussfaktor bilden Wirkungen ausgehend von der symbolischen Bedeutung des Quartiers und der städtischen *Governance*.

Ein Großteil der Studien zu ethnischer Segregation thematisiert das längerfristige Leben in ethnischen Gemeinschaften als Hürde potenzieller Integration und betont die desintegrative Wirkung (z. B. Heitmeyer 1998; Esser 2001). Jedoch verweisen Studien im Kontext der Integrationsforschung ebenso auf Potenziale ethnisch segregierter Stadtquartiere für den Integrationsprozess (Zhou 2009). Dieser Quartierstypus wird in der Literatur unter anderem auch als „ethnic enclave" (Wilson/Martin 1982), „immigrant enclave" (Portes/Manning 1986) oder „urban enclave" (Zhou 1992) bzw. im deutschsprachigen Raum unter anderem als „ethnische Kolonie" (Heckmann 1981; Häußermann/Siebel 2005; Ceylan 2006) bezeichnet und bezüglich integrationshemmender sowie integrationsfördernder Faktoren diskutiert. Es werden entsprechende Potenziale hervorgehoben, wie beispielsweise die räumliche Nähe zu familiären und innerethnischen (sozialen) Unterstützungsnetzwerken (Hedman 2013), zu migrantischen Ökonomien oder anderen migrationsspezifischen Gelegenheitsstrukturen (Fischer-Krapohl 2013) sowie Potenziale hinsichtlich der positiven Wirkung von Binnenintegration auf Solidarität und Selbstvertrauen (Elwert 1982; Heckmann 1998;

Zhou 2009). Deutlich wird jedoch, dass Forschungen zu Potenzialen ethnischer Segregation für die sozialräumliche Integration Zugewanderter bis dato recht unverbunden neben Studien zu Kontexteffekten stehen (vgl. hierzu kritisch Hoppe 2017).

Der lokalen Ebene wird im Zuge des derzeit ausgerufenen „local turn" (Zapata-Barrero/Caponio/Scholten 2017) in der Migrationspolitikforschung eine neue Relevanz zugeschrieben. Forschung wie auch Politik messen Prozessen der „Integration vor Ort" in den Städten und Quartieren eine besondere Bedeutung bei (Höcke/ Schnur 2016). Die sich verändernde kommunale *Governance* bietet dabei neue, bisher in der Forschung allerdings noch unzureichend reflektierte Allianzen und damit auch potenzielle Zugänge zu Ressourcen (Pütz/Rodatz 2013; Hanappi-Egger/Kutscher 2015) (vgl. Kapitel 3). Studien diskutieren jedoch seit Jahrzehnten kritisch die Relevanz des Quartierraums und der räumlichen Nähe bezüglich des Aufbaus und der Stärke von „communities" (Wellmann/Leighton 1979; Pries 2008). Sie illustrieren eindrücklich die Bedeutung von „cross-local ties" und die Einbindung Zugewanderter in überlokale und transnationale Netzwerke (Glick Schiller/Çağlar 2009; Zhou 2009; Faist 2015; Barwick 2016; Hanhörster/Weck 2016).

Die uneinheitlichen Ergebnisse von Kontexteffekten und die bislang unzureichend verknüpften Debatten zwischen negativen Kontexteffekten auf der einen und Potenzialen der Segregation auf der anderen Seite verweisen auf die Notwendigkeit einer kritischen Reflexion. Unsere Kritik bezieht sich auf zwei Punkte: Es lässt sich einerseits festhalten, dass Forschungen zu Kontexteffekten zumeist stark defizitorientiert sind, also in erster Linie die benachteiligenden Wirkungen des Wohnumfelds analysieren. Zudem werden sie mit der Literatur zu ethnisch segregierten Quartieren sowie der ‚neuen' Diversität und den damit verbundenen Praktiken und Prozessen des Ressourcenzugangs noch unzureichend in Verbindung gebracht. Andererseits liegt der Vorstellung von Kontexteffekten zumeist ein Raumverständnis zugrunde, welches das Quartier als abgeschlossenen „Containerraum"[4] betrachtet. Hinsichtlich der aktuellen Literatur ist eine kritische Reflexion der Frage, welche

---

4 Kritische Betrachtungen der Konzeptualisierung von Quartier als Containerraum und der Verräumlichung sozialer Prozesse beziehen sich auf die Zuschreibung von bestimmten Eigenschaften zu einem konstruierten Raum. Damit einher geht die Reduktion komplexer sozialer Phänomene, eine Homogenisierung sozialer und kultureller Eigenschaften von Menschen sowie eine Verallgemeinerung gesellschaftlicher Verursachungszusammenhänge (vgl. Werlen 1997; Drilling 2008; Glasze/Pott 2014).

Bedeutung dem (Quartier-)Raum für den Prozess der Integration zugewiesen wird, notwendig.

Die Kritik an diesen zwei defizitorientierten Betrachtungsweisen lässt sich im Kontext von jenen städtischen Teilräumen illustrieren, die in besonderer Weise von Zuwanderung, einer hohen Fluktuation der Bewohnerschaft, Armut, transnationalen Lebensweisen und einer räumlichen Konzentration ankunftsorientierter Gelegenheitsstrukturen geprägt sind – den sogenannten Ankunftsräumen (vgl. Kapitel 2). Die gezielte Betrachtung der mit dem (räumlichen) Ankommen verbundenen Praktiken und Prozesse, die Ressourcenzugänge ermöglichen, kann dazu beitragen, Hinweise auf die Durchlässigkeit räumlicher und sozialer Strukturen zu geben und damit die bislang stark an Quartiersgrenzen ausgerichtete Forschung zu öffnen. Dazu ist der Blick auf diese städtischen Teilräume hilfreich, in denen sich die genannten sozialen Prozesse, anhand bestehender Literatur, verdichtet beobachten lassen.

In Anlehnung an die in der Literatur zu Kontexteffekten beschriebenen zentralen Einflussfaktoren für (Des-)Integration (soziales Umfeld, physisch-räumliche Strukturen, symbolische Bedeutung und *Governance*), bezieht sich die kritische Diskussion der Literatur auf drei Fragestellungen, die bislang bei der Analyse von Kontexteffekten noch nicht ausreichend Eingang gefunden haben:

– Wie werden in der Literatur die vielschichtigen sozialen – von lokalen bis hin zu transnationalen – Vernetzungen der Bewohner in ihrer Relevanz für die Zugänglichkeit zu Ressourcen diskutiert?
– Welche Rolle wird der räumlichen Konzentration (migrantischer) Gelegenheitsstrukturen für den Ressourcenzugang Zugewanderter beigemessen?
– Wie wirken städtische *Governance*-Prozesse auf die Charakteristika und Dynamik von Ankunftsräumen?

Die Bedeutung von städtischen Ankunftsräumen ist in den letzten Jahren vermehrt in das Blickfeld des medialen und (fach-)politischen Diskurses gerückt. Im folgenden Kapitel werden zunächst Charakteristika von Ankunftsräumen sowie die Dynamiken, die diesen Räumen zugeschrieben werden, eingeführt. Dies geschieht auf Grundlage des Buches „Arrival City" von Doug Saunders (2011). Die drei zentralen Dynamiken, die die Ressourcenzugänge der in Ankunftsräumen Lebenden beeinflussen, werden in Kapitel 3 genauer im Kontext der bestehenden Literatur reflektiert. In Kapitel 4 wird abschließend diskutiert, welchen Mehrwert ein genaueres Verstehen von Ankunftsräumen hat und inwieweit die Kontexteffekt-Debatte davon profitieren kann.

2 Neue Dynamiken von Zuwanderung und Integration: Ankunftsräume als Brennglas

Doug Saunders (2011) kann als ein Impulsgeber der Debatte um Ankunftsräume gelten. Er befasst sich in seinem populärwissenschaftlichen Buch „Arrival City" anhand von Beispielen in unterschiedlichen Ankunftskontexten mit den Bedingungen und Mechanismen des Ankommens von Zuwandernden in Städten. Durch seine Beschreibungen von dynamischen städtischen Ankunftsräumen richtet er den Fokus auf lokale Faktoren, die die Weichen für den Zugang der unterschiedlichen Bewohnergruppen zu Ressourcen und deren langfristige Integration stellen. Trotz der sehr unterschiedlichen Ausgangsbedingungen beobachtet Saunders übergreifende Muster und Funktionen von Ankunftsräumen, die sich unseren drei Fragestellungen zuordnen lassen.

Zunächst sind Ankunftsräume geprägt von einer Verdichtung sozialer Netzwerke, die den Herkunfts- und den Ankunftsort miteinander verbinden sowie Verbindungen zu anderen städtischen Kontexten herstellen (Saunders 2011: 22 f.). Ankunftsräume bieten Neuankommenden Zugangsmechanismen zu gesellschaftlichen Ressourcen sowie Unterkunfts- und erste Arbeitsmöglichkeiten durch bestehende Netzwerke. Darüber hinaus stellen sie Bezüge zu Heimatorten dar, die mittels bestehender Geld- und Informationstransferinfrastrukturen leichter aufrechtzuerhalten sind (Saunders 2011: 37 ff.).

Neben den sozialen Netzwerken haben physisch-räumliche und institutionelle Strukturen eine Bedeutung für die Funktion der beschriebenen Orte. Eine gewisse Wohndichte, öffentliche Plätze und wohnungsnahe Freiflächen bieten Möglichkeiten zum Begegnen und sind wichtige Kontexte für das ‚Funktionieren' dieser Orte. Darüber hinaus sind kurze Wege zu sozialen Infrastrukturen und öffentlichen Einrichtungen entscheidend für die Integration der Bewohner (Saunders 2011: 58).

Ankunftsräume werden ferner durch die übergeordnete *Governance* mitgeprägt und müssen von der nationalen Ebene (z. B. über den Abbau von Regulierungen zur Arbeitsmarktintegration) über die städtische Politik (z. B. durch die Bereitstellung von erschwinglichem Wohnraum) bis hin zu quartiersbezogenen Akteuren anerkannt und unterstützt werden (Saunders 2011: 126 f.). Wenn durch Akteure und Strukturen flexibel auf wechselnde Bedarfe reagiert wird, können Ankunftsräume wichtige Potenziale entfalten (Saunders 2011: 37 f.).

s sciendo

Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. —— **515**
Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes

Saunders betont, dass nicht alle Wanderungsbewegungen in die Städte die Entstehung von ‚erfolgreichen' Ankunftsräumen nach sich ziehen. Je nach Präsenz und Ausgestaltung der genannten Faktoren entstehen jedoch Kontexte, die den Menschen ein Ankommen in der Stadt ermöglichen und soziale Aufstiegschancen fördern. Dennoch führt soziale Mobilität nicht zwangsläufig zu einem Fortzug aus dem Quartier (Saunders 2011: 63).

Trotz der Popularität des Buches und der häufigen Rezeption des Titel-Begriffs „Arrival City" ist eine wissenschaftlich fundierte, analytische Einordnung des Begriffs hinsichtlich der räumlichen Ausprägungen und Funktionen für die sozialräumliche Teilhabe bislang nicht erfolgt. Dennoch ist das Interesse an Ankunftsprozessen in migrantisch geprägten Städten und Quartieren in den letzten Jahren vermehrt in Forschungen aufgegriffen worden. Hier werden Begrifflichkeiten wie *arrival neighbourhoods* bzw. Ankunftsquartiere oder *arrival areas* bzw. Ankunftsgebiete weitgehend synonym verwendet, allerdings mit unterschiedlichen Schwerpunkten und in unterschiedlichen städtischen Kontexten.

So hat Kurtenbach (2015) eine erste Charakterisierung von „Ankunftsgebieten" im deutschen Kontext vorgenommen. Er beschreibt Ankunftsgebiete als städtische Gebiete, die von sozialer, demographischer und ethnischer Segregation gekennzeichnet sind und hohe Fluktuationsraten aufweisen. Zugewanderte finden Anschluss und Unterstützung durch bereits ansässige Migranten („Sockelbevölkerung") in Form von sozialen Netzwerken und lokalen Gelegenheitsstrukturen (z. B. migrantische Ökonomien). Biehl (2014) erläutert am Beispiel des innerstädtischen Quartiers Kumkapı in Istanbul Charakteristika und Prozesse in einer *arrival neighbourhood*. Sie beschreibt diese *migrant hubs* als hochgradig diversifizierte Quartiere, die zu einem Ankunftsort für unterschiedlichste Zuwanderergruppen geworden sind und deren Zusammensetzung stetigen Einflüssen und Veränderungen ausgesetzt ist. Das untersuchte Quartier wird charakterisiert durch Informalität und bietet Zuwanderern neben Zugängen zum Wohnungsmarkt eine Reihe an Gelegenheitsstrukturen und Arbeitsmöglichkeiten. Schillebeeckx, Oosterlynck und de Decker (2018) untersuchen am Beispiel von Antwerpen-Noord, inwieweit die *arrival infrastructures* Neuankommenden Ressourcen für den Ankunftsprozess bereitstellen. Sie zeigen, dass der Stadtteil neben Wohnmöglichkeiten für Personen mit geringen finanziellen Mitteln auch Arbeitsmöglichkeiten im informellen Sektor bereithält, die die *newcomer* über ausgeprägte soziale Netzwerke und mithilfe von Nichtregierungsorganisationen finden. Die

Autoren kommen zu dem Schluss, dass die räumliche Konzentration von länger ansässigen Migranten die Teilhabechancen Neuzugewanderter fördert. Meeus, van Heur und Arnaut (2018) beschreiben *arrival infrastructures* als jene städtischen Bereiche, in denen Zugewanderte Anknüpfungspunkte und Stabilität finden, um den Prozess der sozialen Aufwärtsmobilität beginnen zu können. Sie betonen, dass diese Unterstützungsinfrastrukturen aus einer Reihe von staatlichen und nichtstaatlichen Leistungen sowie formellen und informellen migrantischen Praktiken entstehen, sich kontinuierlich weiterentwickeln und verändern und als „platforms of arrival and take-off" (Meeus/van Heur/Arnaut 2018: 2) dienen.

Bezogen auf die vorliegende Literatur verstehen wir diese städtischen Teilgebiete des Ankommens[5] als Ankunftsräume, die in besonderer Weise von internationalen und grenzüberschreitenden Migrationsprozessen, Diversität, hoher Fluktuation sowie einer hohen räumlichen Konzentration ankunftsbezogener Gelegenheitsstrukturen (z. B. migrantische Ökonomien) geprägt sind. Wir verwenden die Bezeichnung Ankunfts*räume*, weil sich hier in bedeutender Weise transnationale Lebensweisen beobachten lassen und diese Bezeichnung den fluiden Charakter sowie die räumliche und soziale Durchlässigkeit wiedergibt. Anstatt wie in der Forschung zu Kontexteffekten grundsätzlich davon auszugehen, dass eine räumliche Konzentration von Armut weitere Benachteiligungen zur Folge hat, bietet die Betrachtung der Ankunftsräume die Möglichkeit, diesen Zusammenhang differenzierter zu untersuchen. Hier lassen sich die Dynamiken, die mit der ‚neuen' Diversität einhergehen und in der Debatte um Kontexteffekte bisher zu kurz kommen, verdichtet beobachten: Multilokale Netzwerke und Verflüssigungen des sozialen Umfelds, lokale Gelegenheitsstrukturen, die als Katalysatoren für sozialräumliche Integration fungieren können, und sich verändernde *Governance*-Prozesse.

---

5 Während Saunders (2011) den Begriff des Ankommens in erster Linie durch soziale Aufwärtsmobilität definiert, verstehen wir „Ankommen" (im Sinne unseres skizzierten Integrationsverständnisses) als Zugang zu funktionalen, sozialen und symbolischen Ressourcen.

3 Dynamiken in Ankunftsräumen

Anhand der folgenden drei Aspekte wird dargelegt, welchen Mehrwert ein genaueres Verstehen von Ankunftsräumen mit sich bringt und inwieweit die Kontexteffekt-Debatte davon profitieren kann.

3.1 Verflüssigungen des sozialen Umfelds und multilokale Netzwerke

In der Debatte um Kontexteffekte stehen die sozialen Netzwerke im unmittelbaren Wohnumfeld im Fokus, von denen eine benachteiligende Wirkung auf die Bewohner ausgeht. Das Studium der aktuellen Literatur zeigt jedoch, dass eine Fokussierung auf die Wohnumgebung nicht die aktuellen Gesellschaftspraktiken widerspiegelt, da die maßgeblichen aktuellen Gesellschaftsprozesse und die bisher als physisch-räumlich verankert verstandenen sozialen Bezüge einer zunehmenden Beweglichkeit, Flexibilisierung und Verflüssigung (*liquidity*) unterworfen sind (Bauman 2003). Diese Dynamiken werden oft als Herausforderung betrachtet, wir hingegen richten das Augenmerk auf mögliche hierdurch bedingte Durchlässigkeiten sozialer und räumlicher Strukturen sowie damit einhergehende Implikationen für die Debatte um Kontexteffekte. Die soziale Benachteiligung, die unter weniger fluiden Bedingungen durch den Wohnkontext verstärkt werden kann, wird durch verschiedene Aspekte relativiert: durch eine Diversifizierung der Ankommenden, durch Vernetzungen der Ankommenden über den Quartierskontext hinaus und durch einen teilweisen Verbleib von Personen im Quartier nach einem erfolgreichen Ankommen und erfolgter sozialer Aufwärtsmobilität.

Soziale Benachteiligungsprozesse, hervorgerufen durch das soziale Umfeld, relativieren sich in Ankunftsräumen zunächst durch die Diversität der Ankommenden (Pries 2016) und die fortschreitende Diversifizierung der Bevölkerung in diesen städtischen Teilräumen (Vertovec 2015). Während die Migrationsforschung lange Zeit transnationale Eliten als hochqualifizierte Mobile auf der einen und weniger qualifizierte Immobile auf der anderen Seite betrachtet hat, ist mittlerweile eine Auflösung dieses dichotomen Verständnisses zu erkennen (Becker 2018). So rückt vermehrt in den Fokus, dass ein Großteil der in den Städten Europas und Nordamerikas lebenden Migranten in ihren jeweiligen Herkunftsländern mittleren sozialen Lagen zuzuordnen sind (Conradson/Latham 2005; Smith 2005). Sowohl Angehörige der mobilen Mittelschichten als auch der mobiler werdenden sozioökonomisch schlechter gestellten sozialen Lagen sind für das Verstehen der zunehmenden Diversität in Ankunftsräumen von Bedeutung. Die Spannbreiten unterschiedlicher Merkmale der Bewohner weiten sich. So finden sich in der Regel sowohl sehr ressourcenarme als auch ressourcenreichere Migranten im Quartier und erweitern damit das Spektrum der dort vorhandenen sozialen, ökonomischen und kulturellen Ressourcen. Auf der anderen Seite wird argumentiert, dass diese steigende Diversität auch zu einer Zunahme an Konflikten, Aushandlungsbedarfen sowie daraus resultierenden Aushandlungsprozessen und Umgangsstrategien mit ‚neuer' Diversität führen kann (Grzymala-Kazlowska/Phillimore 2017).

Sozial- und raumwissenschaftliche Forschung hat lange Zeit Migration als unidirektional, kurzfristig irreversibel und stark auf den nahräumlichen Ankunftskontext fixiert betrachtet. Im Zuge gesteigerter Mobilität und wachsender informationstechnologischer Vernetzungen kommt es in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu einer sich beschleunigenden Veränderung der Verortungspraktiken, die räumlich-statische Verhaltensmuster aufbrechen und fluide Netzwerke des Austauschs entstehen lassen (Castells 1996; Urry 2007). Dies geht einher mit einem Bedeutungsgewinn von plurilokalen Verortungen und Nationalgrenzen dauerhaft überspannenden, transnationalen Sozialräumen. Migranten sind eingebunden in diese transnationalen Netzwerke, die Verbindungen bzw. Rückbeziehungen zwischen dem Ankunfts- und dem Herkunftskontext ermöglichen (Pries 2008; Glick Schiller/Çağlar 2009; Dittrich-Wesbuer/Plöger 2013). Forschungen verweisen zudem auf eine Zunahme an temporären Formen von Migration, die Einfluss auf die Verortungspraktiken der Zugewanderten und damit auch auf den Aufbau ihrer Netzwerke haben (Collins 2012; Faist 2015). Diese Dynamiken zeigen, dass sich die Vernetzungen der Migranten nicht auf das Wohnumfeld beschränken, sondern sich aus individuellen, multilokalen Beziehungsnetzwerken ergeben (Beck/Perry 2008) und somit lokale ebenso wie transnationale Netzwerke als Kontexte des Ressourcenzugangs dienen.

Korrespondierend zum oben dargestellten, überkommenen Verständnis von Migrationsprozessen bestand lange Zeit eine eingeschränkte Sicht auf die Funktion, die Räume im Integrationsprozess einnehmen. Aktuelle Forschungen illustrieren, dass das Modell der „Chicagoer Schule"[6] aktuelle Prozesse der sozialräum-

---

6 Das Modell beschreibt aufbauend auf empirischen Studien in Chicago (u. a. Park/Burgess 1925) die idealtypischen Stufen der Integration. Demnach ziehen Zugewanderte zunächst in

lichen Integration nicht adäquat abbildet (Grzymala-Kazlowska/Phillimore 2017). So zeigen Studien, dass mit einer sozialen Mobilität nicht zwangsläufig eine räumliche Mobilität verknüpft ist und mit dem sozialen Aufstieg von Migranten entsprechend nicht unbedingt ein Fortzug aus dem Quartier einhergeht. Ein Teil der sozial aufwärts Mobilen entscheidet sich bewusst für den Verbleib im Quartier, beispielsweise aufgrund von Eigentumserwerb oder Unternehmensgründungen (Hanhörster 2014; Barwick 2016). Diese ressourcenstärkeren Haushalte können durch den Transfer von Sozialkapital in soziale Netzwerke oder das Einbringen von Ressourcen in quartiersbezogene Akteurnetzwerke einen wichtigen Einflussfaktor für die sozialräumliche Integration anderer Bewohner darstellen und so die vom Quartierskontext ausgehende Benachteiligung relativieren.

3.2 Lokale Gelegenheitsstrukturen als Katalysatoren sozialräumlicher Integration

Auch in Zeiten vereinfachter Mobilität, neuer digitaler Kommunikationsmöglichkeiten und der Einbindung von Migranten in transnationale Netzwerke wird physisch-räumlich verankerten Gelegenheitsstrukturen eine wichtige Bedeutung bei der Versorgung der lokalen Bevölkerung zugesprochen (Biehl 2014; Zapata-Barrero/Caponio/Scholten 2017). Virtuelle Netzwerke lösen (nah)räumlich lokalisierte Kontakte folglich nicht ab, sondern ergänzen diese (Schreiber/Göppert 2018). Insbesondere alltagspraktische Unterstützungsleistungen sind ortsgebunden: „The importance of proximity will persist for services until it is possible to transport a cup of sugar electronically" (Plickert/Côté/Wellman 2007: 424). Vor dem Hintergrund der Fluchtmigration der letzten Jahre wird den Zugängen zu diesen Leistungen, beispielsweise zu (erschwinglichem) Wohnraum, einer (muttersprachlichen) wohnortnahen Gesundheitsversorgung oder Orten der gemeinsamen Religionsausübung, eine besondere Bedeutung zugeschrieben (Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018).

Nicht alle von Zuwanderung geprägten Stadtteile stellen entsprechende Ressourcen gleichermaßen bereit. Gelegenheitsstrukturen konzentrieren sich vielmehr in bestimmten Ankunftsräumen und bieten Neuzuwanderern wichtige erste Ankerpunkte: „the migrant

infrastructure of the street offers a partial promise to the newcomer, a space of relative autonomy and invisibility, to obtain a foothold in the city" (Hall/King/Finlay 2017: 1325). Daher ist es von Bedeutung, den Blick für diese Stadtteile und insbesondere für die ‚Integrationsleistungen', die in diesen Quartieren an bestimmten Orten räumlich konzentriert sind, zu schärfen. Wir verstehen dabei den umkämpften und zunehmend kritisch diskutierten Begriff der Integration als ein analytisches Konzept, um die Zugänge unterschiedlicher sozialer oder auch ethnischer Gruppen zu funktionalen, sozialen und symbolischen Ressourcen zu fassen.

Beispielhaft sind in diesem Zusammenhang migrantische Ökonomien und die Herausbildung von migrantischen Unterstützungsstrukturen zu nennen (vgl. Hillmann 2011; Schmiz/Kitzmann 2017; Hillmann 2018). Diese sind in besonders konzentrierter Form in innerstädtischen Quartieren von Mittel- und Großstädten zu finden (Hanhörster/Fischer-Krapohl 2011). Sie bieten einerseits Dienstleistungsangebote (z. B. internationaler Geldtransfer) für Neuzuwanderer und darüber hinaus vielfach niedrigschwellige Arbeitsgelegenheiten in nicht-wissensintensiven Wirtschaftsbereichen (Kurtenbach 2015). Folglich ermöglichen sie wichtige Anschlussmöglichkeiten an den lokalen Arbeitsmarkt. Dies betrifft nicht nur Opportunitäten, die Zugezogenen durch Infrastrukturen ihrer eigenen ‚Landsleute' geboten werden. Vielmehr wächst neben den Unterstützungsleistungen zwischen Personen derselben regionalen Herkunft und Nationalität die Bedeutung von Interaktionen und Netzwerken auf der Grundlage ähnlicher sozialer Lagen und geteilter Wertemuster. Wessendorf (2017) illustriert dies am Beispiel superdiverser Quartiere Londons und relativiert damit die vielfach in Forschung und Politik implizit oder explizit erwartete hohe Bedeutung der *eigenen* ethnischen Gruppe. Deutlich wird, dass in Ankunftsräumen gerade aufgrund der hier besonders ausgeprägten Diversität und Fluktuation Ressourcenzugänge auch über ethnische Grenzen hinweg eröffnet werden können.

Neben der rein funktionalen Versorgung der Quartiersbevölkerung leisten Gelegenheitsstrukturen weitere wichtige Beiträge, die in ihrer Funktion für den Prozess des Ankommens in der Literatur bislang nicht ausreichend gewürdigt scheinen: Institutionelle *Settings* strukturieren Interaktionen und beeinflussen das Entstehen und die Zusammensetzung sozialer Netzwerke (Small 2009). Diese (unterschiedlich institutionalisierten) Orte und Einrichtungen haben damit eine Bedeutung als Kristallisationsorte der Begegnungen zwischen Personen und als Orte des Transfers von sozialen, kulturellen und ökonomischen Kapitalien (Kurtenbach 2015; Schille-

---

zentrumsnahe ethnisch segregierte Wohnquartiere und verlagern ihren Wohnsitz mit fortschreitender Integration in wohlhabendere Stadtquartiere.

beeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018). Aktuelle Studien in Ankunftsräumen in Deutschland und Belgien bestätigen die besondere Rolle der Gestaltung lokaler Gelegenheitsstrukturen, denn sie bieten den Neuzugewanderten niedrigschwellige Zugänge zu Unterstützungsangeboten (Kurtenbach 2015; Schönwälder/Petermann/Hüttermann et al. 2016; Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018). Unterstützungsleistungen zwischen Personen können dabei in Form alltagspraktischer Informationen oder emotionaler Unterstützung, aber auch mittels Ressourcen, die die soziale Mobilität befördern können, erfolgen. Die Dichte und Ausgestaltung dieser *Settings* beeinflussen damit in mehrfacher Hinsicht die sozialen und kulturellen Ressourcen der Quartiersbewohner (Small 2009; Beißwenger/Hanhörster 2019).

Amin (2002: 969) verweist mit dem Begriff der „micropublics" darüber hinaus auf die Funktion bestimmter räumlicher Strukturen für das Aushandeln von Diversität: „settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labelling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments". Gerade in den superdiversen Kontexten von Ankunftsräumen erhalten diese Orte eine besondere Funktion, um das Nebeneinander unterschiedlicher Gruppen zu verhandeln. Soziale Beziehungen, die in diesem Kontext deutlicher in den Mittelpunkt gerückt werden müssen, sind neben festen Netzwerkstrukturen auch flüchtige Begegnungen. Diese können je nach Kontext zu Verstärkung von Fremdheitsgefühl, Ausschluss und Vorurteilen oder aber auch zu dem Überwinden von Gruppengrenzen beitragen (Valentine 2008). Noble (2009), Wessendorf (2014) und Wise und Velayutham (2014) verweisen in ihren Analysen zu London, Sydney und Singapur mit den Begriffen der „commonplace diversity" (Wessendorf 2014: 93), des „unpanicked multiculturalism" (Noble 2009: 50) oder „convivial multiculture" (Wise/Velayutham 2014: 407) auf die Normalität im Umgang mit ethnischer Vielfalt in superdiversen Quartieren.

Die zuvor beschriebene Mobilität und innerstädtische Fluktuation in Ankunftsräumen verweisen auf die Einzugsbereiche von Gelegenheitsstrukturen, die vielfach über die Quartiersgrenzen hinausgehen. Einrichtungen wie Moscheevereine oder Dienste bestimmter Ärzte werden nicht nur von der Bevölkerung vor Ort in Anspruch genommen, sondern erweisen sich vielfach als wichtige Kristallisationspunkte auch für jene Migranten, die beispielsweise im Zuge ihrer Wohnkarriere das Quartier verlassen haben (Fragemann 2017). Bislang illustrieren nur wenige empirische Studien in Deutschland die sozialen Bezüge, die sich in bestimmten Einrichtungen kristallisieren und auch weit über die Quartiersgrenzen

hinausreichen und damit auch auf die Durchlässigkeit (administrativer) Quartiersgrenzen hinweisen (Hanhörster/Weck 2016; Barwick 2017; Lang/Schneider 2017). Während das gezielte Aufsuchen von Orten außerhalb des Quartiers bisher als kontaktvermeidende Praktik von Mittelschichtshaushalten in benachteiligten städtischen Gebieten beschrieben wurde (Butler/Robson 2003; Watt 2009), vermuten wir durch diese quartierübergreifenden Vernetzungspraktiken (bislang nicht ausreichend reflektierte) Möglichkeiten des Ressourcenzugangs auch für ressourcenschwächere Bevölkerungsschichten.

3.3 Governance und Diversität

Im Umgang mit dem *Governance*-Begriff seien zunächst zwei Verständniskonzeptionen erwähnt (Benz 2004; Mayntz 2005): Einerseits liegt dem normativen Begriff der *Governance* ein ‚enges' Verständnis des Wandels staatlichen Handelns von hierarchisch hin zu kooperativ im Sinne von Handlungsstrukturen bzw. Handlungsprozessen zugrunde. Diese ziehen neben den ‚klassischen' Formen der Machtausübung aufgrund von Hierarchie bzw. Konsens unter anderem auch die Win-win-Modi wie Tausch, Verhandlung bzw. Wettbewerb oder gegenseitiges Vertrauen hinzu (von Blumenthal 2005; Demirovic 2011; Denters 2011). Ebenso hängt damit ein prozessuales Verständnis im Sinne ihrer Interaktionen zusammen, bei dem *Governance* durch die Akteure eines Verhandlungssystems gestaltet wird, im Rahmen von einer Vielfalt weiterhin hierarchisch gesteuerter, gesellschaftlich institutionalisierter und kollektiv verbindlicher Selbstregelungen (vor allem Mayntz 2004; Mayntz 2005; auch Scharpf 2000; Benz 2001; Börzel 2014). Somit beinhaltet *Governance* die komplexen Zusammenhänge zwischen staatlicher Lenkung, kooperativer Handlung und Selbststeuerung (Benz 2004; Mayntz 2004).

Das Verhältnis zwischen dem vorrangig hierarchisch beschriebenen Staat (Walk 2008) und den Akteuren aus Wirtschaft und Zivilgesellschaft ist insbesondere durch den Diskurs zum Wandel der Staatlichkeit im Sinne einer koordinierenden bzw. moderierenden Rolle und der Frage nach ihrer (neuen) Steuerungskraft gekennzeichnet (Pierre/Peters 2000). Die Beziehung zwischen kooperativen Verfahren und der Partizipation etwa unter dem Begriff der *Participatory Governance* eröffnet ein weiteres Diskursfeld (Gbikpi/Grote 2002; Gustafson/Hertting 2016). Im Gegensatz zu *Governance* besitzt laut Schmitter (2002) die hierarchisch-institutionell verankerte Partizipation Mechanismen und Verfahren zu repräsentativer Auswahl und offenem Zugang von Betei-

ligten. Demirovic und Walk (2011) weisen darauf hin, dass die Möglichkeiten der Beteiligung bei *Governance*-Prozessen generell und bei unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Gruppen ungleich und stark ressourcenabhängig sowie intransparent sind. Die auf Kooperationen und Aushandlungen orientierten *Governance*-Verfahren (vgl. Jessop 2008) sind zumeist mit einer Verlagerung von Beteiligung und Entscheidungsvorbereitung in koalitionsorientierten Foren verknüpft, für die aufgrund ihrer Komplexität und Ressourcenintensität eine selektierte bzw. privilegierte und zunehmend professionalisierte Teilnahme qualifiziert (Wälti/Kübler/Papadopoulos 2004; Blakeley 2010).

In diesem Zusammenhang ist der Frage nach der Konstruktion von Ankunftsräumen als Arenen des Handelns im Sinne der Ressourcenverteilung nachzugehen. Wie Blakeley (2010: 132) zusammenfasst, werden durch die Veränderung von Steuerungspraktiken Aufgaben vom Staat unter anderem auf Individuen bzw. lokale Netzwerke übertragen (u. a. Isin 2000; Swyngedouw 2005) und gleichzeitig weiterhin ‚von der Ferne' kontrolliert, wobei dies weniger als ein ‚Transfer' von staatlicher Macht, sondern als ‚Transformation' zu verstehen ist. Einerseits wird dadurch der Prozess von einer Vielfalt zwischen hierarchisch gesteuerten und eigens gesellschaftlich institutionalisierten und kollektiv verbindlichen Selbstregelungen durch die Akteure eines Verhandlungssystems gestaltet (Scharpf 2000; Mayntz 2005; Börzel 2014). Vorrangig in migrantisch geprägten Quartieren ist im Hinblick auf die zu bewältigenden Integrationsaufgaben die Verteilung sozialer Ressourcen mithilfe von *Governance*-Strukturen in Deutschland unter anderem als Quartiersmanagement ausgebaut worden. Top-down installiert, bieten Quartiersmanagements niedrigschwellige Zugänge zu Unterstützungsleistungen und passen sich stetig den aktuellen Bedarfen und Veränderungen in den Quartieren an (Drilling/Schnur 2009). Zunehmend wird die Aufmerksamkeit auf die ‚neuen' Intermediären (Beck/Schnur 2016; Lang 2017) an der Schnittstelle von Arenen gerichtet, an denen auch zunehmend professionalisierten Migrantenselbstorganisationen gemeinsam mit den etablierten sozialen Organisationen eine Schlüsselrolle bei der Diskursbestimmung und der Verteilung externer Ressourcen zugeschrieben wird (Haas 2015).

Andererseits verstärkt die Globalisierung und die daraus folgende Migration allgemein und in den Ankunftsräumen insbesondere das Bild einer von Vielfalt geprägten Gesellschaftsstruktur, welches im Gegensatz zu traditionellen Gesellschaftsstrukturen der Industriegesellschaft steht. Dies hat eine weitergehende Entwicklung und Reorganisation der öffentlichen Förder- und

städtischen Steuerungspolitiken zufolge, die allerdings weiterhin „zutiefst raumbezogen" (Pütz/Rodatz 2013: 171) auf die traditionellen Quartier- bzw. Sozialraumabgrenzungen fixiert bleiben (Pütz/Rodatz 2013; Hanappi-Egger/Kutscher 2015). Ankunftsräume werden zunehmend als spezifischer Raum für potenzialorientiertes „dealing with diversity" (Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018: 1) verstanden. Bei Migranten werden unter dem Begriff von Diversität die bislang relevanten Unterschiede des Eigenen und des Fremden durch eine positiv konnotierte und potenzialorientierte kulturelle Vielfalt ersetzt und gleichzeitig das Individuum zu einem Selbst-Engagement innerhalb eines Wettbewerbsraumes verpflichtet (Swyngedouw 2005; Pütz/Rodatz 2013).

Blokland, Giustozzi, Krüger et al. (2016) weisen hinsichtlich der ankunftsbezogenen Netzwerke auf die insbesondere im deutschen Kontext relativ hohe räumlich-soziale Durchlässigkeit hin, die als Gegenbild einer Überbetonung von Quartieren (*location*) gegenüber sozialen Lagen (*position*) gilt. Die übergreifende Vielfalt und Flexibilität von Handlungsmöglichkeiten, Ressourcengewinnung und -nutzung ist dabei laut Saunders (2011) eine der Voraussetzungen für die Aufwärtsmobilität und Integration in die Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Die „arrival infrastructures" (Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018) bauen auf Ressourcenkanäle und Netzwerke, die eine lokalräumliche Bindung und gleichzeitig eine räumliche wie institutionelle Ressourcen-, Hierarchie- und Strukturoffenheit aufweisen, dadurch anpassungsfähig sind und auf Veränderungen (wie z. B. in der Zusammensetzung der Ankommenden) reagieren können (Swanstrom/Chapple/Immergluck 2009). Dabei weisen solche Ressourcen eine größere Stabilität auf, die sowohl in die (ethnischen) sozialen Netzwerke als auch in breitere sozioökonomische und politisch institutionelle Rahmen eingebunden sind (Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018).

4 Mehrwert der Betrachtung von Ankunftsräumen

Ziel dieser theoretisch-konzeptionellen Arbeit war es, anhand vorliegender Literatur zu diskutieren, inwieweit die Debatte um Kontexteffekte durch die Betrachtung der sich insbesondere in Ankunftsräumen niederschlagenden Migrationsdynamiken angereichert werden kann. Dies erfolgte anhand von drei Aspekten: den Auswirkungen der vielfältigen multilokalen Vernetzungen von Migranten und deren Wirkung auf die Zugänglichkeit

zu Ressourcen, der Rolle von Institutionen und migrantischen Gelegenheitsstrukturen in Ankunftsräumen sowie der Reaktion von *Governance*-Prozessen auf zunehmende Diversität und veränderte Bedarfe. Der Beitrag hinterfragt den in der aktuellen Integrationsforschung vorherrschenden analytischen Fokus auf das Quartier als zentralen Kontext für den Zugang zu gesellschaftlichen Ressourcen und relativiert die im Rahmen der Kontexteffekte-Forschung diskutierten negativen Wirkungen des Lebens in ‚benachteiligten Quartieren'.

Viele der von Saunders (2011) beschriebenen Merkmale und Funktionen von „Arrival Cities" sind für die Integrationsforschung von Relevanz. Zu beobachten sind in verschiedenen europäischen Großstädten jene Quartiere, die in besonderer Weise von Zuwanderung, Diversität, einer räumlichen Konzentration ankunftsorientierter Gelegenheitsstrukturen sowie Fluktuation gekennzeichnet sind (Biehl 2014; Kurtenbach 2015; Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018). Bisher standen bei der Betrachtung dieser ethnisch und sozial segregierten Stadtteile in erster Linie die benachteiligenden Wirkungen im Fokus (van Ham/Manley 2012). Aktuelle Literatur zeigt jedoch, dass die räumliche Konzentration von Zugewanderten auch zur gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe der neu hinzukommenden Bewohner beitragen kann. So legen die in der Literatur beschriebenen Formen der Verflüssigung des sozialen Umfelds und die multilokalen Netzwerke von Migranten (Bauman 2003; Glick Schiller/Çağlar 2009; Faist 2015) es nahe, den Blickwinkel um die individuell relevanten räumlichen Vernetzungen von Quartiersbewohnern zu erweitern, um somit die ressourcenrelevanten Kontexte abzubilden.

In Ankunftsräumen lassen sich Gelegenheitsstrukturen räumlich konzentriert und in verdichteter Form beobachten (Hall/King/Finlay 2017). Dass insbesondere Einrichtungen und Institutionen als Kontexte zu nennen sind, die soziale Interaktionen strukturieren, zeigen aktuelle Forschungen. Es sind Kristallisationsorte, die räumlich im Quartier verortet sind, aber auch von Personen aus anderen Quartieren und unterschiedlicher sozialer Lagen aufgesucht werden und als Kontexte des Ressourcenaustauschs fungieren können (Kurtenbach 2015; Hanhörster/Weck 2016; Schillebeeckx/Oosterlynck/de Decker 2018).

Die Betrachtung der *Governance* von Ankunftsräumen und die individuellen Ressourcenzugänge der Migranten relativieren die auf dem Containerverständnis beruhenden benachteiligenden Kontexteffekte. Je nach städtischen Akteurstrukturen und lokalen Bündnissen können Ankunftsräume in ihrer Funktion anerkannt und gezielt gestärkt werden. Migranten sind auf vielfältige

Weise sowohl in informelle als auch in unterschiedlich formalisierte Netzwerkstrukturen eingebunden (Pütz/Rodatz 2013; Hanappi-Egger/Kutscher 2015). Daher ist der Fokus zukünftig verstärkt auf die Netzwerke und *agency* (vgl. Barker 2003) der Migranten zu richten, durch die sie die Ressourcenzugänge für das Ankommen erhalten.

Die genauere Analyse der Dynamiken und Mechanismen in Ankunftsräumen erweitert statische Konzepte abgeschlossener Quartierräume, in denen die Bewohner als vornehmlich von ihrer benachteiligten Umgebung beeinflusst angesehen werden. Dies bezieht sich insbesondere auf die bislang nur unzureichend erforschten quartierübergreifenden sozialen, institutionellen und die damit verbundenen raumfunktionalen Bezüge. Die aktuellen Gesellschaftsprozesse in migrationsgeprägten Quartieren können entsprechend nicht in ausreichendem Maße durch die quartierraumbezogene Kontexteffekte-Forschung abgebildet werden, sondern es ist stattdessen eine erweiterte Perspektive notwendig. Die Konzentration auf Ankunftsräume und die gezielte Betrachtung der Alltagspraktiken der dort lebenden Menschen bietet die Möglichkeit, die Überlagerung von unterschiedlichen transnationalen und multilokalen Migrations- und Verortungspraktiken sowie die damit einhergehenden Möglichkeiten der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe adäquat abzubilden. Durch die Beforschung von Ankunftsräumen können die Funktionen, die Teilbereiche unserer Städte für die Integration Zugewanderter einnehmen, in breiteren Zusammenhängen verstanden sowie die konstituierende und transformierende Kraft von Zuwanderung und ihr Einfluss auf die Stadtentwicklungspraxis tiefer beleuchtet werden.

Obwohl die hier beschriebenen räumlichen Spezifika und sozialen Praktiken in unterschiedlichen Fallstudien weltweit beobachtet wurden, ist eine Diskussion der quantitativen und qualitativen Indikatoren zur Identifizierung von Ankunftsräumen erst für sehr wenige europäische Städte erfolgt. Für zukünftige Forschung wäre es daher wünschenswert, bereits etablierte sowie sich neu entwickelnde Ankunftsräume zu identifizieren und auch im Kontext der *Governance* unterschiedlicher Länder und Städte gegenüberstellend zu betrachten. Darüber hinaus erscheint es erforderlich, mithilfe von ethnographischen Studien die Lebenswelten, individuellen Alltagspraktiken und das Zusammenleben von Zugewanderten in superdiversen Wohnquartieren genauer nachzuvollziehen und die unterschiedlichen Wege und Möglichkeiten des Ankommens besser zu verstehen. Der Blick auf Ankunftsräume verdeutlicht, dass die soziale Mobilität von Zugewanderten nicht unmittelbar

mit räumlicher Mobilität verknüpft sein muss. Zielführend wäre in diesem Sinne, zum einen die Wohnbiographien der aus Ankunftsräumen Fortziehenden genauer in Augenschein zu nehmen sowie zum anderen die Hintergründe und Dynamiken des Verbleibs der migrantischen Mittelschicht weiter zu untersuchen. Nur so können die Herausforderungen und Potenziale, die Ankunftsräume für die Integration Zugewanderter bieten, erkannt und gezielt gefördert werden.

Literatur

Amin, A. (2002): Ethnicity and the Multicultural City: Living with Diversity. In: Environment and Planning A 34, 6, 959-980. doi: 10.1068/a3537

Barker, C. (2003): Cultural studies. Theory and practice. London.

Barwick, C. (2016): Social Mobility and Neighbourhood Choice. Turkish-Germans in Berlin. London/New York.

Barwick, C. (2017): Are Immigrants Really Lacking Social Networking Skills? The Crucial Role of Reciprocity in Building Ethnically Diverse Networks. In: Sociology 51, 2, 410-428. doi: 10.1177/0038038515596896

Bauman, Z. (2003): Flüchtige Moderne. Frankfurt am Main.

Beck, S.; Perry, T. (2008): Studie Soziale Segregation. Nebeneinander und Miteinander in der Stadtgesellschaft. In: Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung 3, 115-122.

Beck, S.; Schnur, O. (2016): Mittler, Macher, Protestierer. Intermediäre Akteure in der Stadtentwicklung. Berlin.

Becker, A. (2018): Zwischen Mobilität und Sesshaftigkeit. Sozialräumliche Verortung hochqualifizierter Migranten in Hamburg. Wiesbaden. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-22116-4

Beißwenger, S.; Hanhörster, H. (2019): Sharing resources via encounters? Middle class families in mixed urban neighborhoods. In: City and Community (im Erscheinen).

Benz, A. (2001): Der moderne Staat: Grundlagen der politologischen Analyse. München.

Benz, A. (2004): Einleitung: Governance – Modebegriff oder nützliches sozialwissenschaftliches Konzept? In: Benz, A. (Hrsg.): Governance – Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen: Eine Einführung. Wiesbaden, 11-28.

Bertelsmann Stiftung (2018): Kulturelle Vielfalt in Städten. Fakten – Positionen – Strategien. Gütersloh.

Biehl, K. S. (2014): Exploring migration, diversification and urban transformation in contemporary Istanbul: The case of Kumkapı. Göttingen. = MMG Working Paper 14-11.

Blakeley, G. (2010): Governing Ourselves: Citizen Participation and Governance in Barcelona and Manchester. In: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research 34, 1, 130-145. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00953.x

Blokland, T.; Giustozzi, C.; Krüger, D.; Schilling, H. (2016): Introduction: Creating the Unequal City. In: Blokland, T.; Giustozzi, C.; Krüger, D.; Schilling, H. (Hrsg.): Creating the Unequal City: The Exclusionary Consequences of Everyday Routines in Berlin. London/New York, 1-28.

Börzel, T. A. (2014): Was ist Governance? Passau. = Passauer Jean Monnet Papiere 2/2014.

Bourdieu, P. (1983): Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital. In: Kreckel, R. (Hrsg.): Soziale Ungleichheiten. Göttingen, 183-199. = Soziale Welt: Sonderband 2.

Buck, N. (2001): Identifying Neighbourhood Effects on Social Exclusion. In: Urban Studies 38, 12, 2251-2275. doi: 10.1080/00420980120087153

Butler, T.; Robson, G. (2003): London calling. The middle-classes and the re-making of inner London. Oxford.

Castells, M. (1996): The rise of the network society. The information age: Economy, society and culture. Oxford.

Ceylan, R. (2006): Ethnische Kolonien. Entstehung, Funktion und Wandel am Beispiel türkischer Moscheen und Cafés. Wiesbaden. doi: 10.1007/978-3-531-90484-9

Ceylan, R.; Ottersbach, M.; Wiedemann, P. (2018): „Neue Migrationen" unter sozialräumlicher Perspektive: Herausforderungen und Chancen. In: Ceylan, R.; Ottersbach, M.; Wiedemann, P. (Hrsg.): Neue Mobilitäts- und Migrationsprozesse und sozialräumliche Segregation. Wiesbaden, 1-4. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-18868-9

Collins, F. L. (2012): Transnational mobilities and urban spatialities. In: Progress in Human Geography 36, 3, 316-335. doi: 10.1177/0309132511423126

Conradson, D.; Latham, A. (2005): Friendship, networks and transnationality in a world city: Antipodean transmigrants in London. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 31, 2, 287-305. doi: 10.1080/1369183042000339936

Demirovic, A. (2011): Governance – eine neue Stufe staatlicher Herrschaft. In: Demirovic, A; Walk, H. (Hrsg.): Demokratie und Governance. Kritische Perspektiven auf neue Formen politischer Herrschaft. Münster, 73-105.

Demirovic, A.; Walk, H. (2011): Einleitung. In: Demirovic, A.; Walk, H. (Hrsg.): Demokratie und Governance. Kritische Perspektiven auf neue Formen politischer Herrschaft. Münster, 7-17.

Denters, B. (2011): Local Governance. In: Bevir, M. (Hrsg.): The Sage Handbook of Governance. London, 313-329.

Dittrich-Wesbuer, A.; Plöger, J. (2013): Multilokalität und Transnationalität – Neue Herausforderungen für Stadtentwicklung und Stadtpolitik. In: Raumforschung und Raumordnung 71, 3, 195-205. doi: 10.1007/s13147-013-0237-8

Drilling, M. (2008): Die Metapher vom Raum als soziale Landschaft: Perspektiven zur Überwindung der Dichotomie von Quartierskonzeptionen. In: Schnur, O. (Hrsg.): Quartiersforschung. Zwischen Theorie und Praxis. Wiesbaden, 55-68.

Drilling, M.; Schnur, O. (Hrsg.) (2009): Governance der Quartiersentwicklung. Theoretische und praktische Zugänge zu neuen Steuerungsformen. Wiesbaden. doi: 10.1007/978-3-531-92875-3

Elwert, G. (1982): Probleme der Ausländerintegration. Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Binnenintegration? In: Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie 34, 4, 717-731.

Esser, H. (2001): Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Mannheim. = Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung 40.

Faist, T. (2015): Transnational social spaces. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies 38, 13, 2271-2274. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1058502

Farwick, A. (2012): Segregation. In: Eckardt, F. (Hrsg.): Handbuch Stadtsoziologie. Wiesbaden, 381-419. doi: 10.1007/978-3-531-94112-7

Fischer-Krapohl, I. (2013): The Turkish Migrant Economy in Dortmund. An Economy of Urban Diversity. In: Reuschke, D.; Salz-

brunn, M.; Schönhärl, K. (Hrsg.): The Economies of Urban Diversity. The Ruhr Area and Istanbul. New York, 165-187.

Fragemann, M. (2017): Die Bedeutung der Moschee im Alltag – Eine qualitative Untersuchung am Beispiel von Besuchern der Al Fath-Moschee in der Dortmunder Nordstadt. Masterarbeit, Technische Universität Dortmund.

Friedrichs, J. (1998): Do poor neighborhoods make their residents poorer? Context effects of poverty neighborhoods on residents. In: Andreß, H.-J. (Hrsg.): Empirical poverty research in a comparative perspective. Aldershot, 77-99.

Friedrichs, J. (2014): Kontexteffekte von Wohngebieten. In: Friedrichs, J.; Nonnenmacher, A. (Hrsg.): Soziale Kontexte und Soziale Mechanismen. Wiesbaden, 287-314. = Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie, Sonderheft 54.

Galster, G. C. (2008): Quantifying the Effect of Neighbourhood on Individuals. Challenges, Alternative Approaches, and Promising Directions. In: Schmollers Jahrbuch – Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften 128, 1, 7-48.

Gbikpi, B.; Grote, J. R. (2002): From Democratic Government to Participatory Governance. In: Grote, J. R.; Gbikpi, B. (Hrsg.): Participatory Governance. Political and Societal Implications. Opladen, 17-34.

Glasze, G.; Pott, A. (2014): Räume der Migration und der Migrationsforschung. In: Gans, P. (Hrsg.): Räumliche Auswirkungen der internationalen Migration. Hannover, 47-62. = Forschungsberichte der ARL 3.

Glick Schiller, N.; Çağlar, A. (2009): Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35, 2, 177-202. doi: 10.1080/13691830802586179

Grzymala-Kazlowska, A.; Phillimore, J. (2017): Introduction: Rethinking integration. New perspectives on adaptation and settlement in the era of super-diversity. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 44, 2, 179-196. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341706

Gustafson, P.; Hertting, N. (2016): Understanding Participatory Governance: An Analysis of Participants' Motives for Participation. In: The American Review of Public Administration 47, 5, 538-549. doi: 10.1177/0275074015626298

Haas, A. (2015): Crowding at the frontier: Boundary spanners, gatekeepers and knowledge brokers. In: Journal of Knowledge Management 19, 5, 1029-1047. doi: 10.1108/JKM-01-2015-0036

Häußermann, H. (2003): Armut in der Großstadt. Die Stadtstruktur verstärkt soziale Ungleichheit. In: Informationen zur Raumentwicklung 3/4, 147-159.

Häußermann, H.; Siebel, W. (2005): Stadtsoziologie. Eine Einführung. Frankfurt am Main/New York.

Hall, S.; King, J.; Finlay, R. (2017): Migrant infrastructure. Transaction economies in Birmingham and Leicester, UK. In: Urban Studies 54, 6, 1311-1327. doi: 10.1177/0042098016634586

Hanappi-Egger, E.; Kutscher, G. (2015): Entgegen Individualisierung und Entsolidarisierung: Die Rolle der sozialen Klasse als suprakategorialer Zugang in der Diversitätsforschung. In: Hanappi-Egger, E.; Bendl, R. (Hrsg.): Diversität, Diversifizierung und (Ent)Solidarisierung. Eine Standortbestimmung der Diversitätsforschung im deutschen Sprachraum. Wiesbaden, 21-35. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-08606-0

Hanhörster, H. (2014): Türkeistämmige Eigentümer in Migrantenvierteln. Soziale und räumliche Mobilität der zweiten Generation. Wiesbaden. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-05329-1

Hanhörster, H.; Fischer-Krapohl, I. (2011): Entwicklungslinien der Migrantenökonomie. In: Reicher, C.; Kunzmann, K. R.; Polívka, J.; Roost, F.; Utku, Y.; Wegener, M. (Hrsg.): Schichten einer Region. Kartenstücke zur räumlichen Struktur des Ruhrgebiets. Berlin, 118-121.

Hanhörster, H.; Weck, S. (2016): Cross-local ties to migrant neighborhoods. The resource transfers of out-migrating Turkish middle-class households. In: Cities 59, 193-199. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2015.11.004

Heckmann, F. (1981): Die Bundesrepublik, ein Einwanderungsland? Zur Soziologie der Gastarbeiterbevölkerung als Einwandererminorität. Stuttgart.

Heckmann, F. (1998): Ethnische Kolonien: Schonraum für Integration oder Verstärker der Ausgrenzung? In: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Hrsg.): Ghettos oder ethnische Kolonien? Entwicklungschancen von Stadtteilen mit hohem Zuwandereranteil. Bonn, 29-41. = Gesprächskreis Arbeit und Soziales 85.

Hedman, L. (2013): Moving Near Family? The Influence of Extended Family on Neighbourhood Choice in an Intra-urban Context. In: Population, Space and Place 19, 1, 32-45. doi: 10.1002/psp.1703

Heitmeyer, W. (1998): Versagt die „Integrationsmaschine" Stadt? Zum Problem der ethnisch-kulturellen Segregation und ihrer Konfliktfolgen. In: Heitmeyer, W.; Dollase, R.; Backes, O. (Hrsg.): Die Krise der Städte. Analysen zu den Folgen desintegrativer Stadtentwicklung für das ethnisch-kulturelle Zusammenleben. Frankfurt am Main, 443-468.

Hillmann, F. (Hrsg.) (2011): Marginale Urbanität. Migrantisches Unternehmertum und Stadtentwicklung. Bielefeld.

Hillmann, F. (2018): Migrantische Unternehmen als Teil städtischer Regenerierung. In: Emunds, B.; Czingon, C.; Wolff, M. (Hrsg.): Stadtluft macht reich/arm: Stadtentwicklung, soziale Ungleichheit und Raumgerechtigkeit. Marburg, 297-326. = Die Wirtschaft der Gesellschaft, Jahrbuch 4.

Höcke, C.; Schnur, O. (2016): Integration von Geflüchteten – Quo vadis? In: Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung 4, 201-207.

Hoppe, L. (2017): It's for the Neighbourhood. Influences of the Local Social Context on Immigrant Integration in Germany. Dissertation, Universität Bremen.

Horr, A. (2016): Nachbarschaftseffekte. In: Diehl, C.; Hunkler, C.; Kristen, C. (Hrsg.): Ethnische Ungleichheiten im Bildungsverlauf. Mechanismen, Befunde, Debatten. Wiesbaden, 397-430. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-04322-3

Isin, E. F. (2000): Governing Cities without Government. In: Isin, E. F. (Hrsg.): Democracy, Citizenship and the Global City. London/New York, 148-167.

Jessop, B. (2008): State Power. A Strategic-Relational Approach. Cambridge/Malden.

Kurtenbach, S. (2015): Ankunftsgebiete – Segregation als Potenzial nutzen. In: El-Mafaalani, A.; Kurtenbach, S.; Strohmeier, K. P. (Hrsg.): Auf die Adresse kommt es an. Segregierte Stadtteile als Problem- und Möglichkeitsräume begreifen. Weinheim/Basel, 306-328.

Lang, C. (2017): Von ‚typischen' und ‚untypischen' Einwanderungsbezirken: Migrationsbedingte Vielfalt und die interkulturelle Öffnung lokaler Verwaltungen in Berlin. In: Barbehön, M.; Münch, S. (Hrsg.): Variationen des Städtischen – Variationen lokaler Politik. Wiesbaden, 351-373. = Stadtforschung aktuell 122. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-13394-8

sciendo

Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter. ━━ **523**
Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes

Lang, C.; Schneider, J. (2017): Von Kreuzberg nach Tempelhof: Räumliche und soziale Mobilität bei Nachkommen von Eingewanderten aus der Türkei in Berlin. In: Geisen, T.; Riegel, C.; Yildiz, E. (Hrsg.): Migration, Stadt und Urbanität. Perspektiven auf die Heterogenität migrantischer Lebenswelten. Wiesbaden, 237-258. doi: 10.1007/978-3-658-13779-3

Mayntz, R. (2004): Governance im modernen Staat. In: Benz, A. (Hrsg.): Governance – Regieren in komplexen Regelsystemen: Eine Einführung. Wiesbaden, 65-76.

Mayntz, R. (2005): Governance Theory als fortentwickelte Steuerungstheorie? In: Schuppert, G. F. (Hrsg.): Governance-Forschung. Vergewisserung über Stand und Entwicklungslinien. Baden-Baden, 11-20. = Schriften zur Governance-Forschung 1.

Meeus, B.; van Heur, B.; Arnaut, K. (2018): Migration and the Infrastructural Politics of Urban Arrival. In: Meeus, B.; Arnaut, K.; van Heur, B. (Hrsg.): Arrival Infrastructures. Migration and Urban Social Mobilities. New York, 1-32. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0

Musterd, S.; Ostendorf, W.; de Vos, S. (2003): Neighbourhood effects and social mobility: a longitudinal analysis. In: Housing Studies 18, 6, 877-892. doi: 10.1080/0267303032000135483

Noble, G. (2009): Everyday Cosmopolitanism and the Labour of Intercultural Community. In: Wise, A.; Velayutham, S. (Hrsg.): Everyday Multiculturalism. Basingstoke, 46-65. doi: 10.1057/9780230244474

Park, R. E.; Burgess, E. W. (Hrsg.) (1925): The City. Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment. Chicago/London.

Pierre, J.; Peters, B. G. (2000): Governance, Politics and the State. New York.

Plickert, G.; Côté, R. R.; Wellman, B. (2007): It's not who you know, it's how you know them. Who exchanges what with whom? In: Social Networks 29, 3, 405-429. doi: 10.1016/j.socnet.2007.01.007

Portes, A.; Manning, R. D. (1986): The Immigrant Enclave: Theory and Empirical Examples. In: Olzak, S.; Nagel, J. (Hrsg.): Competitive Ethnic Relations. New York, 47-68.

Pries, L. (2008): Die Transnationalisierung der sozialen Welt. Sozialräume jenseits von Nationalgesellschaften. Frankfurt am Main.

Pries, L. (2016): Migration und Ankommen. Die Chancen der Flüchtlingsbewegung. Frankfurt am Main/New York.

Pütz, R.; Rodatz, M. (2013): Kommunale Integrations- und Vielfaltskonzepte im Neoliberalismus. Zur strategischen Steuerung von Integration in deutschen Großstädten. In: Geographische Zeitschrift 101, 3+4, 166-183.

Sampson, R. J. (2012): Great American City. Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect. Chicago.

Saunders, D. (2011): Arrival City: How the largest migration in history is reshaping our world. London.

Scharpf, F. W. (2000): Interaktionsformen. Akteurzentrierter Institutionalismus in der Politikforschung. Opladen.

Schillebeeckx, E.; Oosterlynck, S.; de Decker, P. (2018): Migration and the Resourceful Neighborhood: Exploring Localized Resources in Urban Zones of Transition. In: Meeus, B.; Arnaut, K.; van Heur, B. (Hrsg.): Arrival Infrastructures. Migration and Urban Social Mobilities. New York, 131-152. doi: 10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0

Schmitter, P. C. (2002): Participation in Governance Arrangements: Is there any Reason to Expect it will Achieve „Sustainable and Innovative Policies in a Multilevel Context"? In: Grote, J. R.; Gbikpi, B. (Hrsg.): Participatory Governance. Political and Societal Implications. Opladen, 51-69.

Schmiz, A.; Kitzmann, R. (2017): Negotiating an Asiatown in Berlin: Ethnic diversity in urban planning. In: Cities 70, 1-10. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2017.06.001

Schönwälder, K.; Petermann, S.; Hüttermann, J.; Vertovec, S.; Hewstone, M.; Stolle, D.; Schmid, K.; Schmitt, T. (2016): Diversity and contact. Immigration and social interaction in German cities. Basingstoke. doi: 10.1057/978-1-137-58603-2

Schreiber, F.; Göppert, H. (2018): Wandel von Nachbarschaft in Zeiten digitaler Vernetzung. Explorationsstudie zur Wirkung digitaler Medien mit lokalem Bezug auf sozialen Zusammenhalt und lokale Teilhabe in Quartieren. Berlin.

Small, M. L. (2009): Unanticipated gains. Origins of network inequality in everyday life. New York.

Smith, M. P. (2005): Transnational urbanism revisited. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 31, 2, 235-244. doi: 10.1080/1369183042000339909

Swanstrom, T.; Chapple, K.; Immergluck, D. (2009): Regional Resilience in Face of Foreclosures: Evidence from Six Metropolitan Areas. Berkeley. = IURD Working Paper Series, University of California Berkeley 2009-05.

Swyngedouw, E. (2005): Governance Innovation and the Citizen: The Janus Face of Governance-beyond-the-State. In: Urban Studies 42, 11, 1991-2006. doi: 10.1080=00420980500279869

Sykes, B.; Musterd, S. (2011): Examining Neighbourhood and School Effects Simultaneously: What Does the Dutch Evidence Show? In: Urban Studies 48, 7, 1307-1331. doi: 10.1177/0042098010371393

Urry, J. (2007): Mobilities. Cambridge.

Valentine, G. (2008): Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. In: Progress in Human Geography 32, 3, 323-337. doi: 10.1177/0309133308089372

van Ham, M.; Manley, D. (2012): Neighbourhood Effects Research at a Crossroads. Ten Challenges for Future Research. Introduction. In: Environment and Planning A 44, 12, 2787-2793. doi: 10.1068/a45439

Vertovec, S. (2007): Super-diversity and its implications. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies 30, 6, 1024-1054. doi: 10.1080/01419870701599465

Vertovec, S. (2015): Introduction: Migration, Cities, Diversities 'Old' and 'New'. In: Vertovec, S. (Hrsg.): Diversities Old and New: Migration and Socio-Spatial Patterns in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg. New York, 1-20.

von Blumenthal, J. (2005): Governance – eine kritische Zwischenbilanz. In: Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft 15, 4, 1149-1180.

Wälti, S.; Kübler, D.; Papadopoulos, Y. (2004): How Democratic is „Governance"? Lessons from Swiss Drug Policy. In: Governance 17, 1, 83-113. doi: 10.1111/j.0952-1895.2004.00238.x

Walk, H. (2008): Partizipative Governance. Beteiligungsformen und Beteiligungsrechte im Mehrebenensystem der Klimapolitik. Wiesbaden. doi: 10.1007/978-3-531-90803-8

Watt, P. (2009): Living in an Oasis: Middle-Class Disaffiliation and Selective Belonging in an English Suburb. In: Environment and Planning A 41, 12, 2874-2892. doi: 10.1068/a41120

Wellman, B.; Leighton, B. (1979): Networks, Neighborhoods, and Communities: Approaches to the Study of the Commu-

nity Question. In: Urban Affairs Review 14, 3, 363-390. doi: 10.1177/107808747901400305

Werlen, B. (1997): Sozialgeographie alltäglicher Regionalisierungen. Band 2: Globalisierung, Region und Regionalisierung. Stuttgart. = Erdkundliches Wissen 119.

Wessendorf, S. (2014): 'Being open, but sometimes closed'. Conviviality in a super-diverse London neighbourhood. In: European Journal of Cultural Studies 17, 4, 392-405. doi: 10.1177/1367549413510415

Wessendorf, S. (2017): Pathways of settlement among pioneer migrants in super-diverse London. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 44, 2, 270-286. doi: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341719

Wilson, W. J. (1987): The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy. Chicago.

Wilson, K. L.; Martin, W. A. (1982): Ethnic Enclaves. A Comparison of the Cuban and Black Economies in Miami. In: American Journal of Sociology 88, 1, 135-160.

Wise, A.; Velayutham, S. (2014): Conviviality in everyday multiculturalism. Some brief comparisons between Singapore and Sydney. In: European Journal of Cultural Studies 17, 4, 406-430. doi: 10.1177/1367549413510419

Zapata-Barrero, R.; Caponio, T.; Scholten, P. (2017): Theorizing the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: a case study in immigrant policies. In: International Review of Administrative Sciences 83, 2, 241-246. doi: 10.1177/0020852316688426

Zhou, M. (1992): Chinatown. The socioeconomic potential of an urban enclave. Philadelphia.

Zhou, M. (2009): How Neighbourhoods Matter for Immigrant Children. The Formation of Educational Resources in Chinatown, Koreatown and Pico Union, Los Angeles. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35, 7, 1153-1179. doi: 10.1080/13691830903006168

A.2.2 Article II: Hans, N.; Hanhörster, H. (2020): Accessing Resources in Arrival Neigh-bour-hoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Offer Resources to Newcomers.

Article

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

Nils Hans * and Heike Hanhörster

Urban Social Space Research Group, Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development, 44135 Dortmund, Germany;
E-Mails: nils.hans@ils-forschung.de (N.H.), heike.hanhoerster@ils-forschung.de (H.H.)

* Corresponding author

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

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

1. Introduction

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

Samuel is a 34-year-old immigrant from Cameroon who moved to Dortmund four years ago to start studying there. Upon arrival, he had difficulties finding an apart-

ment, as he neither spoke German nor had any friends to help him 'navigate the system.' Samuel's story illustrates how he gained access to resources by moving around in his neighbourhood and 'bumping into' people. He met the person who helped him find this flat "by chance," as he says, on a football pitch in the Nordstadt.

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

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

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

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

debate on urban arrival contexts: it analyses newcomers' access to resources through institutionalised arrival infrastructures (e.g., camps, reception centres, NGOs) as well as through informal practices.

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

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

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

What is the significance of encounters for newcomers' access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods?

Which (semi-)public spaces emerge in the context of arrival neighbourhoods as resource transfer settings?

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

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

2.1. The Role of Encounters for Resource Transfer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Research Area and Methodology

3.1. Dortmund's Nordstadt as an Arrival Neighbourhood

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

found their first home in Nordstadt. This is reflected in the availability of various arrival-related infrastructures, including small (migrant) businesses and shops as well as NGOs. Other institutions such as mosque associations operating city-wide are also located in Nordstadt.

3.2. Methodology

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

Table 1. Characteristics of the interviewees.

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

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

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

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

4. Empirical Findings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2. Local Settings Facilitating Encounters and Resource Transfers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgments

COGITATIO

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Albeda, Y., Oosterlynck, S., Tersteeg, A., & Verschraegen, G. (2017). Symbolic boundary making in super-diverse deprived neighbourhoods. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, *109*(4), 470–484.

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading: Addison-Wesley.

Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, *34*(6), 959–980.

Bailey, N., Besemer, K., Bramley, G., & Livingston, M. (2015). How neighbourhood social mix shapes access to resources from social networks and from services. *Housing Studies*, *30*(2), 295–314.

Bloch, A., & McKay, S. (2015). Employment, social networks and undocumented migrants: The employer perspective. *Sociology*, *49*(1), 38–55.

Blokland, T. (2017). *Community as urban practice*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bourdieu, P. (1983). Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital [Economic capital, cultural capital, social capital]. In R. Kreckel (Ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten* [Social inequalities] (pp. 183–198). Göttingen: Schwartz.

Bynner, C. (2019). Intergroup relations in a super-diverse neighbourhood: The dynamics of population composition, context and community. *Urban Studies*, *56*(2), 335–351.

City of Dortmund. (2018). *Jahresbericht Dortmunder Statistik: Bevölkerung* [Annual report Dortmund statistics: Population]. Dortmund: Stadt Dortmund, Stabstelle Dortmunder Statistik.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. London and Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Darling, J., & Wilson, H. F. (2016). *Encountering the city: Urban encounters from Accra to New York*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Farwick, A., Hanhörster, H., Ramos Lobato, I., & Striemer, W. (2019). Neighbourhood-based social integration: The importance of the local context for different forms of resource transfer. *Spatial Research and Planning*, *77*(4), 1–18.

Feld, S. L. (1981). The focused organization of social ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *86*(5), 1015–1035.

Fincher, R., Iveson, K., Leitner, H., & Preston, V. (2014). Planning in the multicultural city: Celebrating diversity or reinforcing difference? *Progress in Planning*, *92*, 1–55.

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *7*(6), 1360–1380.

Hall, S. M. (2015). Migrant urbanisms: Ordinary cities and everyday resistance. *Sociology*, *49*(5), 853–869.

Hall, S. M., King, J., & Finlay, R. (2017). Migrant infrastructure: Transaction economies in Birmingham and Leicester, UK. *Urban Studies*, *54*(6), 1311–1327.

Hans, N., Hanhörster, H., Polívka, J., & Beißwenger, S. (2019). Die Rolle von Ankunftsräumen für die Integration Zugewanderter: Eine kritische Diskussion des Forschungsstandes [The role of arrival spaces in integrating immigrants: A critical literature review]. *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, *77*(5), 511–524.

Hirschman, C. (2004). The role of religion in the origins and adaptation of immigrant groups in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3), 1206–1233.

Hoekstra, M. S., & Pinkster, F. M. (2018). 'We want to be there for everyone': Imagined spaces of encounter and the politics of place in a super-diverse neighbourhood. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *20*(2), 222–241.

Jenkins, N. D. (2019). Contested identities: African diaspora and identity making in a hair braiding salon. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *48*(6), 806–835.

Jerolmack, C., & Khan, S. (2014). Talk is cheap: Ethnography and the attitudinal fallacy. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *43*(2), 178–209.

Kusenbach, M. (2018). Go alongs. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data collection* (pp. 344–361). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Leitner, H. (2012). Spaces of encounters: Immigration, race, class, and the politics of belonging in small-town America. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *102*(4), 828–846.

Lofland, L. H. (1998). *The public realm: Exploring the city's quintessential social territory*. New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Meeus, B., van Heur, B., & Arnaut, K. (2018). Migration and the infrastructural politics of urban arrival. In B. Meeus, K. Arnaut, & B. van Heur (Eds.), *Arrival infrastructures: Migration and urban social mobility* (pp. 1–32). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nast, J., & Blokland, T. (2014). Social mix revisited: Neighbourhood institutions as setting for boundary work and social capital. *Sociology*, *48*(3), 482–499.

Oldenburg, R. (1989). *The great good place: Cafes, coffee shops, community centres, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day*. New York, NY: Paragon House Publishers.

Park, R. E., & Burgess, E. W. (Eds.). (1925). *The city: Suggestions for Investigation of human behavior in the urban environment*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Pemberton, S., & Phillimore, J. (2018). Migrant place-making in superdiverse neighbourhoods: Moving beyond ethno-national approaches. *Urban Studies*, *55*(4), 733–750.

Phillimore, J., Humphris, R., & Khan, K. (2017). Reciprocity for new migrant integration: Resource conservation, investment and exchange. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *44*(2), 215–232.

Plickert, G., Côté, R. R., & Wellman, B. (2007). It's not who you know, it's how you know them: Who exchanges what with whom? *Social Networks*, *29*(3), 405–429.

Portes, A., & Manning, R. D. (1986). The immigrant enclave: Theory and empirical examples. In S. Olzak & J. Nagel (Eds.), *Competitive ethnic relations* (pp. 47–68). New York, NY: Academic Press Inc.

Ryan, L. (2011). Migrants' social networks and weak ties: Accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration. *The Sociological Review*, *59*(4), 707–724.

Saunders, D. (2011). *Arrival city: How the largest migration in history is reshaping our world*. London: Windmill Books.

Schillebeeckx, E., Oosterlynck, S., & de Decker, P. (2018). Migration and the resourceful neighborhood: Exploring localized resources in urban zones of transition. In B. Meeus, K. Arnaut, & B. van Heur (Eds.), *Arrival infrastructures: Migration and urban social mobility* (pp. 131–152). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schrooten, M. (2012). Moving ethnography online: Researching Brazilian migrants' online togetherness. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *35*(10), 1794–1809.

Schrooten, M., & Meeus, B. (2019). The possible role and position of social work as part of the arrival infrastructure. *European Journal of Social Work*, *23*(3), 414–424.

Small, M. L. (2009). *Unanticipated gains: Origins of network inequality in everyday life*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Small, M. L. (2017). *Someone to talk to*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Valentine, G. (2008). Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(3), 323–337.

Valentine, G., & Harris, C. (2016). Encounters and (in)tolerance: Perceptions of legality and the regulation of space. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *17*(7), 913–932.

Vertovec, S. (2015). Introduction: Migration, cities, diversities 'old' and 'new.' In S. Vertovec (Ed.), *Diversities old and new: Migration and socio-spatial patterns in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg* (pp. 1–20). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wessendorf, S. (2014). *Commonplace diversity: Social relations in a super-diverse context*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wessendorf, S. (2018). Pathways of settlement among pioneer migrants in super-diverse London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *44*(2), 270–286.

Wessendorf, S., & Phillimore, J. (2018). New migrants' social integration, embedding and emplacement in superdiverse contexts. *Sociology*, *53*(1), 1–16.

Wilson, H. F. (2011). Passing propinquities in the multicultural city: The everyday encounters of bus passengering. *Environment and Planning A*, *43*(3), 634–649.

Wilson, H. F. (2017). On the paradox of 'organised' encounter. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *38*(6), 606–620.

Wood, P., & Landry, C. (2008). *Intercultural city: Planning for diversity advantage*. London: Earthscan.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Zapata-Barrero, R., Caponio, T., & Scholten, P. (2017). Theorizing the 'local turn' in a multi-level governance framework of analysis: A case study in immigrant policies. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, *83*(2), 241–246.

About the Authors

Nils Hans is a Research Associate at ILS, the Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development in Dortmund, Germany, in the research group 'Urban Social Space.' He is currently working on the project 'KoopLab—Participation through Cooperative Open Space Development,' funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). His research focuses on migration and integration processes as well as questions of social cohesion in arrival neighbourhoods.

Heike Hanhörster is Senior Researcher at ILS, the Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development in Dortmund, Germany. Her research interest covers place-based processes of social inclusion and exclusion and people's encounters with difference. Her recent research includes social networks of households in low-income neighbourhoods, institutional discrimination and exclusionary processes on the housing market, middle-class disaffiliation strategies as well as neighbourhood choice and affiliations of Turkish middle-class households.

A.2.3 Article III: Hans, N. (2023): Arrival brokers as a key component of the arrival infra-structure: how established migrants support newcomers.

+ GEOGRAPHICA
HELVETICA +

supported by
sc | nat

Arrival brokers as a key component of the arrival infrastructure: how established migrants support newcomers

Nils Hans

Urban Social Space, ILS Research gGmbH, Affiliated Institute of ILS – Research Institute for Regional and
Urban Development, Brüderweg 22–24, 44135 Dortmund, Germany

Correspondence: Nils Hans (nils.hans@ils-forschung.de)

Abstract. In recent years, numerous studies have stressed the importance of established migrants helping new-comers access settlement information. This article focuses on the everyday practices of these so-called "arrival brokers" in supporting newcomers in their initial arrival process. The analysis combines the theoretical strands on "arrival infrastructures", arrival brokers, and the concept of solidarity. The qualitative empirical research in an arrival neighbourhood in the German city of Dortmund shows that arrival brokers support newcomers by sharing arrival-specific knowledge and by structuring the arrival infrastructure network. These practices can be attributed to a situational place-based solidarity. The article shows that using the infrastructure perspective for analysing migrants' brokering practices helps us understand the transformative power wielded by migrants themselves in making, shaping, and maintaining arrival support structures.

1 Introduction

> I left my number in an Afghan grocery store. When Afghans go there and ask for help, the shopkeeper gives them my number. If they need help, they can just call. (Milad, 20, Afghanistan, personal communication, 2021)

An Afghan refugee, 20-year-old Milad (all persons interviewed in this study were given pseudonyms by the author), arrived in Dortmund 3 years ago, where he was supported by an advisory organisation for refugees. He now works there as a volunteer. In his free time, he contacts immigrants in need of help, building on the experience he has collected so far. The example of Milad shows that there are "informal" support structures in arrival neighbourhoods accessible for newcomers in need of support or experiencing difficulties in "navigating the system".

In recent years, a number of studies have emerged on the role of established migrants in providing access to settlement information (Bakewell et al., 2012; Wessendorf, 2018; Phillimore et al., 2018). These studies reveal that "arrival

brokers" (Hanhörster and Wessendorf, 2020) can play an important role in the arrival process of immigrants, providing them with support, for example in dealing with public authorities, and sharing arrival-specific knowledge such as local information on affordable housing or job vacancies. These studies emphasise the significance of informal networks as a way for migrants to share information and receive help.[1]

Such brokering practices are predominantly observed in arrival neighbourhoods, highly dynamic spaces characterised by immigration, fluctuating populations, and a concentration of arrival-specific infrastructures (Saunders, 2011; Hanhörster and Wessendorf, 2020). More often than not, such neighbourhoods are highly diverse, both socially and ethnically. The ongoing influx of migrants into already highly diversified spaces results in "new complexities [that] are 'layered' on top of and positioned with regard to pre-existing pat-

---

[1] The literature indicates that there are also a lot of volunteers without a migration background who help newcomers with their language skills or with relevant settlement information (Kohlbacher, 2020; Saltiel, 2020). However, the focus of this study is on immigrants themselves, analysing their specific role in shaping arrivals.

terns of diversity" (Vertovec, 2015:2). Various studies point to growing challenges related to increasing migration-driven social and ethnic diversity. For example, concerns have been raised about the ability of state service providers to respond to the welfare needs of a diversifying and ever-changing population (Phillimore, 2015). Closely linked to the debate on arrival neighbourhoods and super-diverse contexts is the concept of "arrival infrastructures" (Meeus et al., 2019). This concept shifts the focus to infrastructural opportunities providing access to arrival-specific resources, taking both institutional infrastructures and informal practices into account.

To date, little is known about these informal practices and the role played by individuals in providing information and resources. This calls for more nuanced empirical research on the phenomenon of arrival brokering in super-diverse contexts, i.e. research analysing the forms and extent of these practices, as well as individuals' motives for their behaviour. Focusing on established migrants in an arrival neighbourhood in Dortmund (Germany) who act as arrival brokers by providing arrival-specific knowledge and support, this study analyses their agency from an arrival infrastructure perspective, seeking to answer the following questions:

– Where and how (among which groups of people and in which situations) does an exchange of arrival-specific knowledge between established and more recent immigrants take place?

– What motivates arrival brokers to share their knowledge and what is the role of place in such processes?

– How do arrival brokers support the initial arrival process of newcomers?

The term "arrival" is understood in this study as the process of accessing various functional, social, and symbolic resources to make progress in various societal sectors and navigate the system. This process can be longer or shorter (e.g. depending on one's own networks or residence status).

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 pulls together the theoretical strands on arrival infrastructures, arrival brokering, and the concept of solidarity. Section 3 presents the case study area and the research design, while Sect. 4 highlights the empirical findings on the extent of informal arrival brokering practices and motivations. Section 5 analyses the extent to which arrival brokers support the arrival process of newcomers in the initial arrival period, referring to debates on integration and taking account of the role of place for these processes. In the conclusion (Sect. 6), the political dimension of this study is discussed and recommendations for further research are formulated.

2 Accessing arrival-specific resources in super-diverse neighbourhoods

2.1 Arrival infrastructures and arrival brokering

Numerous studies have investigated migrants' arrival processes in a new place, with many of them conceptualising "arrival" under the term integration. Although the term is contested and widely criticised (for an overview, see Phillimore, 2020; Spencer and Charsley, 2021), it can be useful as an analytical concept as it focuses on the process of accessing resources and making progress in various societal sectors such as employment, housing, education, and health (Ager and Strang, 2008). While "integration" can be related to all societal groups, "arrival" focuses specifically on newcomers. The "turn to arrival" (Wilson, 2022:3459) therefore shifts the focus to the initial period of arriving in a new place and the related challenges of accessing resources that help one gain a foothold in the new surroundings. It is important to note that although the concept focuses on the initial period, arrival – as in most integration concepts – is not understood as a state to be achieved but as a permanent process. The "arrival lens" helps us better understand the relevance of place, i.e. of certain arrival spaces, and the infrastructures available there.

An emerging body of literature is looking at the relevance of place and the role of local differences in arrival opportunities (Robinson, 2010; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015; Phillimore, 2020). Although research has demonstrated that new media and virtual networks play an important role for newcomers (Schrooten, 2012; Dekker and Engbersen, 2014; Udwan et al., 2020), the above-mentioned studies show that the local context continues to be of particular relevance for forming social relationships and for immigrants' access to support.

One dominant feature influencing arrival opportunities are arrival infrastructures. Research suggests that these can contribute significantly to migrants' access to resources in the initial arrival period (Meeus et al., 2019, 2020; Wessendorf, 2022). The term refers to concentrations of institutions, organisations, and players, facilitating arrival by providing arrival-specific information. These include formal support structures provided by the state, e.g. language schools or public advisory organisations as well as infrastructures established by non-governmental stakeholders, such as (migrant) advisory organisations, which often emerge in response to state policies (Schrooten and Meeus, 2020:419). The term also points to informal infrastructures and local service providers such as cafés, restaurants, ethnic shops, and hairdressers (Schrooten and Meeus, 2020:415). These infrastructures not only support newcomers in maintaining their transnational lifestyles but also facilitate arrival

by acting as information hubs and places of encounter[2], thereby contributing to an exchange of resources (Hall et al., 2017; Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019; Hans and Hanhörster, 2020). One of the most relevant contributions from an arrival infrastructure perspective is the consideration not only of the physical infrastructures facilitating arrival considered but also of the key role played by specific players or groups within these. In recent years, several studies have looked at the role of long-established migrants in providing access to settlement information. Terms used to describe their function include "migrant infrastructures" (Hall et al., 2017), "soft infrastructures" (Boost and Oosterlynck, 2019), and "infrastructures of super-diversity" (Blommaert, 2014) (for an overview, see Wessendorf, 2022). Emphasising their mediating role and with reference to the term "migrant brokers" (Lindquist et al., 2012), Hanhörster and Wessendorf (2020) refer to these individuals and groups as "arrival brokers", i.e. established (descendants of) immigrants with settlement experience who provide newcomers from various backgrounds with settlement information based on their arrival-specific knowledge (Phillimore et al., 2018; Wessendorf, 2018). Often acting within physically accessible locations such as shops, libraries, and (migrant) advisory organisations (Wessendorf, 2022), they support newcomers informally, helping them to bridge the "structural holes" (Burt, 1992) in the infrastructure network. Studies suggest that relationships with arrival brokers can be friendly in the sense that one main contact can enable pathways into societal systems (Bloch and McKay, 2015) or exploitative in the sense that the urgent needs of newcomers can be used to earn money (e.g. by pushing people into substandard housing) (Kohlbacher, 2020:133; Wessendorf, 2022:9).

As early as 2004, Abdoumaliq Simone extended the notion of infrastructure to the activities of people with the concept of "people as infrastructures" (Simone, 2004), describing how social infrastructures emerge (informally) through cooperation and the exchange of resources in improvised networks. These infrastructures are made up of people standing in where formal infrastructures are lacking, using their own agency to fill these gaps. While the concept does not understand these infrastructural practices as a selfless act but rather as an (economic) collaboration among residents pursuing their own advancement, little is known about what motivates arrival brokers in European cities to mediate and facilitate settlement information.

2.2 Motives behind brokering: solidarity in super-diverse contexts

People's motives for supporting others are manifold. One main motive discussed in the literature is solidarity. Widely used in the social sciences, the concept of solidarity has received considerable attention in recent migration research. However, there is no consistent definition of the concept in migration studies, as it is multidimensional and complex (for an overview, see Bauder and Juffs, 2020). In general, solidarity is described as "[t]he ties (e.g. kinship, religion) that bind people together in a group or society and their sense of connection to each other" (Bell, 2014). In this article, the focus is on solidarity between people with a migration history who live together in highly diversified social spaces and who support each other by sharing settlement information – and on the ties that bind them together.

Robert D. Putnam (2007) argues that, with increasing ethnic diversity, collective identity, and with it social capital and solidarity, decreases. This derives from the assumption that social capital and solidarity are primarily based on shared norms and values. In today's literature, there is evidence that solidarity is not primarily a result of shared norms and values, as it can also be observed in super-diverse contexts where people socialised in different systems of norms and values live together (Bynner, 2019). In addition to shared norms and values, Oosterlynck et al. (2015:768f.) identify "encounter" as a further important source of solidarity, highlighting the role of place. They argue that in super-diverse and rapidly changing contexts where traditional social bonds (family, work) lose their importance, solidarity is grounded in everyday places and practices in neighbourhoods where people of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds meet. However, the literature also indicates that not all encounters lead to meaningful social interactions and that, depending on the settings and individual motives, encounters can have ambivalent effects (Valentine, 2008:330).

The concept of solidarity is closely linked to that of reciprocity, generally understood as "doing for others what they have done for you" (Plickert et al., 2007:406). Empirical findings suggest that reciprocity, i.e. the process of immigrants sharing their collected knowledge and experiences once they have become established, can also be found in a super-diverse context where people with different backgrounds, norms, and values come together (Phillimore et al., 2018:224; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019:149; Hans and Hanhörster, 2020:84). Oosterlynck et al. (2017) argue that the understanding of solidarities, generally based on the spatial limitations of supposedly culturally homogenous nations, should be complemented by a relational perspective on a small-scale level: "If we want to develop a deep understanding of how diversity interacts with solidarity, a more place-based and historicising methodological approach is needed" (Oosterlynck et al., 2017:3).

---

[2]Reflections on geographies of encounter are widely and often normatively discussed both in urban geographic research and in planning practice. In the scientific discussions, the value of everyday encounters for reducing prejudices and building up social capital is emphasised (for an overview, see Hans and Hanhörster, 2020).

To better understand arrival-brokering practices in super-diverse neighbourhoods, this study uses an infrastructure perspective and the concept of solidarity to analyse the agency of these brokers and their motives for sharing their knowledge.

3 Research area and methodology

3.1 The arrival neighbourhood Dortmund–Nordstadt

Dortmund is a city in the west of Germany and part of the post-industrial Ruhr area. As a result of deindustrialisation from the 1960s onwards, the city's population declined. However, around 2010 it started increasing, fuelled by immigration. Today, the city has some 600 000 inhabitants.

The selected case study area is Dortmund's Nordstadt, a working-class district located directly north of the city centre. The densely populated area is today home to 60 000 people. Initially populated by coal miners and steelworkers mainly from rural areas, from the mid-20th century onwards immigrants from different backgrounds have moved into the area: first, so-called "guest workers" from southern Europe and Turkey, then EU migrants from eastern Europe (especially since the accessions in the 2000s), and recently refugees (especially from Syria) (City of Dortmund, 2019a:17).

Today, Nordstadt is characterised by a spatial concentration of migration and poverty: some 52 % of the population have a foreign nationality, while a further 21 % are people with a migration background but with a German passport (City of Dortmund, 2019a:28). The share of the population dependent on social security benefits (39.4 %; City of Dortmund, 2019b:119) is more than twice as high as the city average. The city administration is aware of the particular role of Nordstadt as an arrival neighbourhood, and there are various city-wide and neighbourhood-based strategies to support arrivals, including the 2016 "New Immigration Strategy" which regulates cooperation between formal governmental and non-governmental players to facilitate arrival processes. There is also an active network of civil society players and support infrastructures, with a recent study identifying more than 220 social projects, many of which are focused on supporting arrival and integration (Kurtenbach and Rosenberger, 2021:45). Besides these formal arrival-related infrastructures, a large number of small (migrant) shops and service providers offer products and services in different languages. While the involvement of non-governmental players (e.g. NGOs) in municipal measures is progressing comparatively well, immigrants themselves are not yet actively involved. The role played by arrival brokers is often ignored.

3.2 Methodology

The study is based on 17 interviews with immigrants or their descendants living or working in Dortmund's Nord-

stadt. Made up of interview partners from most of the largest ethnic groups, the sample (see Table 1) broadly represents the socio-demographic composition of the people living in the area. While some of the interviewees arrived as refugees in recent years, others moved to Germany decades ago or were even born there. The study focuses on migrant arrivals in general rather than on refugee arrivals. There are several reasons for this: as described in the previous section, Nordstadt was and still is a destination for migrants from different countries of origin. While refugees account for a certain share of immigration to Dortmund, immigration from other EU countries was mostly even higher in recent years (City of Dortmund, 2019a:22). Depending on a migrant's residence status, access to and need for services vary. While in recent years many formal state-run arrival infrastructures (e.g. free language courses and so-called "integration courses") have mainly targeted refugees with protection status and thus entitlement to stay, EU immigrants are more dependent on non-state-run services. Both therefore represent interesting target groups for studying arrival brokering.

The interviews were conducted with people characterised by the author as arrival brokers, i.e. people with a certain experience of settling in and living in Germany. Therefore, the sample was made up of adults living in Germany for at least 3 years (at the time the interview was conducted) and able to communicate in German. The condition for being considered an interview partner was that the person passes on their collected settlement knowledge in some form to other immigrants. The interviewees were mainly recruited via institutions located in Nordstadt, such as migrant organisations or advisory bodies. Accordingly, most of them currently work or have in the past worked (some on a voluntary basis) for organisations operating in the social field. However, the focus of the interviews was on their brokering activities outside this institutional context. Other interviewees had already been interviewed in previous project contexts. The author interviewed them again in relation to the new research focus. As the interviews were conducted in German, the sample did not include people who spoke no German but who nevertheless brokered information in other languages.

Interviewees were asked about their concrete informal brokering activities, especially in supporting newcomers and sharing their personal arrival-specific knowledge. The semi-structured interviews contained open questions on concrete examples of such knowledge transfer, i.e. where and in which situations it took place and what kinds of support were provided. To identify their potential willingness to support others, the interviewees were explicitly asked about situations in which a concrete transfer took place, focusing on their interaction with people not belonging to their primary networks (family and friends). To gain information about how these (sometimes fleeting) relationships between brokers and support recipients were structured, the questions focused on who these recipients were (e.g. in which socio-cultural aspects similarities or differences were seen), how the contact

Table 1. Interviewees and their characteristics.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Country of birth	Residence in Germany (approx.)
Anas	m	24	Syria	6 years
Ashraf	m	27	Syria	6 years
Borak	m	27	Syria	6 years
Dilara	w	45	Germany (parents Turkey)	45 years
Elina	w	33	Romania	9 years
Farida	w	31	Spain	3 years
Gizem	w	39	Germany (parents Turkey)	39 years
Hisham	m	40	Syria	10 years
Kadin	m	45	Syria	6 years
Leyla	w	25	Syria	6 years
Milad	m	20	Afghanistan	3 years
Nihan	w	37	Germany (grandparents Turkey)	37 years
Oumeima	w	41	Morocco	4 years
Soraya	w	43	Morocco	4 years
Yasemin	w	44	Turkey	44 years
Yossef	m	33	Syria	5 years
Zahid	m	30	Syria	4 years

arose, and how (e.g. in which language) communication took place. To understand the motives of the arrival brokers, the questions were also on why they provided support and passed on their arrival-specific knowledge in their free time.

The interviews were conducted between June and December 2021 until the theoretical saturation point was reached (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). The empirical data were collected as part of a PhD project dealing with newcomers' access to resources in arrival neighbourhoods. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analysed by interpretative coding using the software MAXQDA.

4 Empirical findings: how and why do arrival brokers support newcomers?

The focus of this analysis is on the extent to which arrival brokers fulfil important functions in the arrival process of immigrants. The empirical findings thus point to the forms of support and knowledge transfer, as well as the relationships between arrival brokers and resource recipients, taking the motives for brokering into account.

4.1 Sharing arrival-specific knowledge: the role of arrival brokers

Overall, the interviews revealed that established migrants support newcomers in their settling-in process by sharing arrival-specific knowledge. All interviewees confirmed that they support or have supported new immigrants through sharing their own experiences. Most work (mainly as volunteers or for a few paid hours) in (migrant) advisory bodies where they help their clients (mostly immigrants) in an organised manner and with an institutional background. This

formalised help mainly involves assistance with dealing with German authorities, such as translating documents, filling out forms, or arranging appointments.

In addition to this formal institutional support, all interviewees reported that, to a certain extent, they also supported other immigrants informally (see Lindquist, 2015; Tuckett, 2020). Besides the above-mentioned help with dealing with authorities, this informal support includes further assistance relating to the newcomers' everyday lives, such as accompanying them to authorities or doctors. This points to the fact that the capacities of the formal advisory services are often insufficient, meaning that employees are forced to provide assistance outside their working hours. In some cases, they also provide support in accessing important functional resources such as finding an affordable flat or a job: "People call me and say they are looking for a job. In most cases, I can either recommend something or ask a friend who then tells me that there is a vacancy in this or that company. Then I make the contact" (Soraya, 43, Morocco, personal communication, 2021). This quote refers to the "linking social capital" (Woolcock, 2001) and the important mediation function of arrival brokers.

But how do people looking for support find the arrival brokers; how do resource providers and resource recipients get in touch with each other? Some interviewees reported that they got to know their clients in the advisory organisations where they work(ed) and that they gave them their private phone numbers in order to be able to support them more extensively outside this institutional context. In some cases, this would lead to a ripple effect: "I give people my number and they pass it on to others. I have no problem with that. At some point, a lot of people had my number and just called

when they needed help" (Anas, 24, Syria, personal communication, 2021). Word soon spreads among newcomers about who has which information and contacts and who, above all, is willing to share this information even with strangers: "At some point I was quite well-known in Dortmund and people spoke to me on the streets in Nordstadt and asked if I could help them" (Hisham, 40, Syria, personal communication, 2021). This quote also refers to the relevance of "chance encounters" (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019:130), understood as unexpected encounters in public spaces that can lead to an exchange of relevant information, in this case by meeting a well-known arrival broker by chance on the street in Nordstadt. However, these quotes again point to the fact that many people are in need of help and that the capacities of formal advisory services are not sufficient or not sufficiently known. For this reason, arrival brokers donate their free time to support people in urgent need of help.

Cited at the beginning of the article, the story of Milad is an example of an arrival broker systematically offering support on his own. Having left his phone number in an Afghan grocery store frequented by immigrants (mainly Afghans), Milad uses this arrival-specific infrastructure to get in touch with people looking for help. This example also points to the important function of arrival infrastructures such as (ethnic) shops (Steigemann, 2019), libraries (Wessendorf, 2022), and religious spaces (Oduntan and Ruthven, 2021:91) as first points of reference for newcomers and to the brokering function of those working there.

The example of Milad suggests that the sharing of arrival-specific knowledge primarily takes place within ethnic boundaries, despite interviewees stating that they made no distinction between origins and would potentially help all people in need of support (see also Kohlbacher, 2020:132). This is due to the fact that newcomers in particular look for support in their mother tongue: "Most of them [the people he helps] come from Arab countries. Some speak Arabic, some also Kurdish. They have recently migrated to Germany, don't speak the language and need support" (Anas, 24, Syria, personal communication, 2021).

Another interesting aspect is that these relationships between resource providers and resource recipients are quite functional. Even though those concerned sometimes meet more than once, perhaps even with emotional support being provided (see Small, 2017), these meetings have a specific purpose and usually remain on a loose acquaintance footing. Wessendorf and Phillimore (2019:131) call these relationships "crucial acquaintances", meaning that, while not usually turning into friendships, they can be crucial for the arrival process.

This also applies to online brokering practices, which similarly seem to play an important role in sharing information. Some interviewees reported that they were part of local WhatsApp or Facebook groups where immigrants came together and supported each other: "There are Facebook groups for every language or society, for example Arabic-speaking people. A lot of people ask questions there and you can just answer and offer your help" (Zahid, 30, Syria, personal communication, 2021). In these groups, people with similar linguistic-cultural backgrounds who now live together in one city communicate and exchange information (e.g. a WhatsApp group for Arabic women in Dortmund): "If someone needs help, she just writes in the group – 'I need a job' or 'I need the address of a doctor' – and then we are there. [...] I have three groups, each with 150 to 200 Arabic women" (Soraya, 43, Morocco, personal communication, 2021). Two interesting aspects of this online brokerage are that most group members do not know each other personally and that this form of digital information sharing occurs alongside analogue forms of exchange. However, these virtual groups can be seen as online support infrastructures built by immigrants themselves where settlement information can be requested more or less anonymously and where a host of people share their accumulated arrival-specific knowledge (Dekker and Engbersen, 2014; Udwan et al., 2020).

Overall, the interviews revealed that people can play an important role as informal information nodes in the arrival infrastructure network and that they are an important complement to more formal support infrastructures – a feature which gained in prominence during the COVID-19 pandemic (Bynner et al., 2021; Thiery et al., 2021) when many support services (such as advisory organisations) had to close temporarily or were unable to provide face-to-face client contact due to the contact restrictions (Guadagno, 2020; Rebhun, 2021). The absence of these formal support infrastructures increased the need for informal support by arrival brokers: "During the COVID crisis, all the organisations were closed. That meant those in need of help had nowhere to go to fill out forms or have something translated. They therefore contacted people like me" (Yossef, 33, Syria, personal communication, 2021). The interviews indicated that arrival brokers, during the temporary closure of many infrastructures, were at least partially able to fill the gaps by providing last-minute help to newcomers.

4.2   Arrival brokers' motivation: situational place-based solidarity

These empirical findings raise the question of why arrival brokers share their own experiences that they themselves have collected with much effort and often with difficulties. The reasons are manifold. In Simone's (2004) study, people act primarily in their own interest, with the aim of getting ahead themselves. Studies researching exchange between immigrants have shown that "informal reciprocity" (Phillimore et al., 2018:224), in this sense understood as giving something back (to a new immigrant) for something that one received on one's own arrival, is a prominent reason for sharing arrival-specific knowledge (Phillimore et al., 2018; Schillebeeckx et al., 2019; Hans and Hanhörster, 2020), as corroborated by the interviews conducted in this study: "I re-

ceived a lot of help when I arrived in Germany. And now I just want to give something back and pass on my experiences" (Yossef, 33, Syria, personal communication, 2021).

But the interviews also showed that not all people who now act as arrival brokers received something from others in their settling-in process, suggesting that it is more than just "giving something back": "It is not important whether someone helped me or not. If I see people here who for example had to flee from a war and who now need help and support, then I help" (Anas, 24, Syria, personal communication, 2021). Therefore, it is a good idea to look at this collective support provided by migrants in a broader context. One aspect mentioned in nearly all answers to the question about motives was solidarity. But how can this solidarity be explained? To what can this kind of solidarity be ascribed? What are the ties binding people together in super-diverse contexts?

The literature on solidarity discusses "shared norms and values" as a key source of solidarity (Putnam, 2007; Oosterlynck et al., 2015). However, the interviews conducted in this study revealed that this was not the decisive reason for the interviewees' solidarity. Instead, it seemed to relate to the fact that they now found themselves in similar situations and had experienced similar problems, irrespective of their ethnic or linguistic-cultural backgrounds:

> I know this from my personal experience too. Often enough I have been disadvantaged or had obstacles unnecessarily put in my way. I would like to prevent that happening again. (Yasemin, 44, Turkey, personal communication, 2021)

> The woman was crying because she had no one and needed help. That touched my heart and I thought: 'I was in the same situation once, I experienced the same'. I also came to Germany without knowing the language, without anything. (Oumeima, 41, Morocco, personal communication, 2021)

Meeus (2017) argues that, as a result of discrimination and marginalisation, systems of solidarity are formed to cope with everyday life among "the disadvantaged" (e.g. immigrants). He calls these systems "infrastructures of solidarity", formed through "place-based sentiments of we-ness" (Meeus, 2017:100). This notion points to the role of place in binding people together. This place-based we-ness was also reflected in the interviews conducted in this study: "Nordstadt is like a different country. [...] like a community of its own. You easily get in touch with people from so many different backgrounds" (Leyla, 25, Syria, personal communication, 2021). This is underlined by Oosterlynck et al. (2015), who describe encounters and "everyday place-based practices" (Oosterlynck et al., 2015:765) as important sources for solidarity between people in super-diverse neighbourhoods.

This leads to the assumption that the key driver of solidarity in super-diverse contexts is not common origins, norms, or values but the sense of connection brought about by collective migration histories, shared experiences of everyday life, and joint practices. This can be described as situational place-based solidarity, meaning that solidarity emerges through people who have experienced similar things living together in one place. While such solidarity does not necessarily result in the sharing of arrival-specific knowledge, it certainly promotes it.

5 Discussion: arrival brokers' relevance for newcomers' resource access

The empirical analysis conducted in the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund–Nordstadt shows that arrival brokers, alongside more formal infrastructures, play an important role in newcomers' initial arrival process, providing them with support and sharing arrival-specific knowledge. One of their most relevant contributions is in facilitating social connections at local level.

It became clear that arrival brokers not only provide assistance in coping with everyday life or in accessing societal sectors such as employment or housing through sharing their own knowledge but also fulfil an important mediation function by helping people get in touch with others ("social bridges") or connecting them with institutions ("social links"). The residence status of the very heterogeneous group of Nordstadt immigrants varies and thus determines their access to state support services (e.g. free language courses and so-called "integration courses" mainly target refugees). Due to their local knowledge and their many contacts, arrival brokers are able to link people to governmental support services ("linking social capital", Woolcock, 2001), fulfilling an important function for newcomers without access to all state services or who often lack trust in government bodies or mainstream services (Quinn, 2014:67). They thus structure the often complex and not easily navigable network of formal and informal players and infrastructures. In doing so, they are able, at least partially, to fill the gaps resulting from the absence of appropriate formal support infrastructures or from access barriers (e.g. language, cultural knowledge, trust). They thus help overcome the hurdles immigrants face in accessing services.

Looking at these findings in a broader context, it becomes clear that analysing arrival processes and the role played by arrival brokers in supporting newcomers can enrich the debate on migrant integration. In most integration models (e.g. Ager and Strang, 2008), social connections play a key role. As this analysis has shown, arrival brokers fulfil an important mediation function by acting as the "connective tissue" (Ager and Strang, 2008:177) between the basic rights and opportunities associated with migrants' residence status on the one hand and their actual access to societal sectors on the other. Even if an individual's brokering practices may only be temporary, collective practices form an important

permanent extension of the arrival infrastructure network, helping shape integration processes more effectively.

What many integration models do not sufficiently take into account is that resource access is context-specific (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2015; Phillimore, 2020) and that integration opportunities are highly dependent on local conditions (Robinson, 2010). Research on arrival processes is closely linked to the analysis of specific (arrival) spaces and the infrastructures available there (Meeus et al., 2019). This study has shown that the described processes of arrival brokering are significantly influenced by place (i.e. the arrival neighbourhood Dortmund–Nordstadt) and that this local context, with regard to arrival brokering practices, is conducive to shortening the initial arrival period of newcomers.

Robinson (2010:2461) has developed three dimensions that help illustrate how local conditions influence the opportunities for resource access: the "compositional dimension" referring to the diversity and socio-economic characteristics of the established and the newly arrived population; the "contextual dimension" referring to the available opportunity structures, such as the specific features of the neighbourhood's social and physical environment; and the "collective dimension" referring to a community's socio-cultural and historical features, such as the local social climate concerning immigration and experiences in dealing with diversity and questions of belonging.

Looking at the case of Nordstadt, it can be noted that the "compositional dimension" of this traditional arrival neighbourhood is shaped by different immigration phases over the decades. Accordingly, the neighbourhood's population is now highly diversified (e.g. in terms of ethnicity and religion, language, socio-economic situation, lifestyle, migration history, residence status, and personal resources) (Gerten et al., 2022). This contributes to a situation where many people with different characteristics live in Nordstadt and where "migrant social capital" (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2019:124) is potentially available. Turning to the "contextual dimension", it becomes clear that there are many social networks in Nordstadt (many of them within sociocultural boundaries) with the potential to offer connections to newcomers. Access to these networks is provided by dense (physical) opportunity structures, such as public spaces, shops, cafés, religious spaces, and public institutions, all of which offer opportunities for interaction (Hans and Hanhörster, 2020). Turning to the "collective dimension", a local climate of "commonplace diversity" (Wessendorf, 2014), i.e. a widely seamless coexistence, can be observed in Nordstadt due to collective migration histories and many years of experience in dealing with diversity. These collective experiences potentially contribute to people of different origins interacting and supporting each other.

Even though Nordstadt faces several challenges – the media often associate it with deprivation and crime –, the aforementioned aspects contribute to the neighbourhood providing many opportunities for supporting newcomers' arrival.

The combination of the three dimensions contributes to a situational place-based solidarity between immigrants, identified in this study as the main motive for arrival brokers to support newcomers. The dimensions illustrate why arrival brokers are mainly to be found in arrival neighbourhoods and why the processes described are not to be found in this form in any other neighbourhood. It is important to note here that it is not only place that has an impact on brokering practices; conversely, arrival brokers significantly influence the different dimensions of place.

6   Conclusions

This study has highlighted the important role of established migrants as arrival brokers in super-diverse neighbourhoods. It provides empirical evidence that people with a migration background are of great relevance for the initial arrival period of newcomers, sharing their experiences and providing support. In addition, arrival brokers connect people to other individuals or institutions, thus fulfilling the important function of structuring the often-complex network of formal and informal arrival infrastructures. In doing so, they are able, at least partially, to fill the gaps resulting from the lack of appropriate formal support infrastructures or from barriers to access, thus permanently complementing the network of arrival infrastructures. As became clear, place is of particular relevance for the described processes of arrival brokering, as the social, historical, and environmental context of the traditional arrival neighbourhood is conducive to the emergence of place-based solidarity, identified in this study as the main motive for arrival brokers' practices. However, it is not only place that influences brokers' actions but also vice versa. It has been shown that the arrival infrastructure perspective for analysing migrants' brokering practices helps us understand the transformative power of migrants themselves in making, shaping, and maintaining arrival support structures (Kreichauf et al., 2020; Wajsberg and Schapendonk, 2021; Biehl, 2022).

What can be derived from these findings for policy planning? The important role of arrival brokers and the urgent need for informal support are an indication of a significant lack of appropriate formal support structures. Although there are many formal services focused on supporting arrival and integration, the findings of both this case study and those of other traditional arrival neighbourhoods suggest that capacities are either insufficient or not used sufficiently (e.g. due to language barriers or because they are not visible or sufficiently known). This gap is partly filled by arrival brokers on an ad hoc basis. However, the particular role informally played by migrants in the context of arrival is not yet sufficiently recognised and strategically considered. There are many non-governmental players making use of the arrival-specific knowledge of arrival brokers by employing them as advisors, albeit often under precarious working conditions.

The great potential and the important role played by arrival brokers need thus to be better recognised by the state. For example, government players could use the resources of arrival brokers by formally integrating their skills and knowledge into their activities and services, e.g. to improve communication with newcomers.

While there is an increasing body of literature looking at both formal and informal arrival infrastructures and their relevance for migrant arrival, little is known about how formal and informal structures can be interlinked more efficiently in order to shape arrival processes more effectively. When looking at informal structures, it should also be recognised that arrival brokering practices are not always altruistic and often take advantage of people's needs. The role of these exploitative informal structures in the arrival infrastructures network also needs further investigation. Last but not least, further research is needed on how newcomers living in newly emerging arrival neighbourhoods in urban peripheries where a distinct formal and informal arrival infrastructure network has not (yet) developed can gain access to arrival-specific resources and manage their arrival processes.

References

Ager, A. and Strang, A.: Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework, J. Refug. Stud., 21, 166–191, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016, 2008.

Bakewell, O., Haas, H. de, and Kubal, A.: Migration Systems, Pioneer Migrants, and the Role of Agency, Journal of Critical Realism, 11, 413–437, https://doi.org/10.1558/jcr.v11i4.413, 2012.

Bauder, H. and Juffs, L.: "Solidarity" in the migration and refugee literature: analysis of a concept, J. Ethn. Migr. Stud., 46, 46–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1627862, 2020.

Bell, K.: Solidarity: https://sociologydictionary.org/solidarity/ (last access: 5 January 2023), 2014.

Biehl, K. S.: Spectrums of in/formality and il/legality: Negotiating business and migration-related statuses in arrival spaces, Migration Studies, 10, 112–129, https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnac005, 2022.

Bloch, A. and McKay, S.: Employment, Social Networks and Undocumented Migrants: The Employer Perspective, Sociology, 49, 38–55, https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038514532039, 2015.

Blommaert, J.: Infrastructures of superdiversity: Conviviality and language in an Antwerp neighbourhood, Eur. J. Cult. Stud., 17, 431–451, https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549413510421, 2014.

Boost, D. and Oosterlynck, S.: "Soft" Urban Arrival Infrastructures in the Periphery of Metropolitan Areas: The Role of Social Networks for Sub-Saharan Newcomers in Aalst, Belgium, in: Arrival Infrastructures, edited by: Meeus, B., Arnaut, K., and van Heur, B., Springer International Publishing, 153–177, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_7, 2019.

Burt, R. S.: Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition, Harvard University Press, ISBN 067484372X, 1992.

Bynner, C.: Intergroup relations in a super-diverse neighbourhood: The dynamics of population composition, context and community, Urban Stud., 56, 335–351, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098017740287, 2019.

Bynner, C., McBride, M., and Weakley, S.: The COVID-19 pandemic: the essential role of the voluntary sector in emergency response and resilience planning, Voluntary sector review, 167–175, https://doi.org/10.1332/204080521X16220328777643, 2021.

City of Dortmund: Jahresbericht Bevölkerung: https://www.dortmund.de/media/p/statistik/pdf_statistik/veroeffentlichungen/jahresberichte/bevoelkerung_1/213_-_Jahresberich_2019_Dortmunder_Bevoelkerung.pdf (last access: 5 January 2023), 2019a.

City of Dortmund: Statistikatlas Dortmunder Stadtteile: https://www.dortmund.de/media/p/statistik/pdf_statistik/veroeffentlichungen/statistikatlas/215_-_Statistikatlas_-_2019.pdf (last access: 5 January 2023), 2019b.

Dekker, R. and Engbersen, G.: How social media transform migrant networks and facilitate migration, Global Networks, 14, 401–418, https://doi.org/10.1111/glob.12040, 2014.

Gerten, C., Hanhörster, H., Hans, N., and Liebig, S.: How to identify and typify arrival spaces in European cities – A methodological approach, Popul. Space Place, 29, 1–15, https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2604, 2022.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A.: The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Sociology Press, ISBN 0202300285, 1967.

Guadagno, L.: Migrants and the COVID-19 pandemic: An initial analysis, Migration research series, no. 60, International Organization for Migration, ISBN 978-92-9068-833-4, 2020.

Hall, S., King, J., and Finlay, R.: Migrant infrastructure: Transaction economies in Birmingham and Leicester, UK, Urban Stud., 54, 1311–1327, https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016634586, 2017.

Hanhörster, H. and Wessendorf, S.: The Role of Arrival Areas for Migrant Integration and Resource Access, Urban Planning, 5, 1–10, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2891, 2020.

Hans, N. and Hanhörster, H.: Accessing Resources in Arrival Neighbourhoods: How Foci-Aided Encounters Of-

fer Resources to Newcomers, Urban Planning, 5, 78–88, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2977, 2020.

Kohlbacher, J.: Frustrating Beginnings: How Social Ties Compensate Housing Integration Barriers for Afghan Refugees in Vienna, Urban Planning, 5, 127–137, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2872, 2020.

Kreichauf, R., Rosenberger, O., and Strobel, P.: The Transformative Power of Urban Arrival Infrastructures: Berlin's Refugio and Dong Xuan Center, Urban Planning, 5, 44–54, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2897, 2020.

Kurtenbach, S. and Rosenberger, K.: Nachbarschaft in diversitätsgeprägten Stadtteilen. Handlungsbezüge für die kommunale Integrationspolitik: https://www.hb.fh-muenster.de/opus4/frontdoor/deliver/index/docId/13263/file/KurtenbachRosenberger2021NEU.pdf (last access: 5 January 2023), 2021.

Lindquist, J.: Of figures and types: brokering knowledge and migration in Indonesia and beyond, J. Roy. Anthropol. Inst., 21, 162–177, https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.12172, 2015.

Lindquist, J., Xiang, B., and Yeoh, B. S.: Opening the Black Box of Migration: Brokers, the Organization of Transnational Mobility and the Changing Political Economy in Asia, Pac. Aff., 85, 7–19, https://doi.org/10.5509/20128517, 2012.

Meeus, B.: Challenging the figure of "migrant entrepreneur": Place-based solidarities in the Romanian arrival infrastructure in Brussels, in: Place, diversity and solidarity, edited by: Oosterlynck, S., Loopmans, M., and Schuermans, N., Routledge, 91–108, ISBN 9780367218904, 2017.

Meeus, B., van Heur, B., and Arnaut, K.: Migration and the Infrastructural Politics of Urban Arrival, in: Arrival Infrastructures, edited by: Meeus, B., Arnaut, K., and van Heur, B., Springer International Publishing, 1–32, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_1, 2019.

Meeus, B., Beeckmans, L., van Heur, B., and Arnaut, K.: Broadening the Urban Planning Repertoire with an "Arrival Infrastructures" Perspective, Urban Planning, 5, 11–22, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.3116, 2020.

Oduntan, O. and Ruthven, I.: People and places: Bridging the information gaps in refugee integration, J. Assoc. Inf. Sci. Tech., 72, 83–96, https://doi.org/10.1002/asi.24366, 2021.

Oosterlynck, S., Loopmans, M., and Schuermans, N. (Eds.): Place, diversity and solidarity, Routledge, ISBN 9780367218904, 2017.

Oosterlynck, S., Loopmans, M., Schuermans, N., Vandenabeele, J., and Zemni, S.: Putting flesh to the bone: Looking for solidarity in diversity, here and now, Ethnic Racial Stud., 39, 764–782, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.1080380, 2015.

Phillimore, J.: Delivering maternity services in an era of superdiversity: the challenges of novelty and newness, Ethnic Racial Stud., 38, 568–582, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2015.980288, 2015.

Phillimore, J.: Refugee-integration-opportunity structures: Shifting the focus from refugees to context, J. Refug. Stud., 45, 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feaa012, 2020.

Phillimore, J., Humphris, R., and Khan, K.: Reciprocity for new migrant integration: Resource conservation, investment and exchange, J. Ethn. Migr. Stud., 44, 215–232, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341709, 2018.

Platts-Fowler, D. and Robinson, D.: A Place for Integration: Refugee Experiences in Two English Cities, Population, Space and Place, 21, 476–491, https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1928, 2015.

Plickert, G., Côté, R. R., and Wellman, B.: It's not who you know, it's how you know them: Who exchanges what with whom?, Soc. Networks, 29, 405–429, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2007.01.007, 2007.

Putnam, R. D.: E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century – The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture, Scand. Polit. Stud., 30, 137–174, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x, 2007.

Quinn, N.: Participatory action research with asylum seekers and refugees experiencing stigma and discrimination: the experience from Scotland, Disability and Society, 29, 58–70, https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2013.769863, 2014.

Rebhun, U.: Immigrant Integration and COVID-19, Border Crossing, 11, 17–23, https://doi.org/10.33182/bc.v11i1.1291, 2021.

Robinson, D.: The Neighbourhood Effects of New Immigration, Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 42, 2451–2466, https://doi.org/10.1068/a4364, 2010.

Saltiel, R.: Urban Arrival Infrastructures between Political and Humanitarian Support: The "Refugee Welcome" Mo(ve)ment Revisited, Urban Planning, 5, 67–77, https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2918, 2020.

Saunders, D.: Arrival City: How the Largest Migration in History is Reshaping Our World, Windmill Books, ISBN: 9780307388568, 2011.

Schillebeeckx, E., Oosterlynck, S., and de Decker, P.: Migration and the Resourceful Neighborhood: Exploring Localized Resources in Urban Zones of Transition, in: Arrival Infrastructures, edited by: Meeus, B., Arnaut, K., and van Heur, B., Springer International Publishing, 131–152, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_6, 2019.

Schrooten, M.: Moving ethnography online: researching Brazilian migrants' online togetherness, Ethnic Racial Stud., 35, 1794–1809, https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2012.659271, 2012.

Schrooten, M. and Meeus, B.: The possible role and position of social work as part of the arrival infrastructure, Eur. J. Soc. Work, 23, 414–424, https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2019.1688257, 2020.

Simone, A.: People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg, Public Culture, 16, 407–429, https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-16-3-407, 2004.

Small, M. L.: Someone To Talk To, Oxford University Press, ISBN 9780190661427, 2017.

Spencer, S. and Charsley, K.: Reframing "integration": acknowledging and addressing five core critiques, Comparative Migration Studies, 9, 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00226-4, 2021.

Steigemann, A.: The Places Where Community Is Practiced, Springer Fachmedien, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-25393-6, 2019.

Thiery, H., Cook, J., Burchell, J., Ballantyne, E., Walkley, F., and McNeill, J.: "Never more needed" yet never more stretched: reflections on the role of the voluntary sector during the COVID-19 pandemic, Voluntary sector review, 12, 459–465, https://doi.org/10.1332/204080521X16131303365691, 2021.

Tuckett, A.: Britishness Outsourced: State Conduits, Brokers and the British Citizenship Test, Ethnos, 7, 1–19, https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2019.1687543, 2020.

Udwan, G., Leurs, K., and Alencar, A.: Digital Resilience Tactics of Syrian Refugees in the Netherlands: Social Media for Social Support, Health, and Identity, Social Media + Society, 6, 1–11, https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120915587, 2020.

Valentine, G.: Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter, Prog. Hum. Geog., 32, 323–337, https://doi.org/10.1177/0309133308089372, 2008.

Vertovec, S.: Diversities old and new: Migration and socio-spatial patterns in New York, Singapore and Johannesburg, Global diversities, Palgrave Macmillan, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137495488, 2015.

Wajsberg, M. and Schapendonk, J.: Resonance beyond regimes: Migrant's alternative infrastructuring practices in Athens, Urban Stud., 59, 2352–2368, https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980211044312, 2021.

Wessendorf, S.: Commonplace diversity. Social relations in a super-diverse context, Palgrave Macmillan, https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137033314, 2014.

Wessendorf, S.: Pathways of settlement among pioneer migrants in super-diverse London, J. Ethn. Migr. Stud., 44, 270–286, https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1341719, 2018.

Wessendorf, S.: "The library is like a mother": Arrival infrastructures and migrant newcomers in East London, Migration Studies, 10, 172–189, https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnab051, 2022.

Wessendorf, S. and Phillimore, J.: New Migrants' Social Integration, Embedding and Emplacement in Superdiverse Contexts, Sociology, 53, 123–138, https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518771843, 2019.

Wilson, H. F.: Arrival cities and the mobility of concepts, Urban Stud., 59, 3459–3468, https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221135820, 2022.

Woolcock, M.: The Place of Social Capital in Understanding Social and Economic Outcome, Canadian Journal of Policy Research, 2, 65–88, 2001.