Arriving through Infrastructures: Berlin's institutional shelters for refugees 2015-2019

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Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Degree Committee of the Department of Architecture.

Abstract

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During the so-called 'refugee crisis' of 2015 German chancellor Angela Merkel made the historic decision to welcome over one million refugees into the country. Throughout Germany municipal governments created a diverse range of temporary accommodations to house the arrivals, most notably in cities due to a lack of affordable housing. At the end of 2019 in Berlin, over 20,000 refugees were still living in institutional refugee shelter. These structures have come to be key mediators of the ways in which these newcomers have arrived in the city.

Refugee shelters have primarily been understood in the context of the rich literature that has developed in recent decades around the 'camp' as a complex socio-spatial and political phenomenon. Yet the proliferation of different forms of refugee shelters especially in urban areas requires new theoretical lenses to shed new light on these structures. This thesis focuses on an alternative body of literature that considers the way urban infrastructures shape migration. It considers Berlin's institutional shelters as part of infrastructural complexes to reveal how infrastructures shape the nature of refugee arrival in the city. It engages with emerging theoretical work on infrastructure and migration as well as presents empirical data obtained through eight months of on-site research that focuses on the quotidian experiences of refugees from their perspectives. It consists of three parts which examine the directional, contradictory, and entangled nature of infrastructure through its construction, calibration, operation, and location in relation to refugee arrival. The first part deepens understandings on the diverse ways that infrastructures sort and channel arrival trajectories to undermine the autonomy of refugee newcomers. The second part analyses the internal spatial dynamics of the shelters to explore the ways their contradictory functions as infrastructure blur the conceptual boundaries between camps, shelter, and housing and limit possibilities to inhabit domestic spaces. The third part explores the ways the urban locations of infrastructure shape everyday encounters and the development of relationships between newcomers and the city. While infrastructures can provide the potential to find stability within the city for refugees to move on from becoming forcibly displaced, the thesis argues that Berlin's institutional shelters operate as infrastructures which undermine this process and exacerbate the uncanny and unsettling nature of arrival. Instead, refugees find the greatest scope for autonomy in their arrival through existing infrastructures of the city, especially the more informal 'bottom up' forms created and operated by existing migrant communities.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Omer El-Tag El-Nageib

„Zumindest habe ich versucht, mein Schicksal zu ändern. Ich habe hart und wütend gekämpft."

(At least I tried to change my fate. I fought hard and furiously.)

Table of contents

PART II

INFRASTRUCTURE AS A CONDITIONAL FORM OF HOUSING: NORMALISING THE CAMP

PART III

THE URBAN EMPLACEMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE: BERLIN'S EASTERN PERIPHERY

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List of illustrations

All illustrations by the author unless otherwise noted

List of abbreviations

AfD	*Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany)
AHURI	Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute
AOM	Autonomy of Migration
BAMF	*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BENN	*Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften* (Berlin develops new neighbourhoods)
LAF	*Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten* (State Office for Refugee Affairs)
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, and others
MUF	*Modulare Unterkünfte für Flüchtlinge* (modular accommodation for refugees)
NPD	*Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (National Democratic Party of Germany)
RBmSkzl	*Der Regierende Bürgermeister von Berlin Senatskanzlei* (Governing Mayor of Berlin Senate Chancellery)
SenIAS	*Senatsverwaltung für Integration, Arbeit und Soziales* (Senate Department for Intergration, Labour, and Social Affairs)
SenKultEu	*Senatsverwaltung für Kultur und Europa* (Senate Department for Culture and Europe)
SenSW	*Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Wohnen* (Senate Department for Urban Development and Housing)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Glossary

Ausbildung	Education/training/apprenticeship
Bestandsimmobilien	Existing building
Duldung	Toleration
Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen	Initial reception centre
Gemeinschaftsunterkunft	Community shelter
Hausordnung	House rules
Heim	Home/shelter
Notunterkunft	Emergency shelter
Willkommenskultur	Welcome culture
Wohnung	Flat/dwelling

Figure 1: *The Enigma of the Arrival and the Afternoon*, Giorgio de Chirico, 1912 (source: WikiArt)

1. Introduction

1.1 The urban nature of refugee arrival

In his semi-autobiographical novel *The Enigma of Arrival*, V.S Naipaul (1987) outlines his experiences of coming to Britain in the 1950s as an immigrant from Trinidad. He describes his perceived 'out-of-placeness' in the pastoral English landscape that makes him feel unanchored and strange- an oddity that causes an upheaval within the place of arrival in contrast to those who appeared rooted and 'fitting.' The novel's title comes from Giorgio de Chirico's 1912 metaphysical style painting *The Enigma of the Arrival and the Afternoon* (figure 1). Naipaul ties a narrative to the image, which he imagines as an ancient Roman scene at an urban wharf:

> 'My story was to be set in classical times, in the Mediterranean…. [The narrator] would arrive - for a reason I had yet to work out - at that classical port with the walls and gateways like cut-outs. He would walk past that muffled figure on the quayside. He would move from that silence and desolation, that blankness, to a gateway or door. He would enter there and be swallowed by the life and noise of a crowded city (I imagined something like an Indian bazaar scene). The mission he had come on- family business, study, religious initiation- would give him encounters and adventures. He would enter interiors, of houses and temples' (Naipaul, 1987, p. 92).

Although both book and painting are products of the 20th century, their evocation of the uncanny and mystery of what it means to arrive in an unknown city resonates today. Looking at both representations in the 21st century, we are compelled to consider the arrivals that have transpired in recent years, most strikingly in the record 82.4 million people globally who have been forcibly displaced from their homes (UNHCR, 2020). In 2015 Europe witnessed what has variously been described the 'refugee crisis', 'migrant crisis,' and 'long summer of migration' where 1.3 million refugees, especially from Syria, entered the European continent to apply for asylum (Barlai et al., 2017; Yurdakul et al., 2018). With each forced departure comes an inevitable arrival somewhere else.

In Europe, few things came to tangibly epitomise these events more than the urban architectural spectacles that were hastily erected in cities to accommodate refugee

newcomers (Katz et al., 2018).[1] In Paris, the city's government constructed the 'bubble,' a spaceship-like structure that was part of a 400-bed accommodation centre (Scott-Smith, 2020a). In Berlin, the state transformed the iconic Tempelhof airport into Germany's largest refugee camp (Parsloe, 2020a). Meanwhile in Calais, the infamous 'Jungle' camp grew rapidly as people desperately tried to cross the English Channel (Mould, 2018). There was something distinctly urban and architectural about this so-called 'crisis.' The European refugee project was considered to depend on the success or failure of cities and their public and private institutions, civic leaders, and ordinary citizens as much as on deliberations of national leaders and policies (Katz et al., 2016). In de Chirico's painting, arrival is similarly depicted in distinctly urban and architectural forms as it offers striking associations with the events of 2015. The blurry cloaked figures evoke cliched contemporary images of huddled refugee masses. The boat that brought them there is obscured, as non-descript as the iconic rubber dinghies by which so many crossed the Mediterranean. The figures have traversed the solid quayside wall, as those who land today must navigate the international borders of 'fortress Europe' and complex asylum processes. They arrive in a port, drawing parallels with the mediatised spectacles of welcome at transport hubs such as the Munich train station (Connolly, 2015), to find themselves within a strange city square. The long shadows in the foreboding dying light augment the daunting task ahead of them as they stand like pieces on a chess board, their next move dictated by an overwatching power. They are left floating in a desolate urban space in which to start a new life. Like Naipaul's narrator, they too will become entangled within the milieu of the crowded city, but subsequently must contend with a similar out-of-placeness that Naipaul himself experienced as he struggled to come to terms with his post-colonial identity.

In Europe, Germany came to be the most prominent arrival nation in light of Chancellor Angela Merkel's historic decision to take in refugees as 890,000 registered for asylum in 2015 followed by a further 280,000 in 2016, more than any other Western country (BAMF, 2019a, 2016; Bock and Macdonald, 2019). While refugee newcomers were dispersed around the country, Berlin became one of the most notable cities where institutional accommodation played a fundamental role in shaping their arrival.[2] In December 2009, Berlin only had six shelters with

[1] A detailed discussion over the way refugee labels embody moral, legal, and political meanings that shape the way people are treated is provided in Part I. Scholars utilise alternative terms such as 'people on the move' to move beyond state-centric legal classifications (El-Shaarawi and Razsa, 2019). For consistency, this thesis primarily uses the term 'shelter residents' due to the focus on individuals who live within refugee shelters, as well as 'refugee newcomers' and 'arrivals' to denote individuals in Berlin who are applying or have been approved for asylum.

[2] This thesis focuses on institutional refugee shelters erected by the Berlin state but informal refugee spaces have also existed, most notably the Oranienplatz protest camp between 2012-2014 and the occupation of the Gehrhardt Hauptmanschule school between 2012-2018 (Bhimji, 2016).

a capacity for 1,426 people, which increased to 54 with a capacity for 12,743 by December 2014 (figures 2-3). However, in 2015 and 2016 the city was allocated a combined total of 72,000 refugee arrivals (LAF, 2017a). Simultaneously, Berlin has been experiencing a profound affordable housing crisis as it attempts to absorb a higher number of war refugees than any other European city (Soederberg, 2019). This shock of arrivals had radical implications through the rapid proliferation of shelters as the Berlin government hastily erected what they termed *Notunterkünfte* (emergency shelters). These were rudimentary structures intended to house refugees for a short period of time. There was an exponential rise from 59 shelters with a capacity of 14,757 in June 2015 to a peak in July 2016 of 146 shelters with a capacity of 43,875. Since then, these temporary spaces were gradually replaced with what are termed *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte* (community shelters), which are more comprehensive structures intended to house people for longer. In spite of decreasing numbers of arrivals, as of December 2019 there were still 20,814 refugees living in 83 shelters created and orchestrated by the *Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten* (LAF- State Office for Refugee Affairs), the state agency in charge of refugees in Berlin. The picture is made more complex by the fact that Berlin: 1) is an extremely popular destination for secondary migration as refugees from other areas move there; 2) hosts the greatest number of refugees per square kilometre out of any German city, and 3) took longer than anywhere else to close down initial emergency accommodation (Katz et al., 2016). Berlin has thus become a particular type of arrival city, where institutional accommodation has defined the life trajectories of thousands of refugees.

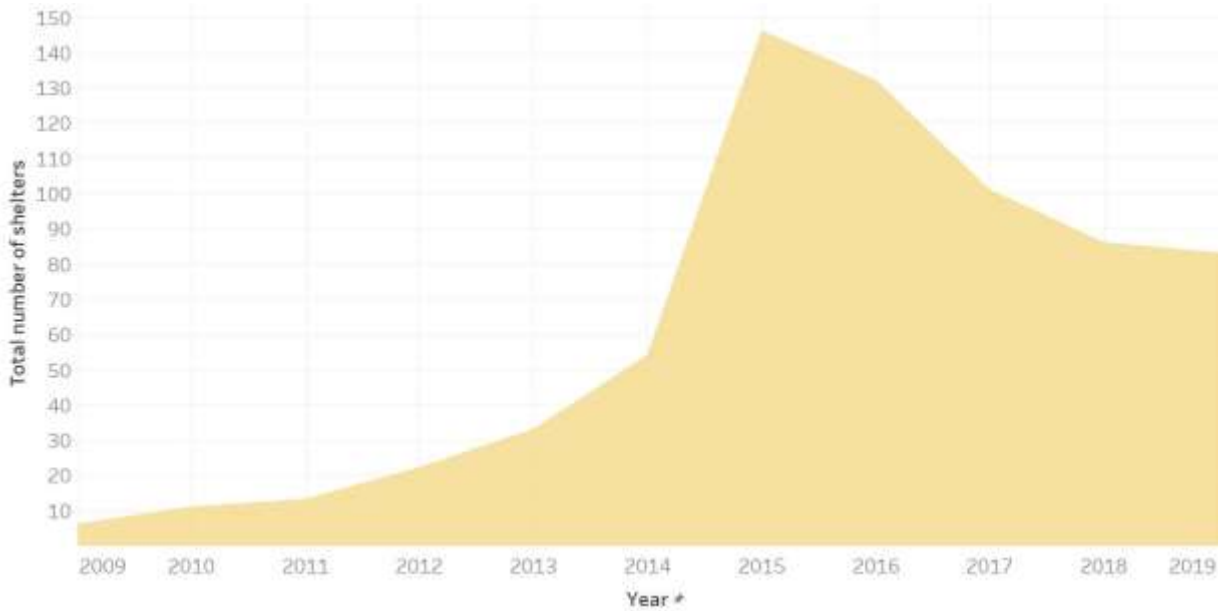

Figure 2: graph to show the total number of Berlin's institutional shelters for refugees 2009-2019 (data provided by LAF)

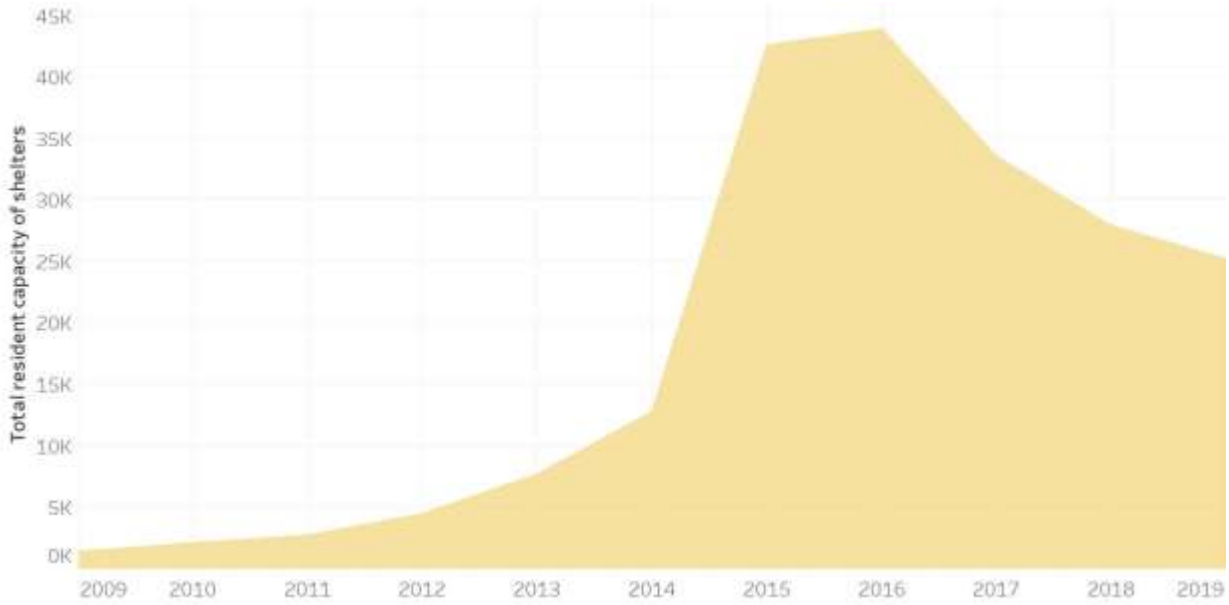

Figure 3: graph to show the total capacity of Berlin's institutional shelters for refugees 2009-2019 (data provided by LAF)

1.2 An infrastructural reading of arrival in Berlin's institutional refugee shelters

This thesis examines refugee urban arrival in Berlin to understand the architectures of arrival. Specifically, it analyses the residential spaces created by states in cities to accommodate refugees in response to the events of 2015 through an infrastructural lens. Through this it situates itself in a growing research agenda that has begun to consider the forms of infrastructure that shape migration (Hall et al., 2017, 2015; Kleinman, 2014; Leurs, 2020; Meeus et al., 2020, 2019; Sigona et al., 2021; Spijkerboer, 2018; Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). This infrastructural reading importantly enables debates around refugee spaces to move on from the discourse around the 'refugee camp' that has dominated the past two decades. Giorgio Agamben's (1998, 1997) seminal work explored the camp as a state-created space of exception that has become the hidden paradigm and nomos of modern political space. Through a synthesis of Arendtian and Foucauldian approaches to refugees and biopolitics, he argued the camp reduces its inhabitants to 'bare life,' or a simple physical life that is stripped of human and political existence. While early debates reinforced these ideas by treating camps as complete spaces of exception and containment that create inescapable 'total institutions' (Bauman, 2002, p. 347; Diken, 2005, 2004; Minca, 2007, 2006), more recent discussions have challenged the absoluteness of Agamben's assertions to reveal the camp as a more ambiguous spatial phenomenon. Scholars have explored the diverse expressions of politics in camp spaces (Maestri, 2017; Owens, 2009; Redclift, 2013; Sigona, 2015), especially

through the everyday practices and arenas in which refugees create 'legitimate lives' (Feldman, 2015; Katz, 2017a; Picker and Pasquetti, 2015). These debates demonstrate a post-Agambian era where new research must look for other avenues that go beyond merely challenging the reduction to 'bare life' within such spaces. This is not to dismiss this important work, but to supplement and build on it by incorporating other conceptual frameworks that address the complex developments of refugee spaces in the 21st century.

The need to go beyond camp debates is emphasised by the increasing urbanisation of forced displacement, where today around 60% of the world's displaced people live in urban areas rather than in rural camps (World Bank, 2017, p. 71). Over the last decade, the development of international refugee policies has turned away from camp-based models and towards urban-focused solutions as epitomised in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees's (UNHCR) 2009 policy that explicitly implemented programmes within cities to promote community-based approaches (UNHCR, 2009). Scholars note the increasingly dominant role cities are playing in hosting refugees and the advantages they provide, including employment opportunities, social and financial networks, services, independence, and safety, all of which are not necessarily apparent in camps (Crisp et al., 2012; Fábos and Kibreab, 2007; Marfleet, 2007; Ward, 2014). However, this picture is complicated by scholars who have begun blurring the boundaries between the spatial conditions of the camp and city. The camp is not being replaced by the city as the predominant space for refugees but is intimately entwined and evolving with it. Agier (2002) first introduced ideas around the urbanisation of camps. Since then, two dominant threads have emerged which explore camps as urban-like structures in their own right (Dalal, 2015; Herz, 2012, 2008) as well as camps that exist in urban areas (Oesch, 2017; Sanyal, 2014, 2012). This recapitulates the events of 2015 where Europe has witnessed what Kreichauf (2018) terms a 'campization' of its accommodation for refugees, as the camp model has not only been imported and deployed *within* European cities but have been established and managed *by* these cities (Katz et al., 2018). These 'urban camps' have become dominant urban infrastructures that mediate arrival for refugee newcomers in Europe today.

The emerging literature on infrastructures that facilitate migration provides an important alternative lens through which to view these new spaces. Xiang and Lindquist (2014, p. 122) develop the concept of 'migration infrastructure' which constitutes 'the systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility.' This notion calls for research which is less fixated on migrants as primary subjects but the broader

societal transformations that mediate migration. Similarly, Spijkerboer (2018) speaks of the 'global mobility infrastructure' that consists of the physical structures, services, and laws that enable some while preventing others from being able to move across the globe quickly, cheaply, and safely. While these focus on transnational movement, other scholars explore how migrants construct, adapt, and combine different infrastructures to create hubs of transnational communities and economies in European cities (Hall et al., 2017, 2015; Kleinman, 2014). This shift towards the infrastructures of a destination city is especially reflected in Meeus et al.'s (2019, p. 1) recent conceptualisation of what they term 'arrival infrastructures' which concerns:

> 'Those parts of the urban fabric within which newcomers become entangled on arrival, and where their future local or translocal social mobilities are produced as much as negotiated.'

They take an expansive definition of infrastructure that includes a diverse array of spatial entities including housing typologies, shops, religious sites, hairdressers, and restaurants. These are the result of sociomaterial practices of a diverse variety of urban actors including 'architects and urban planners, state-employees, citizens, civil society organisations, newcomers and more established migrants' (Meeus et al., 2020, p. 14). Their focus on 'arrival' importantly pays greater attention to 'how and where people find some stability in order to move on' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 1). This responds to the popular success of Doug Saunders' (2011) book *Arrival City* that presented an optimistic narrative of urban arrival for rural migrants in neighbourhoods which facilitate upward social mobility and economic prosperity through formal and informal practices. However, as they note, this conceptualisation of arrival is much too narrow and even overromaticised to encompass the diversity and ambivalence of migratory trajectories in today's cities (Meeus et al., 2019).

Berlin's institutionalised shelters for refugees provide an important opportunity to expand on the nascent conceptual framework of how migration and arrival infrastructures are produced, operated, and experienced. Furthermore, an infrastructural reading of arrival in Berlin reveals much broader and more diverse understandings of the city's infrastructure beyond the scope of recent work that has examined how its technical piped infrastructures have shaped it (Moss, 2020, 2014). This thesis considers these shelters as an architectural infrastructure of arrival with which refugees have become especially entangled since 2015 and which fundamentally shape their local and translocal social mobilities within the city. How do these architectural infrastructures function themselves as well as interact with other urban infrastructural networks to shape the spatialities of arrival? While Meeus et al. (2020, 2019) open new avenues for

analysing refugee arrival, their work remains underdeveloped in several important ways. First, they develop the concept through an interdisciplinary approach that entwines literatures of infrastructure, the spatiotemporality of migration, transnational migration and superdiversity, the mobilities paradigm, the autonomy of migration approach, and governmentality. This ambitious theoretical agenda comes at the expense of conceptual depth and reveals the need to better root and flesh out the concept within each respective body of literature and different disciplines. Second, although their edited volume introduces several empirical studies through chapter contributions, the potential scope of the concept demands a wider and more detailed empirical focus to understand how arrival infrastructures are produced, operated, and experienced on the ground in regard to their spatialities, governance structures, physical forms, construction processes, and influences on urban encounters. This thesis thus focuses on these two key arenas for development: first, to provide a more detailed rooting of arrival in infrastructure scholarship and second, to better ground it in a pertinent contemporary case study with a particular focus on revealing how infrastructures shape the spatial experiences of refugee arrival in the city. Through this it asks: What does the case of Berlin's shelters reveal about the nature of both infrastructure and arrival?

The first aim of this thesis is to better root notions of arrival infrastructure within existing conceptualisations of infrastructure. Studies of infrastructure have their origins within the field of Science and Technology Studies that considered infrastructures as technological systems which had converged into a network (Bijker et al., 1987; Hughes, 1993). Inspired by this discourse, since the late 1990s the field of urban studies has witnessed what has been described as the 'infrastructural turn' (Burchardt and Höhne, 2015). This treats infrastructure not as a '"thing", a "system", or an "output", but as a complex social and technological *process*' (Graham and McFarlane, 2015, p. 1). Infrastructure thus occurs rather than simply exists and, as Coutard and Rutherford (2016a, p. 261) argue, cannot be conceived as just the management of things like water, energy, waste, transport, and communications but as 'the circulation, appropriation, and "inhabiting" of artefacts, devices, techniques, regulations and practices.' Contemporary research into infrastructural formations must therefore reflect its expansive diversity. Infrastructures distinguish themselves from technologies by creating 'the grounds on which other objects operate' to function as systems (Larkin, 2013, p. 329). These systems themselves go onto to constitute 'interlinked *complexes* of infrastructure' (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 30), where infrastructure occurs as part of interconnected systems that facilitate one another. In anthropology Larkin (2013, p. 327) considers infrastructures as 'material forms' and 'physical networks.' This affirms their relevance to architectural approaches as buildings have come to be considered as part of the increasingly

interconnected tissue of the networked city rather than isolated in their own territory (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 32). These networks 'allow for the possibility of exchange over space' such as the trafficking of 'goods, ideas, waste, power, people, and finance' (Larkin, 2013, p. 327). This highlights an intimate connection with contemporary mobility in the form of transport that not only circulates materials and people (Hannam et al., 2006; Harvey and Knox, 2015, 2012) but also non-material entities including information, capital, and affects (Simone, 2015a).

More recently, scholars have explored how infrastructures are interrelated with social entities, including social relations and networks, social work, and citizenship, that create the lived environment (Amin, 2014; Graham and McFarlane, 2015; Lemanski, 2020; Schrooten and Meeus, 2020; Simone, 2004). They are never fixed nor stable entities that can simply be isolated or demarcated but constantly evolve (Leurs, 2020; Simone, 2015b). Simultaneously, they can confer a particular robustness, stability, and coherence (Meeus et al., 2019; Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). They can operate as top-down impositions or develop informally from the bottom up to address the needs of marginalised communities (Kleinman, 2014; Simone, 2004). They are crucially ecological and relational (Simone, 2015a; Star, 1999). They are also inherently political through their ambivalences as they can perpetuate a state quo or challenge it (Coutard and Rutherford, 2016b). Marvin and Graham (2001, p. 8) consider modern urbanism as 'an extraordinarily complex and dynamic sociotechnical *process*' whose constant flux is 'constituted through the many superimposed, contexts and interconnecting infrastructural "landscapes".' Infrastructures have thus come to play a deeply embedded and pervasive role in organising the possibilities and practices of contemporary urban life itself (Graham and McFarlane, 2015; Shove et al., 2019). An infrastructural approach to urban refugee accommodation thereby reveals a specific part of a much broader process of transformation that defines the lives of people in cities today.

The thesis thus explores the infrastructures in Berlin which shape arrival through these increasingly expansive definitions. It particularly utilises the work in urban geography that analyses the way that material infrastructures shape the lives of humans within cities (Amin, 2014; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Graham and McFarlane, 2015; Lemanski, 2020; Power and Mee, 2020). In this sense, it treats the shelters themselves as a spatial networked technology that defines the ways refugee arrivals live and dwell within urban spaces. It also significantly engages with the work in anthropology and sociology that considers social entities and institutions as forms of infrastructure that shape how people in cities relate to one another

(Burchardt and Höhne, 2015; Larkin, 2013; Simone, 2015a, 2004; Star, 1999). It expands on the recent sociologies and anthropologies of migration that have already begun to consider how such entities influence the life trajectories of people on the move (Hall et al., 2015; Kleinman, 2014; Meeus et al., 2019; Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). This includes state organisations and the mechanisms of the asylum process as well as social networks and support services that mediate relations between different groups of people within the city. In Berlin's case, these debates are applied to the systems that facilitate the extent to which shelter residents can establish new lives as well as those that influence the ways in which they navigate and interact with the city and its dwellers.

The second aim of this thesis is to expand the concept of arrival infrastructure through an empirical application that focuses on the perspectives of those who directly interact with these emerging infrastructures and the impacts on their trajectories of arrival. Although infrastructural approaches to migration have called for less fixation on migrants themselves and instead on the moorings, fixings, organisational structures, orders, and arrangements that shape international migration (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014), there remains the necessity to consider migrant subjectivities *within* these infrastructures. How do refugees living in Berlin's institutional shelters experience, consider, and negotiate the infrastructures with which they have become entangled? Indeed, Graham and McFarlane (2015, p. 1) emphasise the lack of engagement with how people 'experience urban lives that intermesh with, and are sustained by, the complexes of infrastructure.' They promote approaches that consider the 'nature, politics and experience of contemporary urban lives as everyday infrastructural experience.' In a similar vein in camp studies, Herz (2012, p. 10) problematises the representations of camp spaces that derive primarily from an outsider's perspectives as they fail to address how refugees understand their own environment. An empirical focus on the everyday lived experiences of the shelters as infrastructures addresses these gaps. It provides an answer to Ramadan's (2013, p. 70) call for a 'nuanced and empirically informed approach, sensitive to the particular characteristics of real camps, the politics, people, relations and practices that constitute camps on an everyday basis.' Such an approach not only reveals the quotidian spatial dynamics of arrival infrastructures but also the diversity of refugee subjectivities, backgrounds, and experiences that influence their perceptions of and engagement with their new urban environments.

This focus on refugee perspectives also includes understanding how newcomers are able to act within, subvert, or capitalise on particular infrastructural formations to express autonomy

and agency. In the field of refugee studies this is explored through what scholars have termed as the 'autonomy of migration' (AOM) (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015; De Genova, 2017; Metcalfe, 2021). This concerns the way that migratory practices are defined by their own logics, motivations, and aspirations in the context of attempts to control or regulate them. Migrants come to define life trajectories on their own terms in spite of constraints, most notably the border regimes imposed by states. In contrast, scholars of the camp directly respond against the Agambenian reduction to 'bare life' by considering refugee actions in the form of 'agency.' This concerns how refugees are able to express political agency especially through their mundane material practices and everyday activities that resist their marginalisation by inhabiting and transforming camp spaces to reclaim a 'normal' life (Abourahme, 2015; Ramadan, 2013; Sanyal, 2014). Autonomy thus concerns itself more with the state of being independent and self-directing to achieve certain migratory aspirations in spite of coercive border regimes while agency relates to the capacity to exert power within the spatial and political realities of camp spaces. However, as both discourses note, these concepts are inherently compromised and limited in the context of migration (Abourahme, 2015; De Genova et al., 2018; Katz, 2017a; Scheel, 2019, 2013). The thesis engages with both sets of ideas to determine the extent to which refugees living in Berlin's shelters can autonomously forge their own arrival trajectories and have the agency to create their own spaces within the city.

These two aims lead to the overarching research question: How do infrastructures shape the arrival trajectories for refugee newcomers in Berlin? The thesis breaks this down into three key questions to address in separate parts: What forms of arrival do Berlin's arrival infrastructures create for refugee newcomers? How does the operation of Berlin's shelters as infrastructure shape its internal spatialities? How do Berlin's infrastructures mediate developing relations between refugee newcomers and the city? The nature of these questions leads to a need to situate this research within multiple academic disciplines, namely at the nexus between refugee studies, architecture, and urban studies, with methodologies inspired especially by ethnography to elucidate refugee perspectives as will be discussed in the next section. Each part thus engages primarily, although notably not exclusively, with one of these disciplines. Part I roots itself within refugee studies where debates surround the nature of refugee sorting (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018; Janmyr and Mourad, 2018; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014; Zetter, 2007, 1991); Part II turns towards a more explicit architectural discourse around the socio-materialities of refugee spaces especially in the context of the camp (Abourahme, 2020, 2015; Dalal, 2020, 2015; Katz, 2017a, 2015; Katz et al., 2018; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020), while Part III is embedded mostly in debates in urban studies, including both the humanities and social sciences, that consider how migrants live in

and interact with other people in cities (Allport, 1954; Amin, 2002; Bock and Macdonald, 2019; Darling and Wilson, 2016; Vertovec, 2015, 2007; Wilson, 2017a). These parts are all underpinned and connected by the thematic lens of infrastructure which has been approached by the aforementioned diverse disciplines and emphasises the need for such interdisciplinary approaches to understand the complexities of such infrastructures and their impact on the process of arrival at various stages and in various contexts.

The thesis explores these questions to demonstrate how such infrastructures have fundamentally shaped the nature of urban arrival for refugee newcomers. As depicted in de Chirico's painting and Naipaul's novel, arrival is an inherently uncanny, unsettling, and even enigmatic process that is deeply personal. This thesis argues that the refraction of arrival through the infrastructures of Berlin's institutional refugee shelters exacerbates these adverse effects which undermines the ability to find some sort of stability to move on from becoming forcibly displaced. Berlin's shelters create restrictive, disempowering, and even physically and psychologically damaging forms of arrival that shape refugee newcomers' experiences, spatial encounters, and views of the city. It is other forms of infrastructure that provide the greatest scope for them to achieve their aspirations in arrival trajectories. This demonstrates the need for architecture and institutional infrastructure that is better able to facilitate just and empowering forms of arrival for displaced populations. As will be discussed next, these empirical findings derive from methodologies grounded in ethical frameworks.

1.3 Methodologies and ethical frameworks

Research into refugees presents unique sets of methodological and ethical problems (Bloch, 1999; Sieber, 2009) where the subject's complexity requires approaches that are inherently interdisciplinary (Voutira and Doná, 2007). This research thus employs an interdisciplinary, qualitative mixed-methods approach. First, I produced maps using data provided by the LAF to reveal patterns of where in the city different shelter typologies are constructed. These are created in the knowledge that maps are not always accurate representations of reality but can reveal different stories depending on their focus (Van Herzele and van Woerkum, 2011). To analyse the shelters themselves the research reflects what Marcus (1995, p. 95) terms a 'multi-sited ethnography' which moves away 'from a single site-location contextualised by macro-constructions of a larger social order…to multiple sites of observation and participation.' Broader structures of the 'world system' are elucidated through the exploration of multiple sites as the researcher follows people, objects, symbols, narratives, conflicts, biographies, or, in the case of this research, infrastructural spaces in the form of Berlin's

shelters. Visits to multiple shelters revealed both specificities and connections as part of a wider shelter network. Overall, I visited 19 shelters between 2016 and 2020 throughout all boroughs of Berlin over seven fieldtrips, with the primary stay between April-September 2019 (figure 4). As Marcus (1995) suggests, the ethnographer must renegotiate their identity within the changing landscapes which develops new reflections in other sites. In each shelter I followed a process of interviewing the manager, a tour of the shelter taking photographs, and finally speaking to residents if permitted. Using the outcomes of mapping and these visits, the research took the north-eastern neighbourhood of Buch as a key case study due to its high density of shelters.

A combination of interviews and visual materials provide the primary evidence to support arguments. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were undertaken in German and English with refugee shelter residents as well as LAF representatives, NGO leaders, shelter managers and workers, and local Berliners (figures 5-6). These interviews allowed for a flexible structure to explore particular themes where perspectives are situated and contextual as meanings and understandings are created through interaction (Edwards and Holland, 2013). All interview data are anonymised. Shelter residents are given alternative names but have a short profile (see appendix) that not only provides important contexts to their statements, but also seeks to present them as human beings with their own motivations, personalities, histories, and aspirations rather than mere research data. Interviews are supplemented throughout the text by photographic images. These are deployed in the knowledge that photographs are not objective documentation or illustration but present their own subjectivities through how they frame the situation, including what is left out (Coles, 1998; Sontag, 1977). Image and interview quotes are crucially presented in tandem to mutually reinforce and provide depth to arguments, in particular to demonstrate how the points raised by shelter residents relate to and materially manifest in urban spaces (figure 4). They are therefore intimately linked. During initial visits to shelters, photographs were systematically taken from key perspectives, including the entranceway, immediate urban context of the street, fences that demarcated the site, elevations of the buildings, shared outdoor spaces, and internal spaces, all of which intentionally avoided capturing people at the request of shelter operators. As fieldwork progressed, insights from interviews gradually emphasised the need to photograph other spaces and perspectives that had important implications and meanings for residents. These were intentionally taken from perspectives that would evoke such sentiments as much as possible. Conversely, initial photographs inspired new interview questions as well as contextualised statements that would be made by residents. Indeed, these initial photos were also used when interviewing local Germans to elicit a response on their opinions of the shelters

and the newcomers they housed. Interview and image thus reciprocally shaped each other in the methodological process.

Illustration type	Image descriptions	Purposes
Maps: city scale	• Location of emergency shelters • Location of community shelters • Average property prices • Locations of important sites for refugee newcomers • Locations of Berlin neighbourhoods	• Reveal concentrations of different shelter typologies in urban neighbourhoods and their locations in relation to one another • Highlight socio-economic disparities between different urban locations • Demonstrate distances and relations between amenities used by refugees and their shelters • Provide contexts of Berlin's administrative boundaries
Maps: neighbourhood scale	• Location of shelters within neighbourhood • Building typologies and important sites within neighbourhood	• Reveal concentrations of shelters within neighbourhood and in relation to one another • Demonstrate the housing and building contexts in areas where shelters are located • Highlight amenities used by residents in local neighbourhood
Photographs: external shelter	• Shelter entrance • Shelter boundaries • Front façade of building • Shelter with buildings and streets in immediate vicinity	• Present the material and architectural façades and boundaries through which refugees must past through to access the shelter • Demonstrate material differentiations between the architectures of the shelters and the surrounding buildings

		• Situate the shelter within its immediate spatial context and how it relates to adjacent spaces • Present the architectural security measures of the shelters
Photographs: internal shelter	• Outside social spaces • Inside social spaces • Washing spaces • Bedrooms • Corridors and stairwells • Entrances to buildings • Cooking facilities • Signs and notices in buildings • Appropriations and alterations by residents	• Present shelter amenities and spaces for activities as well as interview sites • Reveal the qualities of spaces where domestic practices are undertaken • Reveal the living conditions and private spaces of residents • Highlight the information, rules, and opportunities that are dispersed visually around shelter spaces • Demonstrate the forms and extent to which residents have made material adaptations to their domestic spaces • Compare internal spatial qualities of different shelter typologies
Photographs: urban sites	• Sites mentioned by residents in interviews (eg. shops, restaurants, cafes, community centres, public squares, gardens etc.) • Significant nearby landmarks to shelters • Refugee project and community spaces in neighbourhoods	• Highlight where shelter residents interact with and travel to and how these spaces shape their relationships with and perceptions of the city • Reveal sites within the neighbourhood that provide support for refugees • Demonstrate the architectural and spatial contexts of shelters in different neighbourhoods

	• Housing and building typologies in shelter neighbourhoods • Signs, banners, graffiti, and other signifiers that relate to refugees explicitly or implicitly	• Reveal local attitudes to refugee arrivals rendered visible in urban spaces

Figure 4: table to show visual material systematically produced and utilised during fieldwork

The interview texts derive from a process where knowledge is co-produced through the interactions between researcher and interlocutor and then interpreted by the researcher. The audio of interviews was not recorded but instead extensive handwritten notes were taken. These were immediately written up in more detail afterwards away from the participant and then transcribed into a digital format. This process importantly involves interpretive editing where statements that were often fragmented or convoluted were recompiled to articulate the point being made. This introduces the researcher's subjectivities and even potential misinterpretation as they try to capture the essence of what is being said rather than necessarily presenting statements verbatim. To mitigate these potential distortions, it becomes important to ask for clarification on unclear statements during the interview, especially when communication is through a foreign language, as well as undertake a significant number of interviews that allow interlocutors to corroborate points made by others. Indeed, previous responses were also used as launching points for further discussions and questions for interviewees to respond to themselves. The interview data thus mutually inform one another as the fieldwork progresses. Subsequently, the texts from individual interviews were compiled into a single document that was organised according to the different shelters and divided between refugee newcomers and others. Reading through this document allowed for recurrent themes to become evident and text fragments were then grouped thematically in a separate document. These cross-cutting themes inspired further theoretical readings and were then considered through infrastructural discourses to see what they could reveal about the nature of infrastructure. Throughout this process the intimate relationship with the images collected also continued as photographs were reexplored in relation to the emerging themes from interview analysis.

Sampling of non-shelter residents transpired primarily through snowball sampling (Kohlenberger et al., 2016; Sulaiman-Hill and Thompson, 2011) that opened networks of officials, workers, community projects, and locals. Initial contact with shelter operators in 2016 led to introductions with other shelters operated by the same organisation or other organisations they worked with in their local areas. These networks expanded among a variety of private and not-for-profit operators where my experiences in other areas would provide a foundation upon which to approach new connections as I could offer insight into how their shelters functioned as part of a system of shelters that spanned the city. In this sense the social infrastructures and networks of the shelter and refugee industries themselves became tools to navigate and investigate the ways in which they operate. This process was reinforced by repeated conversations with LAF representatives who provided advice and contacts within significant urban neighbourhoods, such as where shelters were concentrated or where pertinent problems had transpired. These networks also led me to a community centre that provided refugee and other community projects in the neighbourhood of Buch which would become the primary case study. Here I volunteered as a part-time English teacher as well as engaged other community groups in order to interview local residents.

When directly engaging with shelter residents, the nature of refugee-related research demands methodologies to be foregrounded in ethical considerations arguably more so than many other subjects. It poses complex challenges of power and consent, potential harm to participants, confidentiality and trust enmeshed with broader cross-cutting challenges of gender, culture, human rights, and social justice (Pittaway et al., 2010). Guillemin and Gillam (2004) differentiate two forms of ethical research: ‘procedural ethics’ constitute formal processes of gaining consent through ethics committees and signed forms, while ‘ethics in practice’ respond to contextual everyday issues that arise through the research. In contemporary refugee research the latter is promoted as particularly important as ethical considerations must constantly adapt to the ‘difficult, often subtle, and usually unpredictable situations that arise in the practice of doing research’ (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004, p. 262). The iterative nature of research in itself requires constant renegotiation, evolution, and adaptability, which leads to the need for iterative models of consent where ethical agreements are best secured through a process of negotiation (Mackenzie et al., 2007, p. 307). Darling (2014) calls for the development of situated judgements that are able to exceed models of procedural ethics. Often the stipulations of procedural ethics are difficult to carry out in the field and lack the capacity to address the complexity of working with vulnerable populations (Pittaway et al., 2010). For example, acquiring written consent forms from refugees can be inappropriate, where interlocutors may be illiterate, reluctant to give away their signature for

fear of repercussions, or insurmountable communication barriers exist (Czymoniewicz-Klippel et al., 2010; Kabranian-Melkonian, 2015). In 'ethics in practice' the researcher must instead constantly question themselves and demonstrate a sensitivity to the methods, process, and outcomes of their work as well as its potential ethical failings. There is a need for a 'commitment to uncertainty, humility, and *un*learning in the research process' (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2010, p. 115) and a 'humbling of the ethnographer' (Cabot, 2016, p. 645). The researcher must be willing to be proven wrong, be explicit about how data are collected, adapt methods to increase their relevance to the lives of participants, and be critical of others' methods (Block et al., 2013; Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). A situated ethics develops an open ended and constantly evolving process that adapts to the specific contexts and needs of the participants.

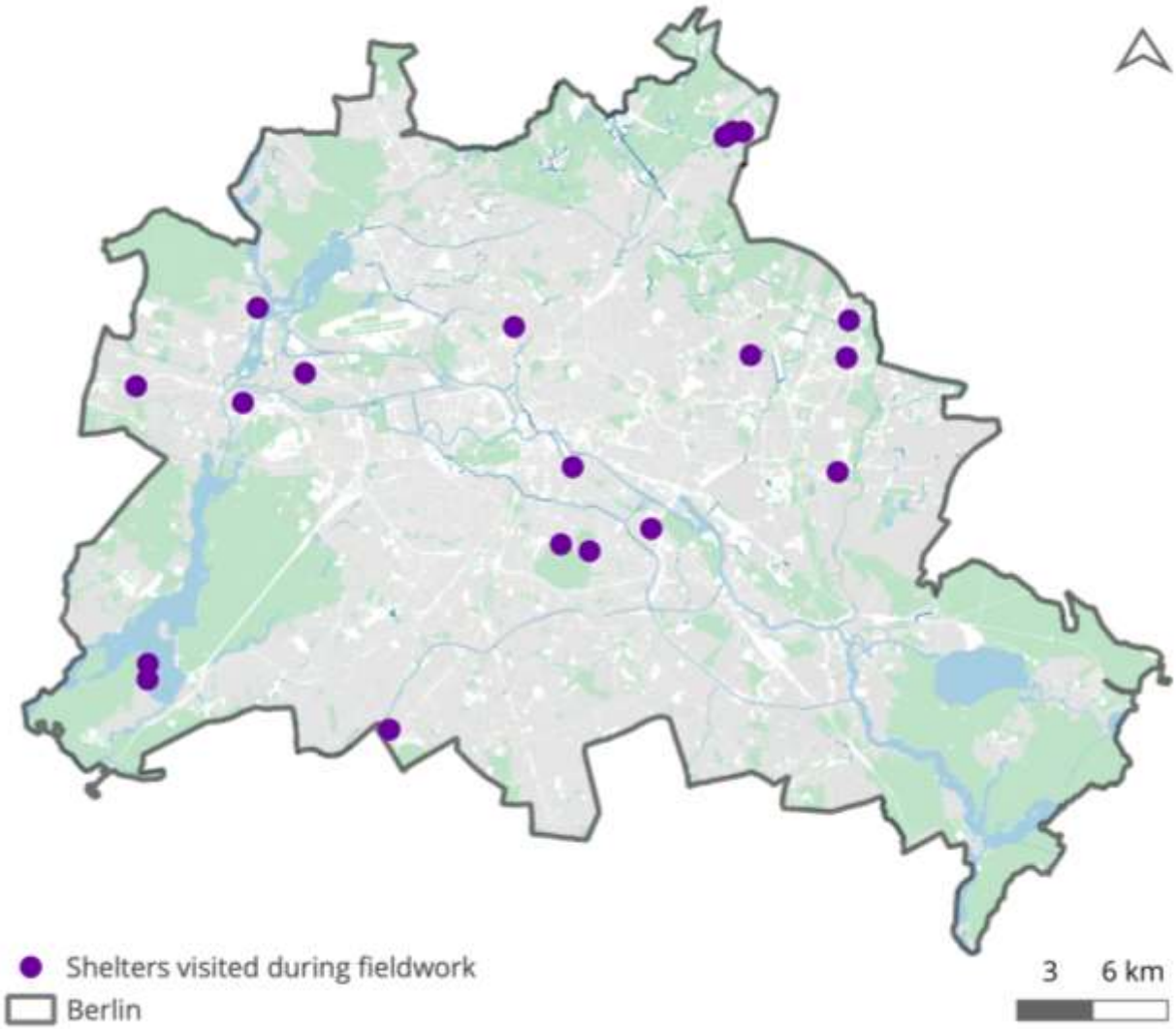

Figure 5: map to show locations of shelters visited during fieldwork 2016-2019

People interviewed 2016-2020	Number of interviewees
Shelter residents	64
LAF representatives	2
Shelter operators, managers, and workers	24
Other refugee project workers	4
Local Berliners	12
Total	**106**

Figure 6: table of fieldwork interviews undertaken 2016-2020

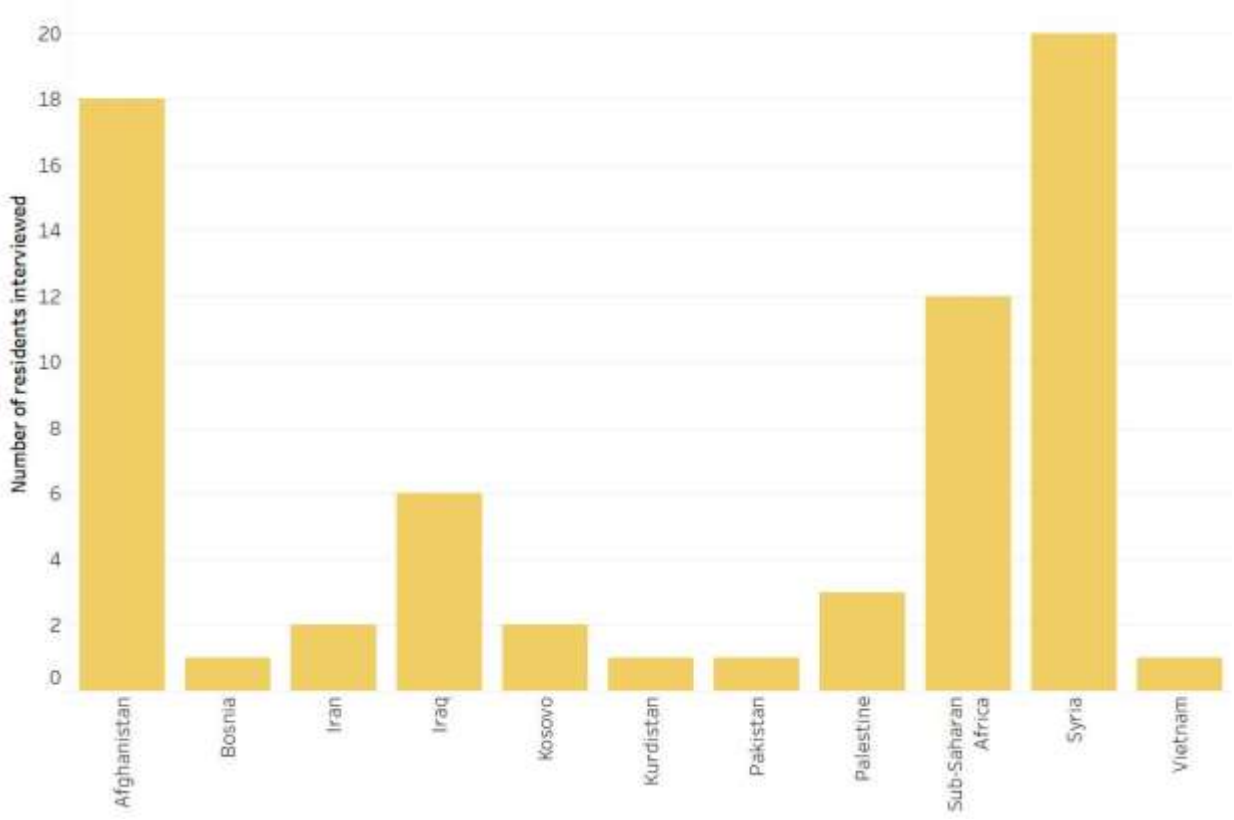

Figure 7: graph to show the countries of origin of the 64 shelter residents interviewed

This research affirms how the embedding of situated ethics enhances the quality of the data and goes hand-in-hand with methodological rigour. Interviews with refugees were crucially undertaken primarily within shelter spaces. Place plays a fundamental role in the interview process itself as the interview site produces 'micro-geographies' of socio-spatial relations and meanings that create a dialectic between it and the interview (Elwood and Martin, 2000; Sin,

2003; Tuck and McKenzie, 2015). These interviews not only help gather information but also provide opportunities for situated participant observation. Scholars capitalise on this process through methodologies such as the 'walking interview' where a 'trialogue' between researcher, participant, and space evolves through movement as interlocutors are 'exposed to the multi-sensory stimulation of the surrounding environment' (Anderson, 2004; Evans and Jones, 2011, p. 850; Kochan, 2016). This is also evident in the 'go-along' that involves accompanying informants on 'natural' everyday trips to reveal subtle and surprising experiences, practices, and meanings of place that are missed in site observation and less stimulating static interviews (Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003). In-situ interviews within refugee shelters thereby enabled a more dynamic engagement when discussing especially the architectural and social qualities of the shelter spaces. However, discussions over outside interactions with the city did not have the same benefits as methods like the 'go-along' provide. In spite of many attempts to organise them, residents did not have the time, inclination, or energy. This emphasised the importance of adaptation to the needs and capabilities of residents as insights thus had to be gleaned from static in-situ shelter interviews.

In-situ interviews also benefited access to participants. Scholars highlight key challenges in merely finding urban refugee populations, which are often not easily identifiable or accessible. They utilise techniques such as snowball sampling or the use of gatekeepers to locate target groups (Bloch, 1999; Kohlenberger et al., 2016; Sulaiman-Hill and Thompson, 2011). In contrast, Berlin's shelters make the target group easily identifiable. However, they also constitute what Pascucci (2017a, p. 249) terms as 'humanitarian infrastructure' which are the 'ensemble of technologies and spaces through which refugee migration and its governance are mediated and reproduced.' She argues that while they make access to the field more possible, this leads to over-research as researchers come to rely on them. This reflects broader critiques of approaches such as snowball sampling that continue to exclude isolated individuals who are not well connected with more established members of their community (Bloch, 1999). In this thesis these critiques are countered by the fact that the infrastructure itself and refugee relationships with it constitute the primary focus. This limits the research scope to the process of refugee arrival and experiences of the city as mediated through the shelters as infrastructure.

The benefits of in-situ interviews have to be negotiated ethically in the context of engaging a vulnerable population within domestic spaces. Access to the shelters is a mediated privilege where the researcher's mere presence is already an imposition. Block et al. (2013) highlight

the dangers of ‘captive research participants’ that may feel obliged to interact with the researcher. Darling (2014) suggests conducting interviews outside of their own spaces to avoid coercing people into participation, yet this negates many benefits of the in-situ interview. In Berlin’s shelters, even when participation is emphasised as voluntary, residents may feel subtle pressures or expectations to cooperate especially when introduced through shelter workers who are responsible for support, resources, and management. To mitigate this issue my presence was to be as passive as possible and let spontaneous interactions unfold over several months. This enabled the development of participant observation in conjunction with in-situ interviews that took elements of the ‘hanging out’ approach in ethnography. This concerns the physical, informal, and prolonged immersion within a socio-cultural environment in order to understand acts and actors from within their own frame of reference (Geertz, 1998). Interviews would be carried out only in the shelters’ communal spaces from 15:00-18:00 during weekdays as residents returned from work and school alongside several weekend sessions. In the main shelter case studies this included a table adjacent to laundry facilities, benches in designated smoking areas, and a small pavilion structure (figures 7-8). The public nature of these spaces pertains to spontaneous social interactions. At first, I would not approach people, but instead become an everyday fixture who residents could approach to ask what I was doing. This facilitates a process of opportunistic and convenience sampling that capitalises on opportunities during data collection through those who are available and willing to participate (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007, p. 114). In turn this led to an in-situ snowball sampling as participants introduced other residents which enabled conversations with people who may not usually be engaged. An LAF worker notes concern over other research projects:

> ‘Each shelter has the established refugee who does all the talking for researchers.’[3]

They are critical of researchers obtaining exactly the same information as managers introduce them to those with attributes such as the best languages skills. While a more passive approach was time consuming, it embodied the benefits of ‘hanging out’ including building relationships of familiarity and trust with people that may otherwise have been inaccessible or reticent to take part if approached formally (Browne and Mcbride, 2015).

[3] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

Figure 8: the communal pavilion in a container shelter, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 9: table by the washing entrance and smoking area benches, Berlin Buch, 2019

As Browne and Mcbride (2015) argue, 'hanging out' is not only about data extraction, but a delicate process which also establishes the researcher's positionality throughout the fieldwork. The need for researchers to make their perspectives, motives, and biases explicit and avoid claims to objectivity has long been established (Haraway, 1988). My presence alone results in potential 'researcher effects' that shapes how interlocutors interact (Schwartz-Shea and Yanow, 2012, p. 125). For example, 'hanging out' can lead to people regarding researchers with suspicion if their role is unclear (Browne and Mcbride, 2015). In Berlin's shelters, residents may interact with me because they think I can improve their chances of gaining asylum or moving out of the shelters. However, when 'hanging out' is undertaken purposefully and meaningfully, it can make the researcher visible and help establish an appropriate identity that erodes suspicion and encourages trust in politically sensitive research environments (Kawulich, 2011). Whether interviewer and interviewee share membership of a marginalised group based on race, gender, or ethnicity can shape the information produced (Edwards and Holland, 2013). On the one hand, shared experiences can help build rapport and engagement with each other (Oakley, 1981). On the other, they can also involve misguided shared complicitly and assumptions that prevent interviewees from divulging certain details (Mahtani, 2012). The researcher must therefore undertake critical reflections of their positionality within specific contexts. My own 'otherness' to Berlin helped to build rapport as I was not part of the 'host' population but a fellow non-native who had also arrived in and was attempting to navigate the city, albeit under very different circumstances. Simultaneously, my 'otherness' enabled a non-native perspective on German institutions, state governance, policies, and citizens, as the leader of a local refugee support NGO suggests:

> 'It's good you're criticising the shelters from an outside perspective. It's important Berlin doesn't just stew in its own juices.'[4]

To acknowledge one's position is not to undermine the research outcomes, but to instead present a more truthful representation that critically reflects on the biases, limitations, interests, and even benefits that derive from the researcher's subjectivities.

Initiating interviews more directly created a key moment of rupture in everyday normality. To navigate this issue, predefined rules of engagement included avoiding groups of more than two people, women who were alone, and those visibly in conversation or on the phone. Instead, I approached those having a cigarette or who appeared more relaxed and unengaged in other activities. In spite of these efforts, any approach remains an imposition and these rules

[4] Berlin, 19/07/2019.

potentially exclude voices of those who do not spend long outside or were not present during my arranged access times. The flow of the interview itself was consciously constructed to first address consent and establish the most suitable common language. Subsequently, the interview began with explaining what Luker (2008) terms the 'hook.' This emphasises the nature of the study and why they are a key person needed to understand the situation. This was followed by an attentive and flexible process of listening, probing, and following up on questions (Edwards and Holland, 2013). Crucially, the first thematic question posed was: 'what is currently the biggest problem for refugee newcomers to Berlin?' The cornerstone of this research is to get shelter residents to differentiate their most important issues that would dictate the themes to which theoretical lenses would then be applied, rather than impose pre-determined concepts that do not necessarily reflect the primary concerns of refugees.

Throughout the process both interviewer and interviewee must navigate inherent emotional and asymmetrical power dynamics (Edwards and Holland, 2013). Hoffman (2007, p. 337) speaks of the 'interview dance' where power constantly shifts between interlocutors, from the 'powerful gesture' of the researcher's initiation of contact to the value of the interviewee's response and back again to the interviewer as they shape the next question. Within this process, the development of rapport invites intimacy through an atmosphere of disclosure which can run the risk of exploiting research participants (Duncombe and Jessop, 2007). Simultaneously, there are dangers to the researcher through the emotional costs of hearing stories of loss, grief, and anger (Bloor et al., 2010; Watts, 2008). Indeed, several interviewees reflected unprompted on experiences of torture and trauma that were unrelated to the research focus. During this, it was important to give them time to speak before refocusing on the research agenda. To finish the interview a 'cool down' process enables interlocutors to gradually detach from each other to avoid an abrupt break of the intimate link (Luker, 2008). These approaches sought to create a context where refugees could speak as freely and confidentially as possible.

However, a situated ethics through interview methodologies is by itself not enough as contemporary refugee research has increasingly highlighted the need to go beyond a discourse of harm minimisation. Scholars increasingly frame an obligation to develop dimensions of advocacy that bring reciprocal benefits to refugee communities, alleviate suffering, take participatory approaches, and justify research projects through informing practical solutions (Hugman et al., 2011; Mackenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010; Swartz, 2011; Voutira and Doná, 2007). However, the goals of academia and advocacy are often at

odds with one another. Jacobsen and Landau (2003) illustrate the 'dual imperative' of refugee research being both academically sound but also policy relevant to develop more effective responses. This creates a tension where theorisation and the need to satisfy high academic standards can result in work becoming less relevant to practitioners, sidestepping actual concerns of the field, and decontextualising places and ideas (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2010). Indeed, throughout the research the LAF, NGOs, and shelter operators highlighted the fatigue and time-costs that accompany the stream of researchers who have approached them as well as risks of negative consequences for orchestrating access to those in vulnerable and precarious situations. One shelter resident also notes a perceived lack of tangible benefit as they refuse to be interviewed:

> 'We get excited when we see that people are coming to help. But then we hear it is for a project or for research and we are disappointed. How is that going to help us?'[5]

Even when research is embedded in advocacy approaches, there often remains a disconnect between the production of knowledge and the relevance of outcomes to the everyday lives of research subjects. Conversely, problematic 'advocacy research' may develop if researchers already know what they want to say and complete fieldwork that proves it (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). Furthermore, academics often overstate the benefits of their research and the importance of their conceptual focus. Researchers must therefore critically interrogate how their research may be used while avoiding the production of overly selective data that often stems from policy-oriented refugee research (Jacobsen and Landau, 2004).

To go beyond harm minimisation and navigate challenges around advocacy, this thesis's emphasis on participants differentiating their biggest issue is particularly important. Furthermore, in every interview with a shelter manager, NGO, or LAF representative I offered if there was any way my presence in the field and research could reciprocally benefit their own work and promised to share the final research document. Most importantly, I developed a side project that utilised the connections, networks, and resources available to me as a researcher to have a real-world impact on a shelter. I organised a collaborative architectural summer school funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council between the University of Cambridge and the Technical University Berlin that brought 26 students to engage with the complex issues of refugee shelters before designing and building an architectural intervention, making a short film, and producing a publication (figures 9-11) (Parsloe, 2020b; Parsloe and

[5] Berlin, 19/08/2019.

Bondarenko, 2020). This attempted to translate academic research into tangible positive impacts on the situations this research explores.

Figure 10: *Designs for a Refugee Shelter Rooftop* project, Berlin Wannsee, 2019

Figure 11: stills from the film created for *Designs for a Refugee Shelter Rooftop*, 2019

Figure 12: *Designs for a Refugee Shelter Rooftop* booklet, 2019

1.4 Structure of the thesis

To address the two aims of the thesis its structure is divided into three parts, each of which contains two chapters. The first chapter of each part analyses the ways that the complexes of arrival infrastructures themselves are planned, developed, operated, and experienced by state institutions, planners, NGOs and civil society organisations, shelter operators, and local citizens. The second chapter of each part then moves to the perceptions and experiences of shelter residents. This includes how they are subjected to, take advantage of, subvert, or even build their own infrastructures as they negotiate their arrival in the city through exercising of agency and autonomy. Each part develops a specific dimension of infrastructure in relation to scholarly discourses including refugee and migration studies, architecture, urban studies, geography, and the social sciences and how it shapes refugee arrival in Berlin. They are broadly divided into the themes of: 1) arrival process; 2) shelter; and 3) city, which respectively address the directional, contradictory, and entangled natures of infrastructure. Part I explores the nature of arrival by examining the way infrastructures 'channel' and 'sort' refugee newcomers along normative arrival trajectories primarily defined by the state. Chapter two deepens understandings of the nature of 'sorting' by examining the state and urban infrastructures that shape refugee arrival in Berlin through conceptualisations of 'social sorting', 'classification', 'categorisation', and 'labelling.' Chapter three then examines the impact of these sorting processes on shelter residents in relation to discourses around the 'autonomy of migration approach' to reveal how infrastructure limits their autonomy of arrival. Part II turns to the internal spatial dynamics of the shelters to explore the ways its functions as infrastructure blur the conceptual boundaries between camps, shelter, and housing. Chapter four examines through camp and housing discourses the extent to which the state's planning and production of shelters create new forms of urban housing. Chapter five then examines the extent to which residents are able to inhabit these infrastructures that act as new forms of housing through discourses surrounding homemaking in displacement contexts. Part III turns to the ways the urban location of infrastructure within the city shapes refugee arrival through its impact on everyday encounters and the development of relationships between newcomers and the city. Chapter six examines the emplacement of shelters in Berlin's peripheral eastern neighbourhoods through discourses surrounding urban encounter and living with difference in the city. Chapter seven then examines how refugee newcomers encounter and build relations with the city through a variety of urban infrastructures. Finally, the conclusion reflects on what the case of Berlin reveals about the nature of arrival and infrastructure and how more just and empowering forms of arrival might be achieved.

Part I

Channelling arrival through infrastructure: sorting refugees

2. Directional infrastructures: state and city

2.1 Introduction

When asylum-seekers arrive in an institutional refugee shelter in Berlin, they are each given an information package that explains how they can apply for asylum (figure 13) (SenIAS, 2017).[1] It outlines each stage of the procedure, which authorities are responsible for them, and contact details of non-governmental advice and support centres and their addresses in the city. It highlights their rights and obligations as asylum-seekers, including access to housing, social services, language courses, education facilities, and healthcare. The package acts as an infrastructure in itself that informs, directs, and connects arrivals to the social infrastructures of the city in the form of organisations, institutions, government projects, and community groups that facilitate various stages of the asylum and integration process. In essence, it provides a step-by-step guide created by the state that outlines a particular narrative of what it means to 'arrive' in Berlin.

The information package suggests that a refugee's life trajectory is guided along specific pathways and raises the question of the ways Berlin's shelters and other arrival infrastructures are shaped to facilitate particular narratives of arrival. In their conceptualisations of arrival infrastructures, Meeus et al. (2019) seek to liberate the notion of arrival and challenge the national normativities, temporalities, and geographies that define it by including how migrants search for their own forms of stability. In this they join a growing group of scholars who challenge Saunder's (2011) popularly cited book *Arrival City* for its problematic teleological approach to arrival, where his focus on the urban entrepreneur who gains upward social mobility through hard work 'does not do justice to the diversity of migration trajectories that shape our cities today' (Amin, 2013; Herscher, 2017; Meeus et al., 2019, p. 2). Yet simultaneously they argue how states have continuously produced layers of both supportive and exclusionary governmental infrastructures that 'funnel' particular groups along pre-defined arrival trajectories. While arrival trajectories can be expansive and diverse, they can also be limited by urban infrastructures that create barriers to resources or movement (Star, 1999). Indeed, Xiang and Lindquist (2014, p. 125) suggest how infrastructures have come to primarily impede rather than enhance people's migratory capacity. This emphasises the qualitative nature of infrastructure networks that have tended to facilitate normative aspirations of states, reformers, planners, and social activists to define their notions of a desirable urban order (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Xiang and Lindquist (2014) coin the term 'migration infrastructure'

[1] Due to this section's focus on the asylum procedure, chapters two and three refer to refugee arrivals whose request for legal protection has yet to be processed as 'asylum-seekers.'

to describe the infrastructures that ‘channel people and their mobilities, privileging and enhancing access to various paths and opportunities for some as well as impeding mobility and constructing barriers to others.’ Infrastructures emerge as selective and directional, establishing processes of sorting that facilitate different movements and transitions towards particular outcomes.

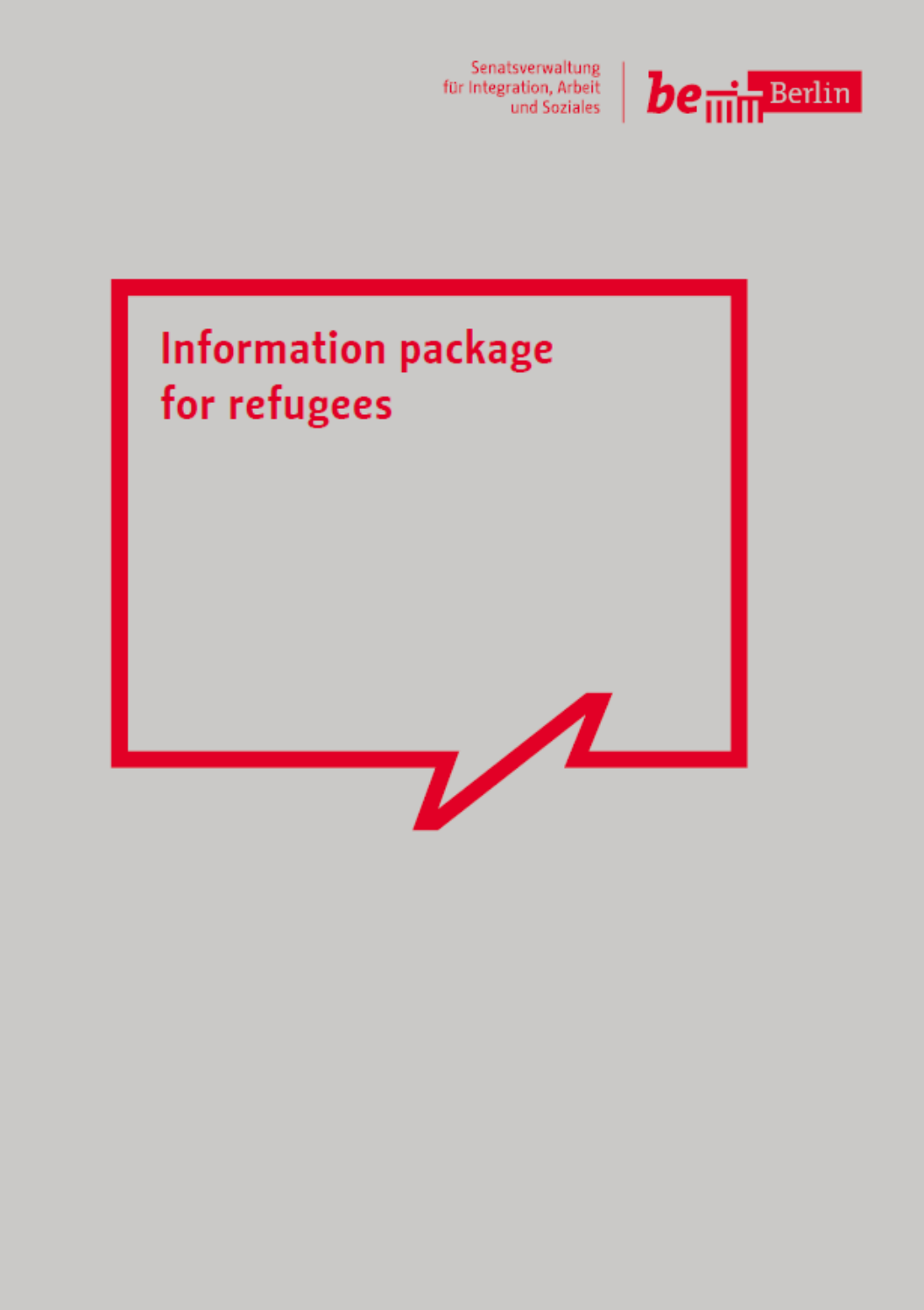

Figure 13: information package for refugees, 2017 (source: SenIAS)

Recent debates have begun to identify the diversity of infrastructures that achieve these channelling processes. For example, Räuchle (2019) explores the historical public organisations that were established to regulate newcomers' arrival in early 1900s Hamburg, producing various levels of inclusion and exclusion. Similarly, Sidney (2019) considers the role of the modern NGO as an infrastructure that channels behaviour in certain directions. Xiang and Lindquist (2014) identify five dimensions to 'migration infrastructure': the commercial, regulatory, technological, humanitarian, and social. These dimensions intersect but have distinct 'logics of operation' with various actors, driving forces, strategies, and defining modus operandi that channel migrants in particular ways. These insights have begun to reveal the diversity of urban infrastructures that channel and sort migrants beyond the realms of the state.

However, these debates have yet to connect notions of infrastructure to the diversity of ways that this channelling manifests. In various disciplines scholars have explored notions of 'sorting' in migration through a variety of terminologies and the everyday impacts for the individuals who are subjected to them (Goodman et al., 2017; Janmyr and Mourad, 2018; Lampland and Star, 2008; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014; Zetter, 2007, 1991). In spite of their clear relevance to the channelling functions of infrastructure, these discourses are yet to be connected. Conceptualising Berlin's shelters as part of a network of arrival infrastructures created by the state and shaped by other urban actors provides the opportunity to understand specifically how such infrastructures sort migrants in diverse ways and with particular outcomes.

This chapter focuses on how Berlin's institutional shelters constitute part of a broader network of arrival infrastructures that 'select, give direction to, and retain or accelerate certain migratory subjects' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 15). As state-created infrastructures they are intended to shape arrival along particular teleological trajectories. How do these infrastructures operate and channel newcomers, and what visions of arrival are they oriented towards? To answer this the chapter takes Xiang and Lindquist's (2014, p. 124) definition of infrastructure in the sense of 'systematically interlinked technologies, institutions, and actors that facilitate and condition mobility' but orients it towards notions of arrival in the sense of the entities that enable an individual to establish, adjust, and stabilise themselves in the city. It analyses the most notable infrastructures that channel all refugee arrivals in Berlin, regardless of nationality, gender, legal status, and other individual subjectivities. Section 2.3 explores the sorting infrastructures of the state asylum process before the final sections turn towards infrastructures that are embedded in the city. Section 2.4 analyses the infrastructures that are

intended to socially integrate newcomers before section 2.5 explores those that provide access to housing. While these state and urban infrastructures reflect a diverse range of actors, motives, and outcomes, they overlap and mutually shape each other as part of interlinked complexes of infrastructures. Before this, however, section 2.2 outlines the conceptual frameworks scholars in diverse disciplines have deployed to characterise notions of 'sorting' migrants, so as to better understand the specific ways infrastructure channels arrival.

2.2 Conceptualising the sorting of refugees in scholarship

In their conceptualisations of arrival infrastructures, Meeus et al. (2019) utilise the terms 'sorting' and 'channelling' to denote the ways that migrants are selectively led through the urban landscape. While this frames a general underlying process of directionality, understandings on the diverse ways channelling transpires and their impacts are currently underdeveloped and do not capitalise on the existing rich literatures on the multi-faceted dimensions to migrant sorting. Scholars in multiple disciplines have produced a range of concepts and terms including 'social sorting,' 'classification,' 'categorisation', and 'labelling.' Each definition develops its own nuances that elucidate specific dimensions of a broader spectrum of sorting logics but also present significant overlap as definitions spill over into each other. This section delineates the specificities of these concepts in order to better root the debate around arrival infrastructure in the multi-dimensional realities of sorting and understand the specific ways in which Berlin's infrastructures channel refugee arrival.

Broeders (2007, p. 77) appropriates the term 'social sorting' from Lyon's (2003) work in surveillance studies to describe the use of large-scale electronic systems that control flows of migration by identifying and sorting migrants, as surveillance technologies become inevitably used for 'the classification of populations as a precursor to differential treatment.' Social sorting differentiates certain groups from others based on factors such as income, gender, or ethnicity with a view to exploit this information for a specific purpose. Digital technologies are key mediators of this surveillance, creating virtual gates and barriers that both rationalise and automate the sorting of populations according to computer algorithms and codes. It is especially tied to the rise of the 'surveillance society' post-9/11 where surveillance no longer concerns a specific monitoring of suspects, but a generalised sorting of populations that occurs in inter-modal transport facilities such as security in airports, seaports, and railway terminals (Lyon, 2007, 2006). Through this it is indiscriminately applied to different mobile populations, including tourists, business travellers, and asylum-seekers alike (Morgan and

Pritchard, 2005). Social sorting thus concerns the differentiation of people through technology as part of a nation's security and surveillance regimes that goes onto shape how the state responds to the movement of an individual. It provides a useful concept to understand how refugees are sorted by state surveillance apparatuses when they arrive in the country.

While the concept of social sorting in surveillance studies highlights the means by which states classify people, it omits the rationales that underpin the classifications themselves. To understand this, sociological approaches to 'immigrant classification' provide useful concepts. Social classification has long been a classical issue in sociological studies that constitutes the process whereby 'things are sorted out' in the sense of being organised and defined. It assumes that insurmountable boundaries exist between different categories of people (Bowker et al., 2000; Boyne, 2006; Gastelaars, 2002). As Bowker and Star (1999) affirm, it remains 'ordinarily invisible' where most people are ignorant with regards to how social reality is ordered. Furthermore, they emphasise that classifications are based on what is socially legitimate and proven to function practically. Through this they become 'sites of political and social struggles' that are part of the social 'infrastructure' in the sense of society itself (Bowker and Star, 1999, p. 196; Star, 1999).

More recently classification has been applied to immigration situations and the organisations that classify (Diedrich and Styhre, 2008). Glasman (2017) evokes Bourdieu's perspective that life chances are shaped by 'classification struggles' as much as 'class struggles' in refugee trajectories. These struggles are defined by the political institutions that classify 'who is a refugee,' which themselves are the products of historical developments and social perceptions of order (Scherschel, 2011). These are often overly reductive and fail to appreciate complexity. Diedrich et al. (2011) note this issue in a Swedish program to recognise prior learning among immigrants in order to integrate them quicker into the labour market and society. They criticise the prioritisation of procedural effectiveness and stressing of singular categories above understandings that reflect how individuals are situated at the intersections of a variety of classification schemes. Social classification thus concerns the logics of the institutions which dictate the 'boxes' into which people are sorted and how those logics themselves are shaped by social and political contexts. It provides a useful concept to understand rationales that differentiate refugees in the asylum process.

Social sorting and classification share the same intentionality to utilise and act upon information for certain purposes. The concept of categorisation similarly reflects such intentions, as Leudar et al. (2004, p. 244) note how categorising 'is normally done to accomplish something other than just categorizing…It orients to practical action.' Information is thus produced in order for an individual or institution to achieve an explicit outcome. Scholars in discursive psychology explore the nature of such outcomes in their conceptualisations of 'categorisation' which deconstruct the ways that language and public discourse differentiate asylums seekers (Kirkwood et al., 2016). This is particularly evident in public media coverage whose use of certain terms creates potentially dangerous representations. Goodman et al. (2017) highlight the evolution of UK media representations throughout the events of 2015 which was recategorised from the 'Mediterranean Migrant Crisis' to 'Calais Migrant Crisis' and finally to 'European Migrant Crisis.' These descriptions utilise categorisation as a powerful political and rhetorical strategy to impose systems of classification that aim to justify harsh treatment of asylum-seekers by depicting migrants as threats on different scales, of different natures, and at various geographical borders (Goodman and Speer, 2007). Furthermore, they highlight the shifting nature of categorisations that are re-enacted as the nature of the threat changes. For a brief period, the events of 2015 were described as a 'refugee crisis,' which represented the situation more sympathetically and humanely rather than the 'migrant crisis' that appeared as a threat to be controlled. The latter delegitimises calls for protection while the former reinforces them (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016). Such changes occur in response to key events such as the publication of the photograph of Alan Kurdi, a three-year-old whose body washed up on a beach in September 2015 after he drowned trying to cross the Mediterranean. However, discourse shifted back to the 'Migrant Crisis' after the Paris terrorist attacks two months later as migrants once again were presented as a threat to be controlled (Goodman et al., 2017).

These categorisations often emerge as reductive dichotomies that differentiate between asylum-seekers who are supposedly legitimate and those who are not. In the German context scholars criticise such representations in public media and political discourse as they:

> 'shift blame from historical, political-economic structures to the displaced people themselves. They demarcate the "deserving" refugee from the "undeserving" migrant and play into fear of cultural, religious, and ethnic difference in the midst of increasing anxiety and precarity for many in Europe' (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016, p. 12).

The two representations embody the contradictory elements inherent in the German reactions of a welcome culture as well as xenophobia. Indeed, Germany has historically struggled with the conflict between xenophobic tendencies and its liberal aspirations (Lehr, 2015), although it is by no means the only country with this paradox. These dichotomies are ubiquitous in destination countries and reflect a 'categorical fetishism' (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018). As well as the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' (Sales, 2002), scholars contrast the 'bogus' with the 'legitimate' (Lynn and Lea, 2003), 'proper refugees' and 'the rest' (Wettergren and Wikström, 2014), the 'worthy and 'unworthy' (Darling, 2013) and the 'victims' and 'villains' (Crawley et al., 2016) to name a few. They all strike at the same point that some asylum-seekers are perceived to be in legitimate danger, while others are trying to exploit welfare systems when they are not in true need. Categorisation thus concerns the way public discourse frames the 'worthiness' of refugees to claim asylum within a country. It provides a useful concept to understand how refugee newcomers are considered and presented among the German public.

In the field of refugee studies scholars have considered similar processes through acts of 'labelling.' Zetter (1991, p. 39) affirmed in his seminal text that 'labels infuse the world of refugees.' In recent years, labelling processes constitute a global trend towards an increasing stratification of global access to refugee protection, as aid itself becomes increasingly focused on specific groups (Glasman, 2017). These processes define not only access to rights and the provision of needs, but also identities (Stevens, 2013; Zetter, 1991). There is often a disjuncture between the assigned label and the lived reality of refugees, which can lead to misrepresentation, stigmatisation, and failure to address specific needs (Gupte and Mehta, 2013). Zetter (2007) reappraises notions of labelling in a new geo-political era, where labelling has become a bureaucratic process primarily enacted by governments who have made the rights and entitlements of asylum-seekers more precarious in an effort to contain migration towards the Global North. Labelling thus not only serves to replicate the political values and bureaucratic process that create them (Zetter, 1991) but also constitutes part of the criminalisation and securitisiation of migration that undermines the protection framework created for the globally displaced (Sajjad, 2018).

The importance of labelling is particularly evident in the granting of legal statuses. Processes of classification by the state lead to complex labels that go beyond the dichotomous categorisation of public discourse. Brown (2011) highlights the need to explore the specific legal status beyond merely the 'documented' or 'undocumented' migrant. Each status embodies different benefits, support networks, rights, or stigma that significantly impact

everyday life and relationships to the state. Labels thus have major ramifications on how refugees are perceived and subsequently treated by host countries, as the definition of 'who is who' translates into 'who gets what' (Goodman et al., 2017, p. 106; Sigona, 2018). They have profound concrete and symbolic consequences that can even be fatal (Holmes and Castañeda, 2016; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014). First, legal statuses unlock certain material benefits and define the relationship of the asylum-seeker with the host state that will ultimately implicate an individual's trajectory of integration (Brown, 2011). They embody the reality of differential inclusion, where inclusion in a sphere, society, or realm can involve different degrees of subordination, segmentation, and discrimination (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015a). A migrant's modality of entry and residence status come to define their existence, especially as a subject of labour, within the arrival country (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013). Second, legal statuses symbolically denote who is identifiable as the 'legitimate' refugee as 'rights acknowledge or confer public standing, acting as a statement of respect and/or desert' (Morris, 2009, p. 207). When labels other than full refugee status are granted, such as subsidiary protection, the greater restrictions of mobility, length of time to become citizens, and different rules concerning family reunification can signify a symbolic rejection (Wettergren and Wikström, 2014). However, asylum laws can also paradoxically inhibit the ability for individuals to integrate (Lomba, 2010) as the stigmatisation of the refugee label among wider society can outweigh the material benefits (Janmyr, 2016) as well as reinforce victimhood and remind individuals of their flight and trauma (Ludwig, 2016). Labels can also subsequently influence the ways in which other sets of labels take shape in other arenas, leading to further symbolic and practical consequences (Janmyr and Mourad, 2018). They therefore do not operate distinctly but can create or constraint opportunities through other types of membership. Labelling thus concerns the technocratic legal definitions created by the state's processes of classification that dictate the forms of aid and support refugees receive. It provides a useful concept to understand the infrastructures, resources, and opportunities available to residents in Berlin's shelters according to their legal statuses.

Embedded in all these concepts is the importance of the power dynamics at play. As Bourdieu (1991, p. 223) asserts, 'the act of categorisation, when it manages to achieve recognition or when it is exercised by a recognised authority, exercises by itself a certain power.' It is often only those in positions of power, be it the state or media organisations, who have the ability to categorise and act upon the outcomes. This in turn perpetuates and reinforces their power. For example, legal statuses can be used as political tools by states to promote their own interest. As Janmyr (2016) highlights, regulatory changes in Lebanon established strict entry requirements that left many Syrian refugees in precarious legal positions. The process of

obtaining a legal permit became so onerous and expensive that refugees were left to either leave the country or remain and accept exploitation. Yet refugees themselves have in some instances been able to challenge, criticise, and reject classifications or adapt them to their advantage (Glasman, 2017). Forced migrants can nurture alternative statuses that foster political and social belonging from experiences of exclusion to make ambiguous forms of citizenship (Brun et al., 2017). As Inhetveen (2010, 2006) also notes, labels can become tools of autonomy, where refugees themselves reinterpret, reformulate, and utilise the label refugee for their own benefit. While refugee sorting is used to repress refugees, it can also be a source of agency. This duality is important for understanding both how state and urban infrastructures impose particular arrival trajectories on refugees as well as how refugees themselves experience the shelter and city and potentially find agency within the infrastructures which sort them.

These diverse approaches to notions of 'sorting' provide relevant concepts to understand how Berlin's shelters and wider networks of arrival infrastructures channel refugees. While each concept conveys specificities of who sorts, how, and to what effect, they also overlap in their illustration of how people are differentiated through certain defined criteria. They all embody the power inherent in the ability to sort, the disjuncture that sorting logics often have with reality, and the implications that the outcomes have on refugees, especially on an everyday level. The rest of the chapter now turns to the role that Berlin's arrival infrastructures play in facilitating multidimensional processes of social sorting, classification, categorisation, and labelling of refugees and their impact on trajectories of arrival. To do so reveals the complexity and multi-scalar qualities of the processes of 'channelling' and 'sorting' and the infrastructures that facilitate them, first by focusing on state infrastructures that enact the asylum process followed by urban infrastructures operated by other actors that shape arrival beyond the granting of legal statuses.

2.3 Sorting by state infrastructures as bordering

State infrastructures play a vital role in the directional channelling of refugee trajectories in Berlin. This opens possibilities to explore how the shelters exist as part of a broader infrastructure created, operated, or overseen by the state to facilitate the formal legal processes of asylum for its border regime that mediates arrival into the country. For Meeus et al. (2019), an infrastructural approach to arrival emphasises the possibilities of a critical and transformative engagement with the role of the state in the management of migration. In this case the state is not seen as a monolithic bloc, but instead as a performance of conflicting

forms by different actors, spaces, and materials (Jeffrey, 2012, p. 39). To understand how these 'infrastructures of asylum' (Whyte et al., 2020) work in Berlin, Xiang and Lindquist's (2014) conceptualisation of 'regulatory infrastructures' that constitute the 'state apparatus and procedures for documentation, licensing, training and other purposes' provides a useful foundation. They tie their concept to Feldman's (2011, p. 6) notion of 'migration apparatus' which concerns the diverse institutions, policies, and discourses that transform migration into a 'static policy object.' Both concepts share an emphasis on operational process rather than end-oriented intentions. However, they differentiate apparatus, which focuses on governmental operations and policymakers, from that of infrastructure which concerns a broader array of actors. Furthermore, they argue that regulatory infrastructures are intimately connected to and reliant on technological infrastructures, such as the externalisation of border control through biometrics (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). Through this they are part of decentralised international border regimes and the control of global movement, where in Europe today 'access to mobility is often via the computer screen' (Tsianos and Karakayali, 2010, p. 374). How do Berlin's infrastructures regulate arrival as refugees apply for asylum and how do they categorise, classify, and label these newcomers as part of Germany's border regime?

When an asylum-seeker arrives in Germany, they must first register themselves at an official reception facility to begin the application process. They receive a *Ankunftsnachweis* (certificate of proof of arrival) that allows them to access basic benefits such as food, housing, and healthcare. After this they are dispersed to one of Germany's 16 *Bundesländer* (federal states). Each state has their own office in charge of providing support and benefits in kind, including accommodation and subsistence, to the asylum applicant. In Berlin this is the role of the *Landesamt für Flüchtlingsangelegenheiten* (LAF- State Office for Refugee Affairs). This devolution produces diverse forms of shelter and policies that are dependent on a state's resources, geographies, and demographics (Wendel, 2014). The experience in one state may significantly differ from others and shape an individual's ability to establish themselves in the country.

The number of applicants each state takes is based on the *Königsteiner Schlüssel* (Königstein Key), an allocation system recalculated every year based one third on a state's population and two thirds on its tax income (§45 AsylG-asylum law) (BAMF, 2021). It is fully computerised and applicants have little to no say over where they are placed (Wendel, 2014). This system constitutes an infrastructure that embodies processes of social sorting, where technology and

computer algorithms created by the state automatically allocate where newcomers are channelled as part of its security apparatus. Berlin has consistently been allocated around 5% of all applications (BAMF, 2021). The logic of dispersal in Germany is intended to avoid concentrations of refugee 'ghettos' in particular cities as well as to spread costs (Seethaler-Wari, 2018). Yet dispersal policies are criticised as part of broader mechanisms that control and exclude refugees, including detention and deportation (Schuster, 2005). As Boswell (2003) argues, dispersal acts as a form of deterrence that is designed to make it a less attractive asylum destination. This resonates with the long-standing critiques of Western European asylum procedures which are noted for their interacting lines of deterrence used to curb asylum migration (Silove et al., 2000; Valenta et al., 2019). Since 2015, European governments have even deployed communication campaigns to explicitly deter asylum-seekers from travelling to their country (Brekke and Thorbjørnsrud, 2020). By contributing towards this dispersal, these infrastructures of social sorting thus simultaneously become infrastructures of deterrence that are intended to dissuade potential future arrivals as much as it sorts current arrivals. They deny asylum seekers the autonomy to choose where they might wish to create new lives.

When the individual has been allocated to their respective federal state, they submit their initial application in person to the municipal office. They must provide official documentation to prove their identity, which is subjected to physical and technological authentication. While each state provides individual support, all applications are processed on a federal level by the *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF- Federal Office for Migration and Refugees). After this initial meeting applicants receive a *Aufenthaltsgestattung* (certificate of the right to reside) for the duration of the asylum process. During this, they must comply with the *Residenzpflicht* (obligation to reside) and remain in the municipality for at least three months (§55, §56, §57, §59a AsylG). Failure to do so may result in detention or a criminal record (§59 II AsylG; §95 I Nr. 6a AufenthG; §95 I Nr. 7 AufenthG). For those from designated 'safe countries of origin' it may even result in the termination of their asylum application (§33 II, §33 III AsylG), an outcome which has been criticised by legal scholars as disproportional and in contravention of multiple European and international laws concerning the right of free movement for refugees (Pelzer and Pichl, 2016). The residency obligation may also be reinstated as a form of punishment if someone commits a criminal act (§59b AsylG). Even when arrivals are granted asylum, they must abide by the *Wohnsitzauflage* (residential constraint) which forces them to take residency for at least three years in the state where their application was processed. This has been criticised as an extreme example of the holding of refugees within designated border

zones as regulation restricts freedom of movement and traps them within specific territories (El-Kayed and Hamann, 2018).

The personal interview follows the initial application, which is the most important step of the whole procedure. Applicants must justify their individual reasons for fleeing their country, present relevant evidence, and resolve any contradictions to officials. The interview is also examined according to the Dublin III regulation, which determines the EU member state that is responsible for the asylum application.[2] Electronic identity checks are undertaken that exist as part of the 'Integrated identity management: plausibility, data quality, and security aspects' (IDM-S) programme. Image and speech biometrics as well as mobile data evaluation utilise digital technologies to immediately check for plausibility of their claims as well as cross-reference information with security databases such as Eurodac (Broeders, 2007; Leurs and Shepherd, 2017). These tests simultaneously embody the technological apparatus of social sorting as well as processes of social classification where institutions, in this case the state, dictate the logics that make granting asylum possible.

In turn these classifications produce the diverse legal statuses that come with processes of 'labelling.' There are four forms of protection that someone may be granted in Germany: Entitlement to Asylum; Refugee Protection; Subsidiary Protection, and Ban on Deportation (BAMF, 2019b). Crucially, they all have different legal bases, last for varying lengths of time, provide various levels of support and resources, offer alternative paths to long-term settlement and different possibilities for things like family reunification and access to the labour market (figure 14). On top of these is also the *Duldung*, which literally translates to 'toleration'. This indicates that the asylum application has been rejected but that deportation has been temporarily suspended for certain legal or practical reasons. If an asylum application is rejected, it will be one of two types if the *Duldung* does not apply: an outright rejection or a rejection as 'manifestly unfounded' which require an individual to leave the country within 30 days or one week respectively. Both may be appealed through court action.

[2] This regulation requires asylum-seekers to apply in the first EU Member State country in which they arrive. Between August-November 2015 German Chancellor Angela Merkel famously suspended it, allowing individuals who had previously applied in other countries to re-apply in Germany (European Commission, 2016).

Form of Asylum Protection	Residence permit	Settlement permit	Entitled to family reunification	Employment permit
Entitlement to asylum	for 3 years	possible after 3-5 years (dependent on German proficiency and employment)	Yes	unrestricted access to labour market
Refugee protection	for 3 years	possible after 3-5 years (dependent on German proficiency and employment)	Yes	unrestricted access to labour market
Subsidiary protection	for 1 year	possible after 5 years (dependent on German proficiency and employment)	No	unrestricted access to labour market
National ban on deportation	for at least 1 year	possible after 5 years (dependent on German proficiency and employment)	No	employment possible with permission from immigration authority

Figure 14: table of forms of refugee protection and their entitlements

Refugee shelters are intimately entwined with these asylum application processes and are their primary architectural manifestations as they host and fix applicants in space while the state enacts its sorting processes on arrivals. Different stages of the process allow access to certain types of accommodation. If an applicant comes from a country labelled as 'safe', they are uniquely subjected to the *Wohnverpflichtung* (obligation to reside) in an *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung* (EAE- initial reception centre) throughout the entirety of the asylum proceedings (§47 Ia AsylG). Scholars have argued that this keeps them in a space of 'limbo' during the process that is regarded as a severe violation of basic rights (El-Kayed and Hamann, 2018; Pelzer and Pichl, 2016). This 'limbo' exists in both a legal sense as well as a physical spatial sense, as residents become fixed within a particular type of shelter in order for the state to classify them. As Szczepanikova (2013) argues, European accommodation centres are key tools of deterrence that curb numbers of new asylum applicants as part of a broader regime of control. The networks of Berlin's shelters and its embeddedness within the state's regulatory infrastructures thereby also act as infrastructures of deterrence which are intended to prevent future arrivals while it sorts current ones.

Consequently, the shelters as part of a broader infrastructure of sorting situates them within Germany's border regime. Van Houtum and van Naerssen (2002, p. 131) highlight the interactions between notions of categorisation, classification, and bordering, which they

understand as the ‘social practice of spatial differentiation.’ They note how the (b)ordering of mobilities has produced ‘othering’ of immigrant populations in particular and perceive refugee camps and asylum centres as creating borders between ‘their zone and ours’ that determine ‘those who wait and those who participate.’ As Hartman (2017) argues, these borders come to be manifested in the spatio-political orders of refugee centres in Germany, albeit ones that are inherently unstable sites of struggle that can be challenged and renegotiated through everyday spatial practices of refugees and their supporters. Indeed, prior to the events of 2015, Fontanari (2015) criticised Germany’s accommodation for refugees for creating a legal, spatial, and temporal ‘threshold condition’ of continuous waiting, uncertainty, and precariousness as they become border spaces that exist inside national territory. Individuals are fixed in space as they wait to be recognised and pass through the threshold that controls their entrance to the City- with a capital C- which ‘does not just refer to an urban space, but also to the legal and political space in which the challenges of our societies regarding redefinition of citizenship and borders takes place’ (Fontanari, 2015, p. 724). Through this shelters act as border spaces within the boundaries of the city as part of a global trend where borders have moved from the margins to the very heart of contemporary political life as well as diffused into everyday society (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Yuval–Davis et al., 2019). They exist within a continent that has been describe as a ‘Borderland’- a paradoxical space where territorial notions of interior and exterior can no longer be separated and ‘opposites flow into one another’ (Agier, 2016; Balibar, 2009, p. 210; Lebuhn, 2016). Despite the radical evolutions of the country’s policies for institutional shelters, as will be discussed in Part II, these characteristics continue to pervade the contemporary structures in Berlin. They act both as containers of asylum-seekers and as legal thresholds to the city and state manifested in a physical structure.

The asylum process is revealed to be a highly complex and bureaucratic procedure that subjects applicants to a multi-scalar and multi-dimensional infrastructure of sorting. This ‘regulatory infrastructure’ (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014) extends beyond the decentralised policy making of ‘migration apparatuses’ (Feldman, 2011) as it operates on different levels from decisions at the highest to political offices to municipal structures and local bureaucrats. It funnels individuals through different geographical areas and physical buildings, examines documents alongside in-person interactions, checks biometric data, and is crucially facilitated through digital technologies and databases. The procedure is extensive, comprehensive, and time-consuming as applicants are weighed and measured against complicated immigration legislation through a highly technocratic process. Different stages of this process reflect elements of social sorting, classification, and labelling to grant arrivals legal statuses by which

they may be identified, where they are treated as an ‘object of information, never a subject of communication’ (Foucault, 1977, p. 200). As Meeus at al. (2019, p. 7) affirm ‘national sovereignty assigns identities and hampers the transformative potential of migration.’ These infrastructures thus come to constitute infrastructures of bordering that regulate and dictate arrival according the state rather than refugees themselves.

2.4 Sorting by urban infrastructures along socio-cultural teleologies

After the official sorting infrastructures of the state, the city itself provides the context for the next stages of sorting and the channelling of arrival trajectories. As Meeus et al. (2019) suggest, ‘infrastructuring practices’ are enacted by a range of actors in urban settings that operate within, against, and beyond the infrastructure of the state. However, they also note how governmental programs can imbue bureaucracies, institutional spaces, and partnerships with civil society actors with particular arrival normativities. This consolidates them within new layers of infrastructure that continue to channel particular forms of migrant arrival. As the rest of this chapter explores, in Berlin these diverse actors reinforce teleological narratives of arrival beyond the asylum process. As Lebuhn (2013) asserts, cities have become key spaces where new actors, rules, and institutions have emerged and transformed the European border regime. These urban bordering processes operate on multiple scales and through multiple infrastructures, including through data and technology (Broeders, 2007; Latonero and Kift, 2018; Leurs and Shepherd, 2017) and civil society organisations (Koca, 2019). These channels simultaneously contribute towards the monitoring of migrants as well as carve out place-specific spaces of rights and recognition, revealing an uneven landscape of urban borderspaces (Lebuhn, 2013). Through this the border regime extends into the everyday lived realities of the city itself. These more diverse infrastructures arguably provide the potential for messier and multifaceted processes of arrival as they establish relations between the state, individuals, public organisations, private interests, housing markets, and citizen-led initiatives. Unlike the state’s use of social sorting, classification, and official labelling, which utilise discrete rubrics, urban infrastructures sort in more subtle and ambiguous ways. The logics that define sorting are often concealed and may contradict one another, depending on which actors undertake the sorting and for what purposes. They also embed arrival more specifically within place as it becomes entangled with local socio-economic and political dynamics and enacted through everyday interactions in the city.

Berlin’s urban infrastructures channel arrival by imposing particular narratives of integration. As Larkin (2013) argues, infrastructures are not purely functional and technical but exist in

forms that reflect desire and fantasy through the embodiment of semiotic and aesthetic values. He highlights how public infrastructure in particular reflects an ideal of what states wish to be and how their citizens operate. In this sense infrastructures are tools to produce particular visions of society and culture, which means they can become 'divination tools' themselves to give clues about the status of a nation (Trovalla and Trovalla, 2015). In 2017 Federal Minister of the Interior Thomas de Maizière (2017) in the newspaper *Bild* revealed such visions in the German context by rekindling a longstanding debate concerning a German *Leitkultur* (guiding culture) which has defined debates over integration, assimilation, and multiculturalism in Germany since the 1980s. His ten-point plan to define the country's culture included shaking hands, possessing a diligent work ethic, a commitment to education and the arts as well as the now infamous title of the piece 'we are not burqa.' This reflects what Lentin and Titley (2012, 2011) call the perceived 'crisis of multiculturalism' that purports that parallel societies and intolerable subjects have been allowed to flourish in European societies. They argue that migrants are now required by states and their citizens to display loyalty and adopt certain values through assimilationist integration projects in order to prove the legitimacy of their belonging. These realities are relevant to the underlying social, political, and historical bases of sorting criteria that shape immigrant classification by states and categorisation in public discourse. Yet rather than associated with the worthiness of asylum, the socio-political contexts that define the criteria of sorting extend into perceptions of more or less successful arrival and legitimacy of belonging through cultural integration. The reiteration of this old debate thus attempts to establish principles of a dominant culture in the face of refugee arrivals. Bourdieu's (1986) seminal work on 'cultural capital' is relevant here, which argues that familiarity with the supposed legitimate culture within a society determines one's place within that society. He identifies three sources of cultural capital: the objectified (e.g. a book or artwork); the institutionalised (e.g. formal qualifications or credentials), and the embodied (e.g. language, mannerisms, and family socialisation). This raises the question of the role infrastructures play in shaping, recognising, and producing these forms of cultural capital in Berlin. How is this *Leitkultur* imposed through infrastructures that are intended to integrate arrivals, where infrastructure comes to mediate and produce the qualitative nature of society and culture itself, and channel refugee newcomers along particular socio-cultural teleologies?

The state-created infrastructures that are intended to facilitate integration through information and support channel arrivals along specific social and cultural pathways. The aforementioned information package each arrival receives informs them of specially created programmes for refugees, including German language courses and 'integration courses' that teach German values, history, and culture. It also provides information and contact details for organisations,

formal support networks, and initiatives already embedded in the city that provide services to a diverse range of people through diverse means, including *Volkshochschulen* (adult education centres), 'Welcome to work' offices, *Bildungsberatungsstellen* (educational counselling centres), and healthcare. Indeed, as the introduction from Berlin's mayor Michael Müller affirms:

> 'Many local institutions and authorities will provide you with advice and support. There are also many volunteers providing assistance to refugees while they are settling in' (SenIAS, 2017, p. 4).

In the context of transnational migration, Xiang and Lindquist (2014) consider NGOs and international organisations which provide support and human rights advocacy as 'humanitarian infrastructures.' Yet in the context of arrival in the city it is more appropriate to consider these types of actors as existing social infrastructures which encompass NGOs, civil society organisations, support groups, and governmental initiatives that are already addressing the needs of urban citizens which now also address arrivals. Crucially, it is these social infrastructures that channel arrivals rather than directly by the state itself. Legal statuses are determined exclusively through state apparatuses, while the integration infrastructures of the city introduce a broader range of urban actors to shape arrival trajectories.

While this greater diversity of actors establishes greater scope for other subjectivities outside the regulatory and technological infrastructures of the state, these infrastructures still channel arrivals along specific pathways shaped by the state that do not necessarily reflect the aspirations of arrivals themselves. Indeed, Darling (2016a, p. 192) challenges the notion that the city can be re-imagined as a refuge beyond the nation-state, as the state itself is 'entwined with the city, relationally constituted through the city, not necessarily above or before it.' The information package's formulation is written in a way that frames arrival through specific societal and cultural obligations and expectations. As Müller's introduction continues:

> 'The sooner you take advantage of the many offers that are available to you and the sooner you learn German, the better your families and children will manage to settle in and start a new life' (SenIAS, 2017, p. 4).

Indeed, the package emphasises language skills as especially important to create social bonds with others as well as provide labour opportunities that make arrivals self-sufficient:

> 'German language skills are very important if you want to be part of German society. Learning German will enable you to meet new people, communicate in daily life and find work' (SenIAS, 2017, p. 50).

This suggests that participation in German society is not possible unless newcomers are able to fulfil criteria based on language competency and employment. As Linke (2019) notes, language has become a ‘battleground’ in Germany where a ‘linguistic nationalism’ marked by fears of native linguistic estrangement has transformed German into an instrument of border fortification and citizenship. The nation comes to be configured as a speech community of ethnic Germans. In Berlin, arrival is defined beyond the realm of legal status through the development of language skills. Without them, newcomers are presented as socially excluded and separated.

Participation also includes the embodiment of particular cultural values, as Müller continues:

> ‘We require all the people who live in our city to comply with these basic values. They include: Equal rights for men and women, the participation and protection of minorities, freedom from violence – but above all respect for diversity and individual ways of life’ (SenIAS, 2017, pp. 4–5).

Indeed, the information package contains entire sections on the rights of women, coexistence among diverse cultures and races, as well as acceptance of the LGBTQ+ community which is emphasised by the document’s rainbow-based graphic design (figure 15). These evoke the embodied dimensions of cultural capital which involves linguistic abilities and other means of communication, self-presentation, and cultural attitudes (Bourdieu, 1986). Through this the infrastructures on offer are selectively chosen and presented to facilitate a certain interpretation of arrival that is aligned with Germany’s social and cultural expectations. They are formal institutions, projects, and organisations created or promoted by the state that provide a generalised and universal process of arrival.

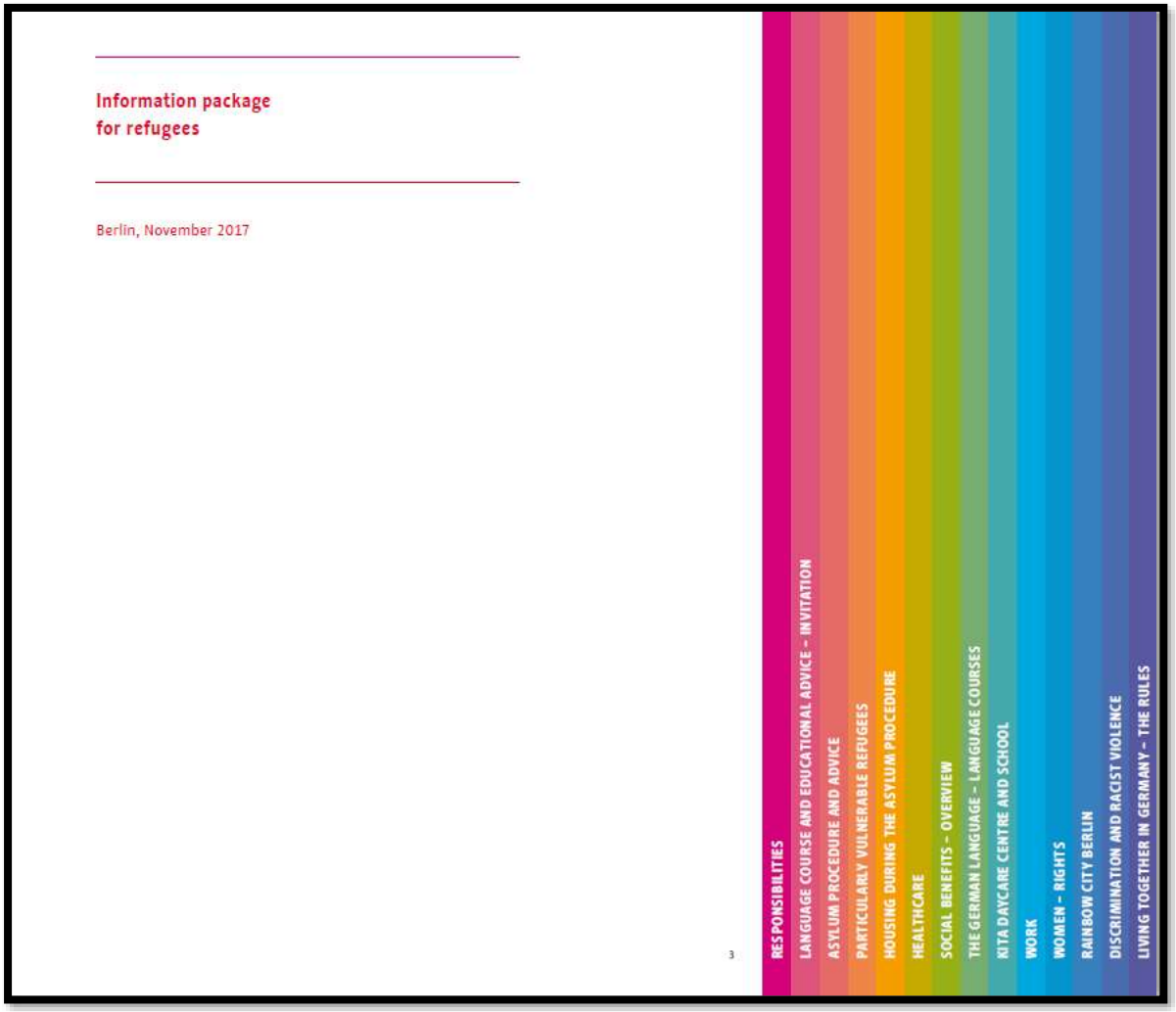

Figure 15: rainbow coloured graphics of the information package title pages, 2017 (source: SenIAS)

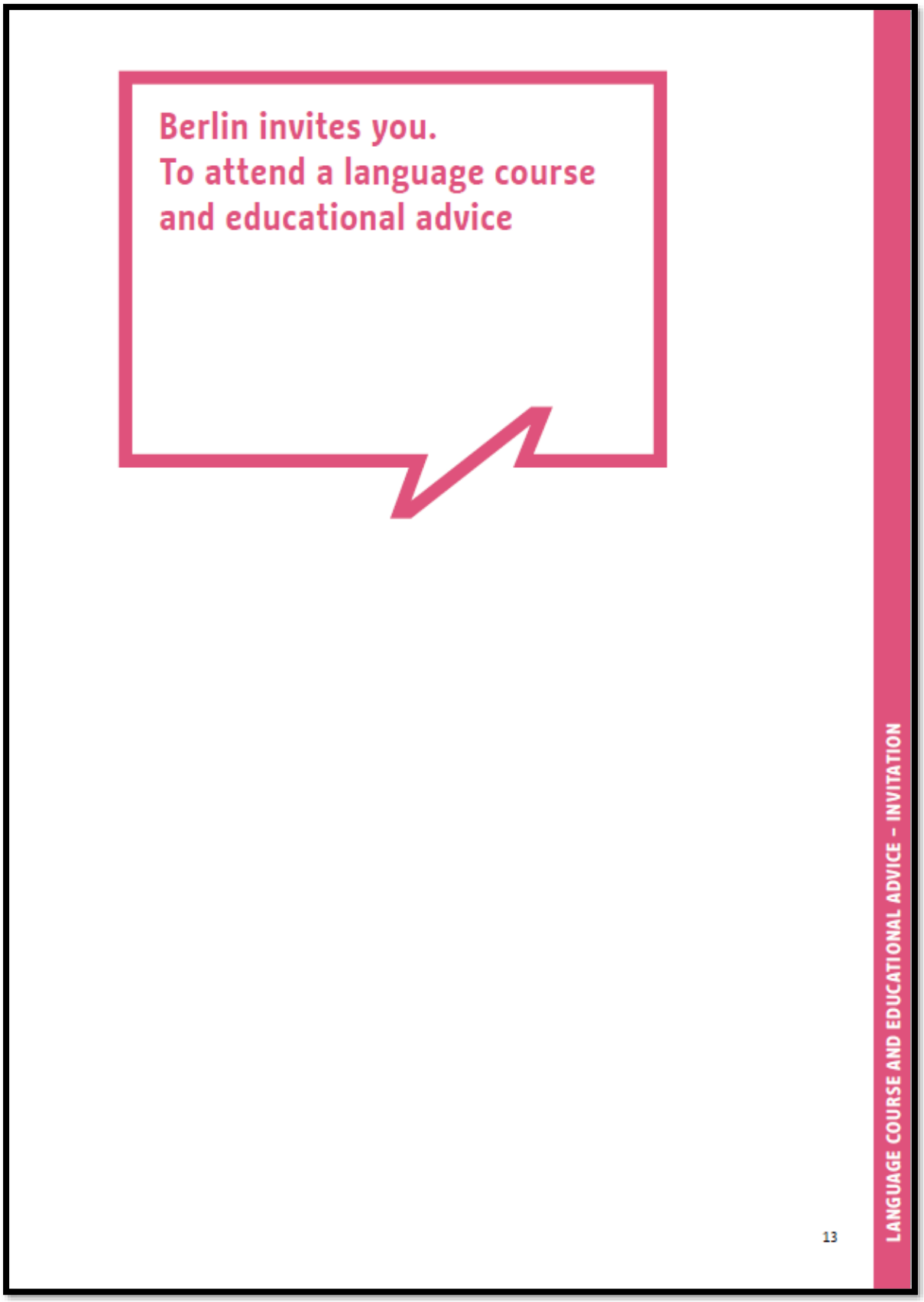

Figure 16: demands to participate framed as an invitation in the information package, Berlin, 2017 (source: SenIAS)

These formal social infrastructures are presented as ostensibly optional opportunities for how newcomers can navigate arrival in Berlin. For example, the first heading of the information package affirms that 'Berlin invites' newcomers to participate, which evokes a sense of individual choice and agency over engaging with these infrastructures (figure 16). Yet in reality, this choice is more of a demand that is obscured through propositional language. Since the events of 2015 the state has heavily invested in the development of these infrastructures. In July 2016 Germany passed the *Integrationsgesetz* (Integration Act) (BMAS, 2016), which provided more integration courses, employment, and training opportunities in the hope of integrating refugees into German society more quickly, while simultaneously setting out obligations for those seeking asylum. The motto '*Fördern und Fordern'* (promote and demand) frames integration as both an offer as well as an obligation (Bundesregierung, 2019). These programmes demonstrate a different type of deservingness beyond the scope of mere protection from threat, to one that justifies a refugee's existence within German society long-term. State classification becomes a continuous process that extends beyond the initial granting of asylum status which differentiates arrival between the more and less socio-culturally integrated refugee. Asylum continues to be conditional as residents must prove themselves by embodying a specific arrival narrative. This is especially necessary in the future granting of an indefinite settlement. The BAMF outlines the requirements to achieve this as such:

> 'An indefinite settlement permit can be issued after three years at the earliest under certain circumstances, such as the ability to make a secure living and adequate knowledge of German, if the Federal Office does not initiate the revocation procedure' (BAMF, 2019b, p. 31).

Permits are only allocated after certain preconditions are met. Namely, to be worthy of hospitality and succeed in Germany arrivals must be employed and able to speak the language. These abilities become the foundation for future state classification in the form of a permanent legal status. Through this the regulatory infrastructures of the asylum process exist in a reciprocal relationship with the social urban infrastructures that teach the skills needed to fulfil these cultural requirements of future classification.

Shelter managers not only reinforce the perception that refugee arrivals should become integrated into existing German society in particular ways but come to act as part of the infrastructure that facilitates it through the orientation of lives in the shelters towards this outcome. They highlight how residents often wish to be separated from certain people, usually along national lines. Yet as one manager affirms:

> ‘Here we don’t separate between nationalities, single men or families, as obviously in the real world there is not that separation.’[3]

The ‘real world’ is painted to be one where parallel societies do not exist but where ethnic and non-ethnic Germans must live together. For an LAF worker, interactions with Germans are crucial and the amenities provided in the shelter must be carefully calibrated to facilitate this outcome:

> ‘Even in everyday life many of these people are not engaging with Germans. It’s a problem when you bring in so much support into the shelter, then how do you get people to go out?’[4]

The expressed intention is to get residents to interact with the city, as the press officer for a company that operates multiple shelters affirms:

> ‘Our main goal is to get people to go outside the shelter, for example, to join a football club or art group.’[5]

This encourages residents to engage with social infrastructures that will help root them in wider society. Another manager affirms that this engagement is vital to building their new lives:

> ‘In the end, it is their choice if they don’t want to try and integrate into the city. But they need to realise that living alone will not solve their problems. They will be just eating alone in a flat, unable to communicate with anyone. Some are in general just not self-responsible; they are the ones who get stuck in the system. Those that don’t try get left behind, the motivated filter themselves out. The more vulnerable ones are left in the shelter, who cannot seem to be involved.’[6]

Integration into German society is presented as an obligation and those without specific forms of cultural capital such as motivation and self-responsibility or who are more traumatised are considered unable to move on into new lives. These embody the discursive dimensions of categorisation that also exist beyond the asylum application like social classification. Unlike classification, which leads to a discrete legal status, this categorisation revolves around an everyday practical ability to exist and thrive in the city as part of German society. Newcomers who fail to demonstrate these traits are forced into a state of perpetual arrival within the shelter.

[3] Berlin, 30/03/2016.
[4] Berlin, 09/09/2019.
[5] Berlin, 26/06/2019.
[6] Berlin, 13/03/2018.

An obligation to integrate is entwined with the channelling of arrival trajectories that make newcomers useful to German society at a time of shifting demographics. Since the turn of the millennium, Germany has been identified as a key country where high rates of replacement migration are needed to prevent population decline and sustain the working age population in the face of low fertility rates and an ageing population (Craveiro et al., 2019; UN, 2000). In August 2021 director of the *Bundesagentur für Arbeit* (Federal Employment Agency) Detlef Scheele announced that the country needs 400,000 immigrants per year to avoid a shortage of skilled workers (Tagesspiegel, 2021). In the announcement for the 2016 integration act, de Maizière applauded those who 'are helping Germany to grow' and are 'an enrichment to our country' (Bundeskanzlerin, 2016). The social infrastructures the act expanded are intended to better facilitate contribution back to the country through labour. Indeed, much of the rhetoric around refugee arrivals focuses on how they might plug a significant employment gap to sustain the strong economic growth Germany has experienced over the last decade as newcomers are categorised as future workers (Bershidsky, 2019; Kaabel, 2017; Maroufi, 2017). Initiatives such as the *Flüchtlingsintegrationsmaßnahmen* (Refugee Integration Measure) coordinated by the *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales* (Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs) seek to provide temporary employment for refugee arrivals to introduce them to the labour market (BMAS, 2018). The information package particularly emphasises the importance the *Ausbildung* (education/apprenticeship) which provides vocational training (SenIAS, 2017, p. 78).

However, this employment is aligned towards the labour needs of the country rather than the abilities or aspirations of arrivals themselves. A shelter manager affirms:

> 'People come here with high expectations. They are doctors, lawyers, and engineers, but they are expected to be a cleaner, kindergarten teacher, or work in a care home.' [7]

European states, including Germany, fail to recognise previous qualifications, forcing some refugees to effectively start from scratch (Kiziak et al., 2019). This reflects a global phenomenon where professional qualifications gained in immigrant-receiving countries are more highly valued than those gained elsewhere which excludes them from the upper segments of the labour market (Bauder, 2008, 2003). Carlbaum (2021) explicitly relates this to Bourdieu's ideas on cultural capital, where the foreign credentials and experiences of women refugees which constitute 'institutionalised capital' are devalued. They must instead

[7] Berlin, 06/08/2018.

capitalise on the embodied cultural capital of feminine and ethnic caregiving which only allows them to obtain difficult-to-fill and insecure jobs within particular sectors. In Berlin, certain institutionalised cultural capital is not only devalued, but subsequently superseded through social infrastructures and initiatives, especially though the *Ausbildung*, that build capacities to address existing labour gaps. It is particularly telling that the only support provided to people of all statuses, including those with *Duldung*, is job-related language support. As Swyngedouw (2019) suggests, arrival infrastructures in the form of reception agencies instituted by governments have come to rigidly conduct the behaviour of newcomers to meticulous shape migrants and the poor into self-sufficient breadwinners. Arrival comes to be aligned more towards the restrictive vision set out by Saunders (2011) where newcomers are framed as neoliberal subjects and economic producers, although not as innovative entrepreneurs but tools of labour utility to address the needs of the German population.

The urban infrastructures that are intended to facilitate integration after an asylum status has been granted continue to channel arrivals along particular social and cultural trajectories. As Larkin (2013, p. 328) suggests, infrastructure has become a tool of liberal governance that attempts to 'organize populations and territories through technological domains that seem far removed from formal political institutions.' By using the social infrastructures of the city rather than state infrastructures, this channelling appears more de-politicised but still keeps arrivals on normative teleological trajectories shaped by the state and German society. Scholars have long criticised the underlying assumptions of this *Leitkultur* that has attempted to transform notions of belonging from along racial to cultural lines. It is described as a neo-racist debate that is intended to exclude (Pautz, 2005) as well provides ambivalent narratives that accommodate both visions that formulate benign visions of Germanness as well as Islamophobic and nationalist articulations of a hegemonic German culture (Cattien, 2021; Mouritsen et al., 2019). Indeed, de Maizière's rekindling of the German *Leitkultur* debate and the narrowly-defined vision of culture it promoted was also criticised by many Germans (Sauerbrey, 2017). However, the infrastructures that are promoted by the state to facilitate arrival in Berlin are still calibrated along guiding principles that present a restrictive and normative interpretation of what it means to 'arrive' in the city. They revolve around specific embodied and institutional cultural capital such as learning the language, gaining employment, and contributing back to German society rather than necessarily addressing the needs or aspirations of arrivals on their own terms. While refugees can capitalise on cultural capital that they bring from their homeland to enhance cultural vitality and social incorporation in a new place (Weine et al., 2004), in Berlin the integration infrastructures available demonstrate an expectation for arrivals to adapt to the cultural principles of the host society rather than vice-

versa. Furthermore, they even become tools to fulfil economic functions that are currently unmet through plugging labour gaps. This resonates with Herscher's (2017) affirmation that refugees have been appropriated as resources to solve Germany's existing architectural and urban problems such as depopulation of certain areas and filling vacant housing. Rather than based on a 'narrative of inviolable human rights,' refugee arrival continues to be conditional and based on the 'concessionary state, benefaction, proofs of deservingness, the return of the poor as future tax payers, consumer, labourers and entrepreneurs' (Amin, 2013, p. 289).

2.5 Infrastructures of Berlin's affordable housing crisis

Arrival trajectories are not only shaped by formal infrastructures that actively facilitate integration outcomes. Other diverse forms of urban infrastructure in the city that are not explicitly related to arrival channel them along normative telelogies in more passive ways. As Wilson (2016) asserts, infrastructures are intended to facilitate living and activity, in some cases for the well-being of population and public good, and in others for the profitable activity of businesses. Yet what happens when the two overlap in the same space, especially when the intended outcomes of each infrastructure are opposing? Berlin's housing market demonstrates an infrastructure where these contradictory outcomes are evident. In their analysis of refugee access to housing in Germany, El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) highlight the impact of state regulations, market barriers, racist discrimination as well as NGOs which both enable and restrict access to the social and civil rights connected to housing. They argue this constitutes a border regime that continues to operate internally within the territory of a nation-state. This reinforces the extended bordering processes beyond the initial asylum process to also operate within urban and local spaces where individuals are unable to fully participate in the city despite being legally allowed to. This section argues that the factors that create this extended bordering are crucially mediated by infrastructures.

Recent debates have begun to consider housing, especially affordable or social housing, as a form of infrastructure in the sense of a spatially fixed, materially realised capital expenditure that enables delivery of economic or productivity outcomes or essential services (Flanagan et al., 2019; Power and Mee, 2020). Yet as Madden and Marcuse (2016) highlight, housing has also emerged as a tool for profit making that conflicts with its function as a lived, social space. Housing thus becomes an infrastructure for opposing functions: for some people it provides a place to live while for others it produces profitable assets. This raises the question of how these contradictory aims of infrastructure manifest on an everyday ground level and shape the arrival trajectories of refugees.

Berlin is experiencing a profound affordable housing crisis that refugee arrivals must navigate. As Colomb (2012) highlights, since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 the city has attempted to reinvent itself through place marketing that reflects a 'new Berlin' defined by competitiveness, neoliberal reforms, and entrepreneurial governance. This has opened the city up to new flows of capital, people, and urban identities. The city's increase in population from around 3.335.000 in 2006 to 3.755.000 inhabitants in 2018 has hugely increased demand for accommodation (SenSW, 2019). In addition, it has emerged as a city of a 'new urban tourism' of authentic experiences within residential neighbourhoods that has a significant impact on housing stock, particularly through encouraging short-term holiday rentals on platforms like Airbnb (Füller and Michel, 2014; Richter, 2010; Schäfer and Braun, 2016). Residential vacancy rates have plummeted from over 5% in 2003 to 0.9% in 2018 (Davies, 2021). It is estimated that Berlin is lacking 205,000 units to cover its current housing needs (Guthmann, 2020). Real estate companies, international investors, and speculators have sought to capitalise on this popularity. The city's property market saw it ranked as the number one city for European real estate investment and development between 2014-2018 and number two in 2019-2020 (PwC and ULI, 2020). Indeed, in 2017 the city experienced a 20% increase in property prices- the highest in the world (Knight Frank, 2017). Berliners are directly impacted by these realities. In November 2019 a flat viewing went viral online after a listing for a two-bedroom flat in Berlin-Schöneberg attracted 1800 applications in 12 hours and hundreds queued up for a viewing (Panek, 2019), a spectacle which has become increasingly common. Rent increases caused enough concern to force the Berlin senate to introduce a *Mietendeckel* (rent cap) in January 2020 that froze rents for 1.5 million people for five years. However this policy was overturned in April 2021 by Germany's highest court which deemed it unconstitutional (Vasudevan and Madden, 2021).

The situation in Berlin reflects a global trend of a financialisation of housing that has worsened living conditions and encouraged unequal development (Aalbers, 2016; Fields and Uffer, 2016). Previously, Germany's housing system was noted for its long-term stability as a non-financialised, somewhat 'boring' counter example to other more liberal and financialised housing markets, a fact which has protected it against the caprices of global finance (Kofner, 2014; Voigtländer, 2014). Yet in recent years rapidly rising house prices have been tied to a new financialisation of the German housing system that is becoming increasingly similar to other European housing markets (Fernandez and Aalbers, 2016; Wijburg and Aalbers, 2017). Indeed, Germany has experienced a decrease in social housing stock from 2,570,000 in 2002 to 1,390,000 in 2015 (Pittini et al., 2017, p. 69). Recent reports by Housing Europe (Pittini, 2019; Pittini et al., 2017) highlight how housing has become the single highest expenditure for

Europeans, with housing costs increasing faster than the majority of wages. The neo-liberalisation of Berlin since reunification (Lebuhn, 2015) reflects a global reality where urban sites are transformed into financial assets that produce maximum profit for private institutions to the detriment of long-term urban development for the public good (Harvey, 2012, 2010a; Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Rolnik, 2019). This famously culminated in the global financial crisis of 2008 where the infrastructures of modern finance, mostly notably through the mechanisms of the credit default swap, enabled predatory subprime mortgage lending that created a global economic recession (Stiglitz, 2010). The scale of this global crisis is worsening and has increased homelessness, poverty, and priced citizens out (Hackett, 2019). Housing in Berlin comes to be increasingly shaped by forces that treat it as a tool for profit making.

Refugee arrivals become entangled with these shifting socio-economic and political housing situations which shape their ability to establish new lives. In 2016 the Mayor of Leipzig Tomas Fabian famously affirmed 'I don't like to use the term refugee crisis. We don't have a refugee crisis; we have a housing crisis' (Penny, 2016). Indeed, the information package each arrival receives in Berlin especially emphasises the challenge of finding accommodation:

> 'Low-cost housing is in short supply in Berlin, which means that many asylum seekers cannot find an apartment' (SenIAS, 2017, p. 34).

This supports Soederberg's (2019) work on Berlin's refugee housing crisis which cites the structural limits of affordable housing in the city as the insurmountable underlying challenge for newcomers. She roots this within Peck's (2012) concept of 'austerity urbanism' where the renewed systemic intensity of austerity budgeting and its impact on urban politics has shaped cities around the world since 2008. This includes reductions in social service provision, privatisation of city assets, contracting out, public-private partnerships, and new configurations of public employment based on part-time and short-term contracts (Darling, 2016b; Davies and Blanco, 2017; Pollio, 2016). Governments, refugees, and grassroots organisations are forced to navigate the moving frames of this neoliberal urbanism in their search for stable housing as arrivals become increasingly reliant on private enterprises and markets (Bhagat and Soederberg, 2019).

While the global financial crash brought in a new wave of austerity measures in Berlin and other German cities, as Bernt et al. (2013) affirm the capital's experience of austerity dates back further to the Berlin Banking Scandal of 2001. This involved intentionally overvalued

speculative real estate bonds and corruption in the wake of reunification by Berlin's then centre-right CDU (*Christlich Demokratische Union*-Christian Democratic Union) government and sent the city spiralling into an economic crisis from which it has never truly recovered (Chacón, 2012). The city transferred the 'silverware' of community assets to private ownership in order to pay its debts, which in 2015 still stood at 63 billion euros (Thiel, 2015, p. 99). Public housing stock and numerous communal infrastructure companies were sold en bloc as public assets became privatised (Beveridge and Naumann, 2013; Kitzmann, 2017; Uffer, 2013). This has led to housing insecurity with high levels of over-indebtedness, evictions, and homelessness in the capital (Soederberg, 2018). Where social housing was once subsidised and guaranteed by the state through rental regulations, it has now been incorporated into market-facilitating models (Aalbers and Holm, 2008). These changes demonstrate how the privatisation of urban space, amenities, and services have radically altered the infrastructural landscape of arrival. The infrastructures of finance that seek to maximise profit have recalibrated the functioning of infrastructures that create public good.

The reorientation of existing housing infrastructures leads to the creation of and reliance on other infrastructures in order to gain access to accommodation. In response to the dearth of supply, the state of Berlin has introduced policies that provide support for arrivals. First, they offer advice and assistance regarding the housing market and application processes through the *Evangelische Jugend- und Fürsorgewerk* (Evangelical Youth and Welfare Organisation). Second, they offer a rental subsidy that provides a 20% top-up in rental support to incentivise the market to rent to refugees. These constitute formal state-created infrastructures that seek to facilitate movement between shelter and permanent housing. Yet as Soederberg (2019) argues, no matter which incentive policies and information support is available, or how much refugees, citizens and organisations contest through advocacy, activism and demonstration, the city's housing has been forged by market-based solutions and self-regulation where access to housing is no longer seen as the public good it once was pre German reunification. Indeed, the efficacy of these infrastructures has been limited. The number of people in shelters run by the LAF moving into their own accommodation fell from only 4,160 in 2016 to 1,984 in 2019. Simultaneously the average length of time to find accommodation doubled from 23 weeks to 56 (figures 17-18).

Rather than state-created infrastructures, it is other formal and informal infrastructures that facilitate the housing market which primarily channel, enable, or impede the movement of arrivals into accommodation. As the information package affirms:

> ‘Various websites and daily and weekly newspapers advertise apartments. The owner of a private apartment decides who to rent the apartment to’ (SenIAS, 2017, p. 35).

Private enterprises, self-regulated markets, landlords, property firms, and housing search engines are used to negotiate who is able to access housing. The most notable of these infrastructures is that provided by *Maklers* (brokers), which are both legal and illegal agents that find flats on behalf of the residents. Xiang and Lindquist (2014) identify brokers and fixers under the rubric of ‘commercial infrastructures.’ These have long facilitated transnational migration between countries around the world primarily for unskilled labour recruitment (Lindquist, 2012; Lindquist et al., 2012; Martin, 2005). The events of 2015 have also revealed the key role smugglers play in orchestrated refugee journeys as they operate new forms of illegal commercial infrastructure (Mandic, 2017; Tinti and Reitano, 2018). The *Maklers* in Berlin demonstrate how these networks extend into the arrival city itself as they help newcomers navigate complex bureaucracies, linguistic barriers, and supply issues. Through this, brokers facilitate not only migration but also arrival by providing access to housing. For many shelter residents it is the only option to find accommodation, but they quote exorbitant costs between 2,000-10,000 euros that brokers are charging. Only the wealthiest are able to afford it, where access to financial capital becomes a barrier to benefiting from this infrastructure. Previous economic statuses thereby come to shape the trajectories of arrival in Berlin as newcomers come to depend on commercial urban infrastructures to establish themselves in the city through housing.

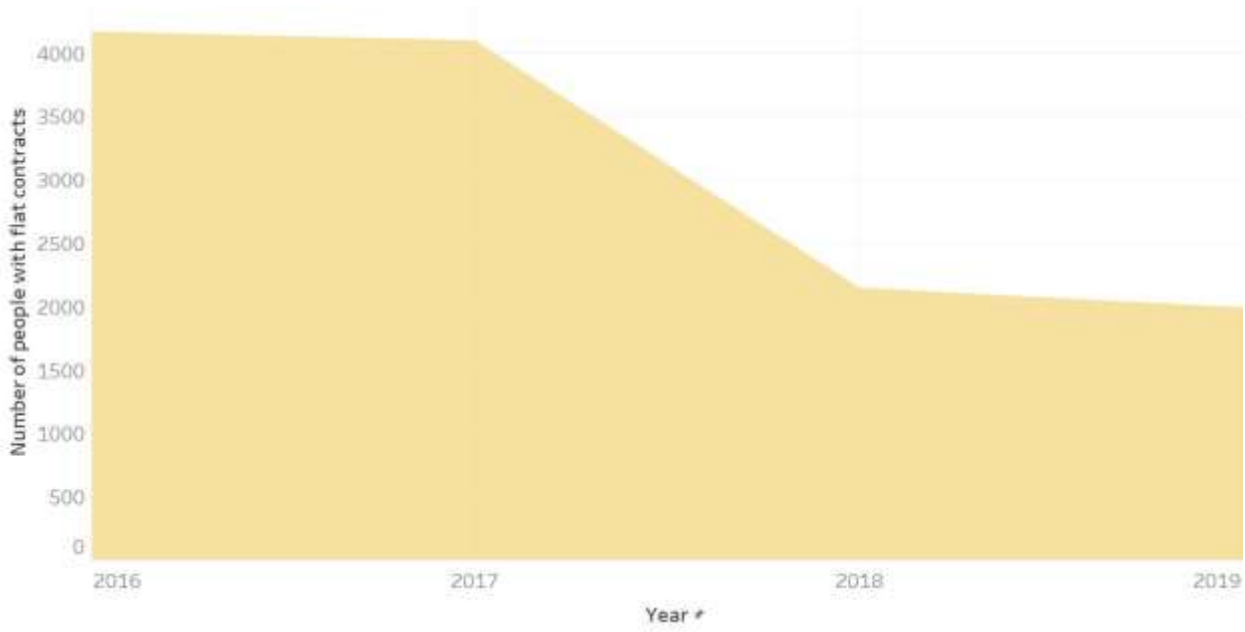

Figure 17: graph to show the number of residents moving out of the shelters per year with flat contracts (data provided by LAF)

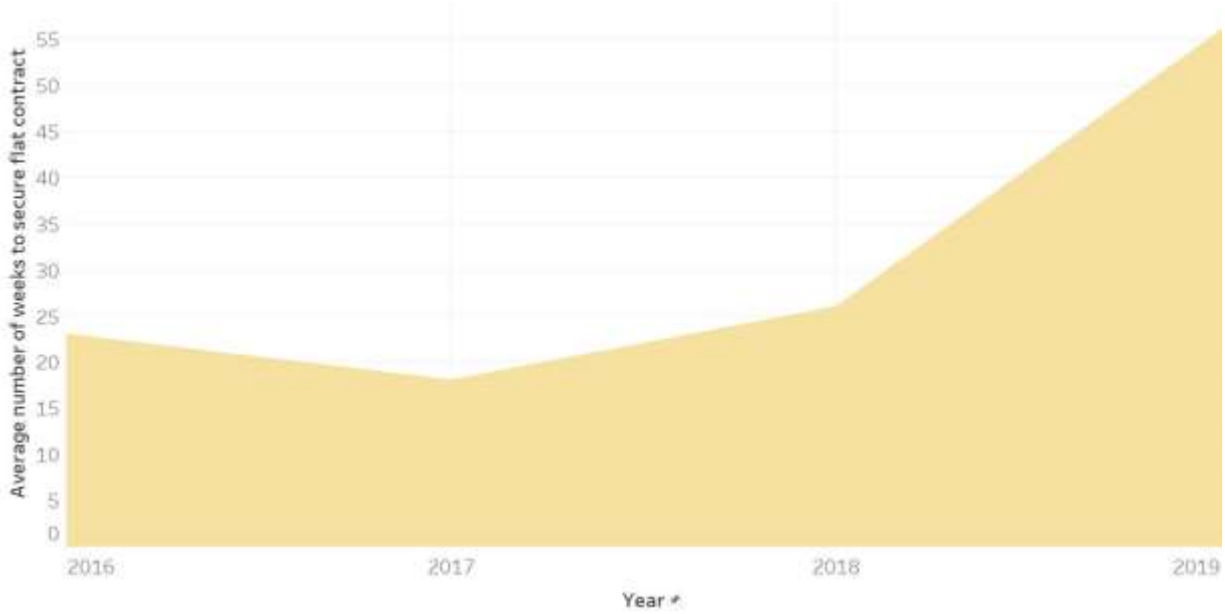

Figure 18: graph to show the average number of weeks it takes shelter residents to secure a flat contract (data provided by LAF)

Access to housing is mediated by the infrastructures that constitute Berlin's housing situation, which in turn shape the arrival trajectories of refugees. Even when infrastructures are not explicitly related to arrival or migration, newcomers are still collaterally affected by their function. As Mitchell (2014) argues, there is a strong link between modern infrastructure and today's corporate power and modern banking where networks of communication, transportation, and energy have enabled the extraction, movement, and production of capital, goods, and resources. Global infrastructures have long been 'opened up' to private sector participation which has fragmented and differentiated service provision (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 14). The case of Berlin demonstrates how this link impacts its function and orientation, where processes of privatisation have caused fundamental changes to the provision of infrastructure through radical shifts of public services, housing, and amenities. As Xiang and Lindquist (2014) suggest, governments have consciously attempted to govern migration through commercial infrastructures, where companies become functioning arms of its regulatory infrastructures. In Berlin the commercialisation of its housing and infrastructure has meant the government has become increasingly reliant on other commercial infrastructures to address housing needs of arrivals. Yet crucially these infrastructures are oriented towards profit making as well as providing a public good, creating a conflict where one comes to override the other. This serves to obscure the challenges that stem from privatisation of urban infrastructures and even reinforce them. Housing infrastructures are no longer primarily intended to provide somewhere to live as they did when they were publicly owned. Through

this they also channel arrivals by creating a situation where only those with enough economic capital are able to access housing and move out of the shelters. Madden and Marcuse (2016) rally around a 'defense of housing' that treats it as a universal resource that should be available to all. For refugee arrivals in Berlin, the infrastructures that provide access to housing are currently unable to achieve this outcome.

2.6 Conclusion

Berlin's institutional shelters operate as part of a broader network of infrastructures that channels and sorts refugee arrival along specific socio-cultural trajectories which are defined by political and historical developments of the host country. The state abstractly sorts through an asylum procedure that manifests on a spatial level through a diverse range of actors embedded in the city. Subsequently, further urban infrastructures continue to channel and sort refugees to create a longer and more comprehensive process of arrival in the sense of integration into German society. This chapter has investigated how specifically this sorting transpires by connecting literature of infrastructure with the multi-dimensional ways that scholars have conceptualised 'sorting' of migrants through lenses of social sorting, classification, categorisation, and labelling. These sorting processes are revealed to be both active and passive, as infrastructures act as urban 'sieves' through which refugees are filtered but also actively channel them along specific pathways. Infrastructures therefore do not only sort in the sense of selecting and differentiating people, but also seek to transform them into specific kinds of arrival subjects. Namely, they seek to produce people who can speak German and are not only economically productive but contribute according to Germany's labour needs rather than fulfil their own aspirations of arrival. However, this creates the possibility of refugees becoming stuck within shelters if they are deemed 'unworthy' to fully participate in urban life beyond the supposed 'worthiness' of asylum protections. The shelters thus become types of proving grounds where residents are weighed, measured, judged, and shaped by infrastructures in the city which dictate who is able to ultimately leave the shelters. The next chapter turns to how refugee newcomers themselves experience, consider, and navigate these channelling infrastructures to reveal the ways they limit and undermine the ability to find autonomy in arrival trajectories.

3. The autonomy of arrival

3.1 Introduction

The channelling of arrival trajectories through different modes of infrastructures raises key questions over how this affects the everyday lives of those who are subjected to sorting processes. How do shelter residents experience and consider the infrastructures which channel them along normative arrival teleologies? How do these infrastructures shape the ability for refugee newcomers to find stability and establish themselves in the city? To what extent can refugees act with autonomy to achieve arrival trajectories that reflect their own aspirations? This chapter turns towards refugee perspectives to reveal the everyday spatial impacts of abstract sorting processes as newcomers are channelled by these infrastructures as well as the extent to which they are able to negotiate, adapt to, or even subvert them in order to arrive on their own terms.

The chapter frames these questions with respect to debates around what scholars term the 'autonomy of migration' (AOM) (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2007). AOM focuses on migratory practices that develop in the context of attempts to control or regulate then. Migration is framed as having 'the capacity to develop its own logics, its own motivations, its own trajectories that control comes later to respond to, not the other way round' (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013, p. 184). The approach challenges the image of a fully secure border as evoked in 'Fortress Europe' through the ways migrants can render these borders porous (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015b; De Genova, 2017; Scheel, 2013). Migrants come to act as and insist they are already citizens, regardless of their legal statuses (Mezzadra, 2010; Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013). Drawing on these arguments, De Genova et al. (2018, p. 258) speak of an 'autonomy of asylum' which concerns 'an autonomy within and against the myriad constraints of people in flight — seeking refuge, demanding protection, and claiming asylum.' Yet as Metcalfe (2021, p. 6) argues, autonomy does not transpire in the sense of complete self-determination or freedom from control, but rather the 'inherent uncontrollability of individuals within borders as a result of conflict within oppressive migration controls.' Autonomy exists as a constant struggle, where borders and migration do not exist as such but are brought into being through encounters between people on the move and the actors, means, and methods that control mobility (Scheel, 2013). AOM debates thereby challenge notions that national borders and sovereign states are coherent and all-powerful entities that dictate the movement of migrants. Instead, they reveal the capacities for migrants to exert some forms of agency that help navigate and even subvert border regimes.

While the AOM approach importantly emphasises the role of migrant subjectivities, the current focus on borders and undocumented migrants fails to address the longer-term trajectories that refugees experience in host cities once they have supposedly traversed sovereign national borders and been granted legal protection. In these cases, it becomes more apt to consider the autonomy of *arrival* rather than just migration or asylum as refugees attempt to establish new lives. Indeed, it is through an emphasis on autonomy that Meeus et al. (2019, p. 1) hope to liberate the notion of arrival beyond the dominance of national normativities to reveal how and where newcomers 'find some stability in order to move on.' The navigation of borders is only one part of a much longer process. As Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2007, p. 224) argue, 'arrival has a longue durée, it covers almost the whole life…one is always there and always leaving, always leaving and always manifesting in the materiality of the place where one is. You never arrive somewhere.' Arrival is thus something that is realised through time and connected to multiple places, people, contexts, and affects. It cannot be socio-spatially 'fixed' but is oriented towards the future as migrants shift their relative engagements towards certain places over time (Meeus et al., 2019). It is a process of 'being-becoming' embedded in the potentiality of desire and aspiration as 'people do not aspire to migrate; they aspire to something which migration might help them achieve' (Bakewell, in Carling and Collins, 2018, p. 917). Even in the case of forced displacement, as Papadopoulos and Tsianos (2007, p. 224) argue, the target of migration 'is not relocation but the active transformation of social space…it is the making and remaking of one's own life on the scenery of the world. World-making.' How do these more subjective and relational notions of arrival come to develop in the context of the channelling infrastructures outlined in chapter two that universally sort refugee newcomers in Berlin? To what extent do these sorting infrastructures shape the possibilities of the autonomy of arrival?

In answering these questions, the chapter does not seek to provide a comprehensive rethinking of AOM discourse, but instead expand its scope into the longer process of arrival and the extent to which refugees can be autonomous within channelling infrastructures of the state and city. To do so it reflects the structure of chapter two to explore the everyday impacts of, first, the regulatory infrastructures of state sorting in section 3.2, second, the contradictions embedded in the normative arrival trajectories facilitated through integration infrastructures in section 3.3, and third, the challenges of navigating housing infrastructures in section 3.4. The outcomes of this empirical analysis culminate in section 3.5 which discusses the limited possibilities of autonomy in arrival due to the infrastructures which channel refugees. Refugee experiences thus highlight the need to not overstate the potential for autonomy in a process of arrival that is heavily mediated by institutional sorting infrastructures.

3.2 The everyday impacts of the asylum process

This section focuses on the impact of regulatory infrastructures of the state's asylum process which involves social sorting, state logics that define classification, and the legal statuses granted through labelling. Each concept highlights the significant implications that standardised sorting processes have on the everyday lives and interactions who are subjected to them (Brown, 2011; Lampland and Star, 2008; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014). How do the infrastructures of the asylum process which enact these diverse sorting processes shape the everyday lives of refugee newcomers in Berlin and in turn how do refugees respond to them? Shelter resident responses suggest three key impacts which most significantly influence their potential to find stability in order to move on and express autonomy in their arrival trajectories. First, they reveal detrimental psychological effects of uncertainty that undermine agency; second, the development of competition between asylum applicants that shapes the relationships they have with other arrivals, and finally a critical disengagement with their spatial surroundings that shapes their relationship with the material infrastructure of the shelters.

First, the regulatory infrastructures of state sorting make residents feel that their lives are being kept 'on hold.' They are suspended in a legal limbo while they await the outcomes of their asylum application. There is no guarantee over how long this process takes. Chakir considers the injustice of the protracted decision-making and the growing desperation it causes:

> 'Some people still don't have an ID, even after being here for years. Why not? They need answers, they need to know.'[1]

As Esmatullah suggests, this makes him unable to plan his life against a predictable reality:

> 'My biggest problem is I don't know if I can stay or not. I want to continue with my life, to get married and have children. But everything goes so slowly. Nothing happens. I've waited for four years. I want them to decide- do this or do that, but just tell us. We also need lives. I just need to know if I have to go or not.'[2]

The shelter forcibly suspends the lives of residents in time and space while it subjects them to the regulatory infrastructures of the state. Brun (2015a) develops the concept of 'agency-in-waiting' to denote the temporal experiences of displacement that contain the ability to act in the present and reflect on future possibilities framed through hope. While people are not

[1] Berlin, 04/08/2019.
[2] Berlin, 04/09/2019.

necessarily able to control their future, they still are able to assert agency through some confidence that a certain event will occur. Arrivals to Berlin reveal a notable lack of agency within the state sorting process. Their suspension prevents them from pursuing their own desires as they have limited potential to consider a certain future until legal protection is granted. As Darling argues (2016a, p. 183), cities have become 'containers for individuals whose lives are placed on hold by the classification process.' Consequently, the city is overlooked as a complex social, spatial, and political formation and instead becomes 'a backdrop to political actions, decisions and exclusions practised elsewhere and imposed upon an urban context.' In Berlin, asylum-seekers are thus denied the agency to shape the city while they are separated through the physical infrastructure of shelters as they await the outcomes of the asylum process.

The lack of agency through their uncertain future leads to demotivation, depression, and stress as any plans to progress cannot be realised. As Abdel notes:

> 'I became depressed because of the situation. I wanted to get qualifications, continue with my life, but I wasn't allowed. I just smoked weed, with no hope. I just wanted to do something but was always thinking to myself "you are illegal." What does illegal even mean? Can't you see me? I am here, I am in front of you. I was jealous of people with normal lives. I had no identity.'[3]

Here arrival is connected with identity development, as he grappled with the idea that he was supposedly illegal despite the fact he felt he had done nothing wrong. He suggests using his physical presence as a way of affirming a visibility and legitimacy within Germany. For those without it, acquiring a legal status becomes the priority above all else. Amina was in visible distress during her interview:

> 'My problems are all due to status. I'm on a *Duldung* and only have one month left. I don't know what I'll do. I want to bring my son here but neither of us have money. I cry all the time. I have horrid migraines. I have so many problems. I kept calling the ambulance every two days because of my headaches.'[4]

Her entire sense of hope is contingent on the outcomes of the asylum procedure. Until a legal status is acquired, refugees exist in a state of unnerving precarity due to the threat of

[3] Berlin, 25/07/2019.
[4] Berlin, 15/08/2019.

deportation and lack of long-term certainty. Nazar similarly highlights detrimental psychological and physical impacts:

> 'I had my interview in 2016 and got a negative. I am waiting for my second interview. I really want a German ID. It's always on my mind. I'm only 28 and my hair has already turned grey.'[5]

These findings resonate with the many psychological studies that suggest strong associations between the experiences of immigration detention practices and poor mental health diagnoses including PTSD, depression, and anxiety across western countries (Li et al., 2016; Robjant et al., 2009; Ryan et al., 2008; Solberg et al., 2021). Health outcomes deteriorate the longer the asylum procedure lasts (Laban et al., 2004) and can continue long after it is over (Coffey et al., 2010; Steel et al., 2006). This emphasises the pervasiveness of adverse psychological impacts that state regulatory infrastructures of the asylum process create. In Germany, the treatment of Bosnian refugees in the 1990s revealed similar psychological effects, where asylum procedures and provisions of only temporary protection triggered existential fears, mental destabilisation, and feelings of hopelessness and deep despair (Luebben, 2003). While infrastructure can evolve and change, it retains a particular stability and coherence (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014, p. 132). In this case regulatory infrastructures produce consistent outcomes of negative psychological impacts across different displacement crises around the world and over time.

The second key impact is the creation of tensions between refugee arrivals who feel they are in direct competition with each other over who is deemed 'worthy' and 'unworthy' of asylum. This reflects the impacts of social sorting where the use of information obtained through surveillance technology to manage populations can actively contribute to creating divisions between groups (Lyon, 2003). The physical infrastructures of the shelters spatially condense in close proximity people who are seeking the same asylum outcome. Residents learn the outcomes of their neighbours and openly criticise the logics that determine state classification. In particular, they perceive injustices in the geographically defined hierarchies that favour certain areas over others. Hamza denounces the inconsistency he feels in the supposedly 'safe' spaces within his national borders:

> 'Some people can stay, but some can't, even if they're from the same country. I'm here for four years, but they tell me I need to go back.'[6]

[5] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[6] Berlin, 11/09/2019.

The state defines which areas are deemed 'safe' as such:

> 'The law defines countries as safe countries of origin if it is possible to presume on the basis of the democratic system and of the general political situation that no state persecution is to be feared there as a rule, and that the state in question can provide protection against non-state persecution as a matter of principle' (BAMF, 2019b, p. 48).

This approach contains inherent flaws. First, it only treats persecution as enacted by the state upon an individual or if the state is unable to effectively act. Scholars have criticised similarly narrow definitions in other countries as they exclude certain actors and actions from obtaining full refugee protection (Noll, 2005; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014). Second, the designation of 'safe' areas is constantly shifting, influencing the decisions of national asylum procedures. For example, in 2016 European nations designated Afghanistan as a 'safe' country, instigating deportations (Rasmussen, 2016). Yet many on the ground of the Afghanistan situation criticised the decision and considered the policy not fit for purpose (ECRE, 2019; Shajjan, 2017), which the Taliban takeover of the country in August 2021 subsequently proved (Wintour, 2021). Legal designations consider certain people to be in danger, while others are not. Tensions subsequently develop between individuals from the same country fleeing the same conflict who have different protections.

These tensions extend from the intranational to the international. Hamza, from Iraq, also perceives injustices of an apparent favouritism to certain conflicts:

> 'If you're a Syrian man, they just let you in. They think only Syrians have the problem, not anyone else.'[7]

Hierarchies of conflicts emerge and inform state classifications that lead to legal protections. Geographic hierarchies are accompanied by those embedded in temporality. Amina highlights the asylum system's focus on current conflicts:

> 'I have so many problems from the war. All the Syrians and Afghanis are allowed to stay because their war is still going on. But the Bosnian war is over, so they send us all back.'[8]

The state fails to recognise the long-term impacts of displacement that exist long after the armed conflict is over. Her case offers insight into the diachronic trajectories of German

[7] Berlin, 11/09/2019.
[8] Berlin, 15/08/2019.

responses to global forced migrations. Germany previously forced controversial repatriations of refugees from Bosnia in the 1990s and Afghanistan in the 2000s (Bagshaw, 1997; Gerson, 2005). Comments by Merkel suggest that a similar repatriation of Syrian refugees is possible once stability returns to the country (Rinke, 2016). Indeed, there are increasing government incentives for voluntary return which have had limited success (BMZ, 2019; Returningfromgermany.de, 2020). This emphasises the historical developments and social perceptions of order that produce the political institutions which classify 'who is a refugee' (Scherschel, 2011). In this case asylum applies only to immediate dangers, yet the traumas created from conflicts often take generations to heal.

These tensions reveal the development of particular forms of intra-refugee relations. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2016a, 2012) notes the overlapping displacements and 'refugeedoms' that establish certain refugee identities, beliefs, and behaviours in relation to other groups of refugees. This challenges the usual view of refugee-host relations where citizens host non-citizen. While refugee-refugee hosting can create socio-spatial practices that form networks of support and infrastructures of care (Yassine et al., 2019), the encounters that transpire between groups can also reveal tensions, power imbalances, exclusion, and overt hostility between members of previous refugee communities and new arrivals (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016b). Berlin's shelters create a specific type of intersecting 'refugeedoms' where layers of conflicts with different causes of displacement are spatially fixed and stacked on top of each other in a physical infrastructure. Some are deemed legitimate while others are not, or at least not anymore. Hierarchies of legitimacy pervade the lives of residents as they rub against each other in the same everyday domestic environments, aware of and angered by the legal differentiations between them. Sorting infrastructures thereby don't just reveal differentiation between people but actively contribute towards creating and exacerbating divisions between groups.

Geographical and temporal discrepancies also create tensions through practical implications. Legal statuses grant various levels of access to infrastructures that provide government support (Brown, 2011; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014). In Berlin, the state's provision of certain services to those who are likely to be able to stay encourages them to engage with the host society while hindering others from gaining any foothold. Kamal notes how when he first arrived, he was unable to go to integration courses while he awaited his asylum approval.[9]

[9] Berlin, 11/08/2019.

Afghanis in many cases were not offered integration or even language courses for a significant time, while Syrians were. Habib notes this challenge:

> 'When I arrived, I couldn't go to school because they didn't let Afghanis go. Syrians, Iraqis, and Iranians-they could go. But finally, I got in. It really was exceptionally difficult at the beginning.'[10]

Although the situation was eventually changed for Afghanis, many applicants are not offered language or integration courses if the authorities deem that they are unlikely to be allowed to stay. Umar similarly laments his continued ineligibility to attend a German course, have a kindergarten place for his child, or get a job because he has a *Duldung* status.[11] Access to social infrastructures that provide stability, support, and the means to establish themselves in the city is thereby mediated by the regulatory infrastructures that grant legal statuses.

Barriers to social infrastructures are also evident in physical infrastructures through the shelters in which people with different legal statuses are placed. Ahmad and his family were forced to relocate when his asylum application was processed:

> 'Gehrenseestrasse was the best shelter. It had a mixture of Germans and refugees. We had our own kitchen and bathroom. But we had to change because I ended up with a *Duldung*. We had to go to a place where we couldn't cook for ourselves any longer before coming here. We had to reapply for asylum.'[12]

The label from a legal classification led to his family moving from a better domestic environment with opportunities to engage with locals to one that was more socially segregated and lacked certain amenities. Access to infrastructures and the support or resources they provide thus becomes dependent on status and those without access must exert more effort to establish themselves in the city. This results in individuals that are spatially contained together learning to envy or potentially resent each other as they exist on radically different trajectories defined by technocratic rationales they don't understand or respect. Access to infrastructures thus mediates the developing relations refugees have with the city as well as other arrivals.

[10] Berlin, 16/09/2019.
[11] Berlin, 13/08/2018.
[12] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

The final key impact concerns how residents consider and engage with the physical infrastructure of the shelters. Their overriding focus on asylum outcomes can lead to a critical disengagement with their spatial environment. Amina's response to questions regarding the shelter's architecture most tellingly reveals where her priorities and mental focus lie:

> 'What do you want me to say? It's great, they give you everything, food, a house. The care, the social workers, the administration, it's all great. You have kitchens, your rooms. It's very good for me. Some people complain, but why should they? I can't say anything else other than its good. What do you mean? What do you want me to say?'[13]

Her comments should not be necessarily read as a vindication of the shelter conditions. Instead, they purvey a dismissiveness of the question as the significance of her domestic environment is relegated in comparison to the main issue of her failed asylum application. Similarly, Nabil dismisses questions on the shelter's architecture:

> 'I don't care about here, or the conditions. The main problem is I don't have my family. I tried to get them here, but I can't do it. I tried to fly to Jordan to see them, but I was stopped at the border. I can't do anything. Life is nothing without my family. I can't go to my own country, I can't go to Jordan, and I can't bring my family here.'[14]

His current legal status makes him ineligible for family reunification. He had attempted to go to Jordan but became stuck airside in the airport with his wife landside, unable to reach her despite being in the same building. He too is dismissive of the overpowering focus of many on the physical characteristics of the shelter:

> 'I had an interview with a journalist from *Der Spiegel* two years ago. I was disappointed that they only wrote about my life in the shelter, not about my bigger pain or the reason we came here.'[15]

For those without legal statuses, the spatial conditions of the shelter are de-prioritised as a problem. Instead, they become a backdrop to a legal struggle for legitimacy which spills over into the ways residents use shelter space. Abdel used his room as a potential tool of resistance against unwanted outcomes of the asylum process:

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[13] Berlin, 15/08/2019.
[14] Berlin, 17/08/2018.
[15] Berlin, 17/08/2018.

> ‘I had a deportation order to Italy for six months. I was so worried the police would come. I barricaded my door with the fridge so I could run if the police came to take me away.’[16]

Although the deportation order was revoked, for a significant period he experienced extreme emotions and took drastic precautions by transforming his room into a domestic fortress. This spatial act of defiance became a small way to express autonomy in the face of Germany’s border regime and potential eviction by the state. The asylum outcome becomes all-encompassing as no further progress can be made without a confirmed legal status. Consequently, residents do not critically consider or engage with the shelter environment in the ways that those with some form of protection and thus sense of certainty do. Although understandable, this creates the danger of enabling and perpetuating low quality standards in these physical infrastructures. The chances of any significant demand by residents to change the conditions are reduced as they remain in a precarious legal position.

The regulatory infrastructures of the asylum procedure are firmly rooted in the border regimes that AOM approaches seek to reconsider. Migrants can exert autonomy by refusing to become identifiable and integrated and assimilated in the logic of border administration (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2007, p. 6). Furthermore, De Genova et al. (2018) note the ‘spatial disobedience’ of asylum-seekers as they affirm not only the right to receive protection but also the choice to where to receive that protection, as in where they should reside. This establishes the ‘autonomy of asylum’ that is separated from ‘the normative and regulatory frames through which international protection is adjudicated and implemented’ as well as ‘from the discourse of humanitarianism’ (De Genova et al., 2018, p. 250). Yet realistically in the case of Berlin’s shelters, at the point of arrival newcomers overwhelmingly demonstrate a desire to gain the practical benefits of ‘visibility’ that Papadopoulos and Tsianos dismiss. This is not to vindicate Germany’s asylum procedure but instead challenge the realistic possibilities for asylum applicants to subvert unjust border regimes. They willingly subject themselves to a technocratic process of state sorting that is mostly traumatic, disempowering, and embedded in uncertainty because they consider it their only realistic option of gaining the stability they crave. Indeed, the forms of agency and symbolic citizenship refugees find in processes of labelling as discussed in scholarship primarily develop from the rights, resources, and protections conferred once a legal status is granted (Brown, 2011; Glasman, 2017; Inhetveen, 2010, 2006). Although they can reject, challenge, and criticise the process, these formal benefits remain the desirable outcomes. Interviews revealed a notable difference in

[16] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

demeanour, attitudes, and priorities in comparison to those who had some form of legal protection. As arrivals apply for asylum the shelter acts as a holding pen that fixes them in space while the state classifies them and dictates their future in one of the most significant ways, namely their ability to remain in Germany. At this stage it is not only the autonomy of arrival at stake, but the very possibility of arrival in any sense. Their priority becomes gaining some form of legal protection as it is the first step towards gaining any certainty that acts a foundation for all subsequent stages of arrival.

Once legal protection has been granted, refugees are supposedly deemed 'worthy' to complete the next stages of arrival through incorporation into German society. At this point the role of the shelter as infrastructure transforms from a holding pen to a supposed launching point into the city. A space of intentional containment becomes a space of incorporation. Although legal statuses notably exist along a spectrum that offer different protections, support, and resources, the label bestowed upon an arrival marks a significant point where the future becomes comparatively more certain. However, as will be discussed in the next sections, the everyday lives of residents are still significantly impacted by other channelling infrastructures that continue to create challenges beyond the scope of the asylum procedure.

3.3 The paradox of arrival

Following the regulatory infrastructures of the state's asylum procedure, the different types of urban infrastructures that actively facilitate integration along socio-cultural teleologies come to play more prominent roles in shaping everyday life. Infrastructure is considered a 'system of substrates' (Star, 1999) which constructs the circulations of bodies, resources, affect, and information (Simone, 2015a). In this sense they are key facilitators of movement, transitioning things from one space or state of being to the next. Meeus et al. (2019, p. 14) consider this in the context of arrival infrastructure which constitutes 'step-wise pathways' of retention and acceleration. Arrival is broken down into sequences of 'temporary territorialisation' that is mediated by infrastructure. These offer the potential for refugees to 'rest for a while, reconnect to their communities, call their relatives and friends, earn more money to pay the smugglers, collect power, prepare their new becomings' (Papadopoulos et al., 2008, p. 217). However, in the case of Berlin these pathways are heavily predetermined and defined by the channelling infrastructures that facilitate arrival normativities based around socio-cultural integration. They present a simplified and universalised conceptualisation of arrival where the development of language skills leads to employment and thus the participation in and contribution towards German society. Through this they resemble the classic conception of migration as a

‘unidirectional, purposeful, and intentional process’ rather than ‘the continuous shifts and radical re-articulations of individual trajectories’ (Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2007, p. 224). This section explores the inherent flaws and contradictions within these arrival teleologies as refugees struggle to achieve each key milestone within pre-determined stepwise pathways.

First, shelter residents consider the importance of learning German as a pivotal step in establishing their new lives. They especially value language skills because they crucially unlock the perceived next stages of arrival, namely gaining employment and housing. Abbas notes these stages:

> ‘To succeed in Germany, the first step is you need to learn German. Then you build on it piece by piece. Some have a goal, but they don’t want to learn German. They won’t achieve anything with this attitude.’[17]

As Hani suggests, German is crucial for further education and employment:

> ‘Language is the key to everything. You have to learn the language of the country when you come here. It unlocks everything. It will take time. I need about two years to learn it properly, then I can do my *Ausbildung.*’[18]

Language skills are as intimately connected to acquiring housing as they are to employment, as Abdel puts it most succinctly:

> ‘If you can’t speak German you can’t find a flat.’[19]

Arrival is articulated as a sequential stepwise process where specific outcomes are the products of others as one facilitates the next. Language acquisition sits at the heart of the process as it opens possibilities for further key arrival milestones.

Language skills extend beyond mere self-benefit and fulfilling the perceived sequential steps of arrival to a deeper belonging within a new country. As Warriner (2007) suggests, although refugees perceive language learning as the ‘key’ to the process of establishing themselves and their families in the receiving country, it is not enough by itself to lead to a sense of belonging or guarantee economic self-sufficiency or social mobility. Rather, language acquisition constitutes ‘part of a broader process of social integration into the new society’

[17] Berlin, 30/07/2019.
[18] Berlin, 11/07/2019.
[19] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

(Mesch, 2003, p. 42). For example, Hannah is critical of her own established African communities in the city and the way they have isolated themselves:

> 'I've seen people who are here for 17 years and they still don't speak German. Only when those are around you are speaking the language do you learn it.'[20]

She is determined to not fall into the same situation long term and be able to engage with wider German society. Crucially, her response embodies a sense of obligation to learn German as effectively as possible to communicate with locals:

> 'We are strangers here and we need to learn the language. We had strangers in Nigeria, and we kept away from them, so I understand when Germans see a stranger. The language is really hard, it is like starting from an infant.'[21]

Her previous experiences of encountering 'strangers' in her country of origin acknowledges her own prejudices prior to coming to Germany and the social segregation that comes from a lack of contact. She therefore sympathises with the Germans that are now faced with her as someone foreign and understands the difficulty in accepting these individuals, particularly if they cannot communicate. Language is thus not solely about gaining personal benefit but adapting to a new social and cultural context where coexistence with others in Berlin is a fundamental facet in fostering her sense of arrival. Indeed, emerging research into Syrian newcomers to Germany reveals that those with underdeveloped German skills are more likely to be socially excluded by German peers (Beißert et al., 2020). As Morrice et al. (2021) suggest, learning the language of the country of resettlement is an expectation of both refugees and the receiving society and sits at the heart of refugee-integration strategies. Although German language skills are part of the normative teleologies of arrival imposed by state infrastructures, most shelter residents interviewed highly value their acquisition and aspire to be able to communicate with German citizens.

However, the intimate connections between language, employment, and housing are far more complex than these framings might suggest. The infrastructures that facilitate them often contradict and prohibit each other from having their intended impact. Scholars have explored the challenges of second language acquisition for refugees in host countries around the world (Creagh, 2016; Hou and Beiser, 2006). They note the cognitive and psychological challenges caused by trauma (Bobrow Finn, 2010; Gordon, 2015; Kaplan et al., 2016), structural constraints unique to refugee populations (Kanno and Varghese, 2010), and the pedagogical,

[20] Berlin, 01/08/2019.
[21] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

socio-cultural, and personal issues of self-esteem and motivation (Sharifian et al., 2021) which create hidden barriers to second language learning. The infrastructural contexts that shape such learning must also be considered as important barriers.

While all newcomers have theoretical access to language courses, practical access to these social infrastructures can be difficult. The initial rudimentary shelters provided on-site language courses primarily through volunteers as the physical infrastructure of the shelter was enmeshed with social infrastructures of support and teaching. However, as the events of 2015 progressed and long-term shelters were built in Berlin, courses were restructured to reflect the changing needs of residents. Kardaar highlights access problems that emerge from this:

> ‘German is difficult to learn. I knew some English and the letters when I arrived, but my wife can’t read or write. She didn’t go to school in Afghanistan, so it’s very difficult for her. This shelter doesn’t have a German course anymore for A1 or A2, but other shelters do.[22] My wife really wants to learn German, but she can’t do it here.’[23]

First, his comments highlight the constantly evolving and diverse educational infrastructure available depending on the offers of specific shelters and shelter operators. Second, they demonstrate the complexity of educational needs in acquiring language skills that demand different levels of support. During the initial mass arrivals, the level of German knowledge was relatively uniform, with essentially all residents requiring foundation courses to learn the basics of German. Subsequently, as individuals develop language skills at different rates, the educational needs of shelter residents become more diverse. Some residents need special assistance to learn even basic language skills, yet the changing infrastructural landscape of the shelters can stop addressing the needs of certain people.

Even when newcomers have access to an appropriate course, language acquisition itself is far more complicated than merely attending lessons and gaining qualifications. It is often dependent on and improved by living and working through regular contact with German society. However, the shelter spatially segregates newcomers from native German speakers which detracts from opportunities to speak with them. As Ahmad affirms:

[22] This refers to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) which consists of six levels, where A1 is for beginners and C2 for full proficiency.
[23] Berlin, 12/09/2019.

> ‘You need to have contact with people and converse. I have no contact with Germans.’[24]

This supports long-standing findings of the importance of contact with native speakers for second language acquisition for refugees (Elmeroth, 2003). In light of this, the only place where they speak German is through the formal social infrastructures of language lessons provided by the state. Nazar highlights the relationship between language skills and labour:

> ‘We can’t learn good German because we don’t have contact with Germans. If we had a job with Germans in a German factory or something, it would be much better. The best way to meet them is through work. That would also be a school for us, where we can learn the language properly.’[25]

Instead, spatial segregation does not just hinder language development through a lack of contact with German speakers, but also concentrates people in a context that provides more opportunities to speak their mother tongue. Almeida notes:

> ‘I want more contact with Germans so I can improve my German. I go to the German lesson and speak with the teacher, then I finish and come home and just speak Farsi with everyone.’[26]

In fact, one shelter manager notes that children in the shelter were learning the diverse languages of other residents before German. The state’s intention for infrastructure to facilitate the development of language skills is thereby undermined by clustering them within the spatially segregated physical infrastructures of the shelters. This creates a cycle of disconnection where residents are discouraged from interacting with native Germans as they feel their language skills are not adequate.

Spatial segregation importantly reveals the flawed perception of treating the process of ‘arrival’ as one that may be broken down into discrete, logical, and sequential steps which are enacted through infrastructures intended to integrate refugees into German society. Achieving language skills, employment, and accommodation is far messier and more complex in reality. The notion that employment provides a form of language school highlights an urban arrival paradox, where in most cases gaining particular types of employment is not possible unless language skills are at an adequate level already. This includes the practicalities of even applying to jobs, where a report by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development (Kiziak

[24] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[25] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[26] Berlin, 12/09/2019.

et al., 2019) highlights how German bureaucracy is hindering refugees from entering the job market. Indeed, Pearlmann (2017) suggests that German bureaucracy became the key source of increasing anxiety and despondency among Syrian newcomers, much more than adapting to cultural factors such as gender norms or religious traditions. Language skills are therefore needed to navigate the processes that provide access to employment.

Furthermore, as Morrice et al.'s (2021) recent study on English language learning among refugees in the UK suggests, the state's focus on incorporation into the labour market is detrimental to the long-term outcomes of language learning as newcomers are channelled into low-paid and low-skilled employment that does not guarantee the opportunity to speak with native speakers. The type of employment is therefore significant in aiding language learning. Indeed, Hyndman and Hynie's (2016) research into refugees in Canada finds that earlier entry into employment at the expense of language development leads to lower income and fewer advancement opportunities over time. They emphasise the importance of holistic approaches to notions of integration rather than using single domains, such as employment. In these cases, the state's focus on one facet of arrival impedes progress in others. The case of Berlin suggests how the realisation of particular facets of arrival is enmeshed with and contingent on the factors that they are supposed to unlock. This also applies to accommodation, where a shelter manager notes how most shelter residents end up speaking German much better after finding a house as they engage with German society more frequently and informally. Yet as Nazar continues, he needs a job before he can acquire housing:

> 'When we get a job then we can get a flat. I haven't looked for a flat yet because I have no job. They asked if I had a job and I said no. You can't get a flat without a job.'[27]

To get the job, however, requires language skills that often develop better once they have moved out of the shelter in their own accommodation. The paradox of arrival thus emerges through these supposed sequential steps, facilitated by infrastructure, that mutually require each other to be fulfilled before they can transpire themselves.

Navigating this paradox is often overwhelming for residents, as they attempt to fulfil all these perceived key landmarks in the arrival process simultaneously. They have to sacrifice or neglect certain aspects in order to focus on others. Almeida notes:

[27] Berlin, 14/08/2019.

> ‘I haven’t really looked for a flat yet though. I don’t have the time as I have to pick up children from school. My German skills also aren’t good enough to send the emails, so I haven’t sent many applications.’[28]

He is too busy fulfilling his domestic and familial responsibilities of everyday life as any other commitments or desires come second to these obligations. Furthermore, his underdeveloped language skills prohibit his ability to navigate the infrastructures that provide access to the housing and rental markets. Indeed, the inability to speak German makes many unable to even begin applying for accommodation. Ahmad highlights this issue, where his own German skills could not be utilised due to his own commitments:

> ‘Do you know how to help get a flat? Do you know anyone? My father can’t find anything because he can’t speak German. I have to do it. But I’m in school. I don’t have time to look all day, which you need to do to find something.’[29]

He has become burdened with the responsibility of finding his family accommodation alongside his own school studies as he was the only one with German developed enough to navigate these infrastructures. Furthermore, he notes how the process of finding a flat is exceptionally time consuming. Abdel similarly highlights the sheer effort and labour of flat hunting:

> ‘It really becomes like a job, looking for a flat. I looked all day every day for two months, all the time just looking and applying. I looked intensively in the whole of Berlin. Every day I had three or four meetings. I looked with apps, with companies, everything.’[30]

Many refugees simply do not have the time or energy to make use of these infrastructures, particularly when success is by no means guaranteed in light of the dearth of affordable options. The intersecting commitments and expectations present in the normative teleological arrival narrative thereby put significant pressure on shelter residents who are expected to learn the language, gain employment, and find accommodation at the same time. Nazar feels overcome by this list of requirements:

> ‘They expect me to learn my job and also go to school to learn German. Which one? I can’t do both simultaneously. There’s so much stress here, and you can’t learn in this mindset.’[31]

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[28] Berlin, 12/09/2019.
[29] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[30] Berlin, 25/07/2019.
[31] Berlin, 14/08/2019.

Fulfilling all these key stages of arrival is overwhelming and puts him in a mental state that makes him less effective at completing them. While arrival is presented as a sequential process of discrete steps where each stage facilitates the next, the inherent paradoxes within this process make it difficult to realistically achieve.

The process of arrival is revealed to be a much more messy, complex, and contradictory process than the stepwise pathways of integration infrastructures that channel arrivals would suggest. The key milestones of learning German, gaining employment, and finding housing are not discrete sequential steps. Instead, they are mutually dependent, requiring each other in order to fulfil themselves through certain skills, resources, and cultural capital. Formal social infrastructures that are intended to facilitate integration are limited in their capacity to address the complexities of arrival. In fact, as is the case in the spatial segregation of arrivals through the shelters, they can even undermine it. In his seminal book *Seeing like a State*, Scott (1999) famously reveals how centrally managed social plans often misfire as their schematic vision fails to appreciate the complex interdependencies of everyday social order. Formal integration infrastructures similarly oversimplify and rationalise arrival, rather than treating it as a complex and continuous process of becoming that requires holistic approaches. Subsequently, residents become stuck in the contingent limbo of the urban arrival paradox where it is difficult to achieve key milestones that contribute to their sense of belonging and stability in the city. As will be discussed next, housing infrastructures contribute towards this limbo by keeping refugees within the shelters.

3.4 Infrastructural barriers to the housing market

This section turns to how shelter residents experience the sorting process enacted through infrastructures that constitute Berlin's housing situation. It contributes refugee perspectives of how these infrastructures impact their everyday lives and arrival trajectories. By doing so it adds to emerging work that reveals the structural issues of housing that refugees face in Berlin (Bhagat and Soederberg, 2019; Soederberg, 2019). A growing body of literature has begun to explore the experiences of refugees as they access housing in host countries, which scholars consider to be the critical first step of 'successful integration' or 'settlement' within the socio-economic structure of the receiving society (Murdie, 2004; Preston et al., 2011). While access to housing is an issue that affects many forms of migrants, this scholarship highlights how refugees and asylum-seekers in particular face significant barriers that make them more likely to live in overcrowded and substandard dwellings and put them at greater risk of homelessness in the long term. In Canada, where the majority of research has been focused,

housing affordability is affirmed as the primary underlying problem where exceptionally high rental costs in comparison to low wages have fundamentally changed the landscape of opportunities for arrivals (Murdie, 2003). This is exacerbated by a lack of adequate financial resources, shortage of rental vacancies, and discriminatory practices in the housing market (Murdie, 2004). Since 2015 refugee access to housing has become a significant challenge for European cities as residential trajectories are primarily shaped by state reception programmes (Dotsey and Lumley-Sapanski, 2021; Gardesse and Lelévrier, 2020). The case of Berlin suggests how barriers to housing access are embedded in the infrastructural formations that constitute the housing market. These formations channel arrivals by allowing movement to some and not others. How do refugee arrivals experience and navigate these infrastructures as they are channelled through them? To answer this question, we must examine how refugees are looking for accommodation and how they react to the challenges they face. This includes looking at cases of those who have successfully found permanent accommodation to contextualise those who remain stuck in the shelters.

Many shelter residents consider permanent accommodation as the pinnacle of achieving success, freedom, or happiness in their new lives. For example, Chakir asserts how 'when you have a flat, you have everything' while Almeida suggests that 'if my family had a flat, everything would be ok.'[32] These attitudes arguably overidealise the emancipatory effects of permanent accommodation, where many other complex issues and challenges face newcomers. Nevertheless, this reverence highlights the importance of housing as a key landmark in the arrival process as newcomers gain a sense of stability and belonging. However, the reality of Berlin's housing situation makes this landmark exceptionally difficult to achieve. Umar's grievances encapsulate the key issues they face:

> 'I live here for one year and still no flat. We are six people. You need 6-7000 euros for a deposit, but we have no money. I've talked to the LAF for a flat but because no-one is sick, we don't get anything.'[33]

His comments are typical of many shelter residents who highlight the growing frustration and despair felt by the inability to move into their own accommodation. They identify key economic and social dimensions to the sorting process that create barriers to the housing market. As this section argues, these barriers are embedded in the infrastructural configurations of Berlin's housing situation.

[32] Berlin, 04/08/2019; Berlin, 12/09/2019.
[33] Berlin, 13/08/2018.

The actors who operate and manage housing infrastructures primarily determine who can leave the shelter. The most notable of these are landlords. During the search for accommodation refugees often face racialised discriminatory practices by landlords and continue to do so even in spite of the financial incentives offered by the state (Flüchtlingsrat Berlin, 2016; Soederberg, 2019). Shelter residents claim they are rejected or ignored because they are non-German. As Chakir suggests:

> 'If there are 200 people applying for one flat, they don't want to give it to a foreigner.'[34]

In the current seller's market, landlords have greater power and choice over a large pool of potential tenants. Refugees are competing with approximately 50,000 other Berlin residents also looking for affordable housing (Soederberg, 2019). Abdel, who eventually obtained a flat, notes the fear of discrimination as he applied to housing companies:

> 'I finally got a flat with Howoge [a housing company]. They understand the issues for refugees trying to find something. There were two Germans who also applied, and I assumed they would give it one of them, but I got it in the end. They didn't discriminate.'[35]

His surprise over his success exists in a context of previous negative experiences, where Germans tend to be offered available flats rather than someone in his situation. Shelter residents throughout Berlin highlight that landlords generally prefer a German to a non-German.

Their perceptions are correct. People inquiring with landlords about flats are less likely to be contacted if they have a foreign sounding names (VanOpdorp, 2017). In 2017 a large-scale experiment by *Der Spiegel* and *Bayerische Rundfunk* sent 20,000 applications to landlords using fictitious German and non-German profiles and then measured the responses to both. They found that Arabic and Turkish profiles experienced particularly high levels of discrimination and were significantly less likely to be contacted by a landlord than a German applicant (Der Spiegel, 2018; Spiegel Online and BR Data, 2017). Residents consistently state how they receive '*keine Antwort*' (no answer) to any of their applications. As Auspurg et al. (2019) explore in their meta-analysis of studies of discrimination in rental housing markets, throughout the world ethnic minorities in general are discriminated against and experience disadvantages. On average they live in smaller flats, pay higher prices per square meter, and

[34] Berlin, 04/08/2019.
[35] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

are more likely to live in less desirable areas. They note Germany as experiencing the highest levels of discrimination out of the countries they study, and Arabs and Muslims consistently experienced more discrimination than black people. While they also note that there has been a strong and steady decline in discrimination over the last 40 years, refugees in Berlin still face the everyday challenges of being in one of the most discriminatory flat-rental markets in the world.

Social discrimination develops in tandem with racial discrimination. Landlords appear to prefer tenants with jobs and predictable incomes rather than renting to individuals on state support. As Hannah notes:

> 'The landlords want people who work and earn good money.'[36]

Similarly, Kalila speaks of her rejections due to her income coming from the state:

> 'I've sent many emails and have seen a few flats. The ones I have been to say "sorry, not for job centre people."'[37]

Hassan suggests this preference develops from a perceived stigma attached to those who are on social welfare:

> 'I went on every internet site. I have sent more than 200 emails. There is either no answer or "sorry it is reserved for someone." But who is it for? What is the standard here? I may be on benefits with the job centre, but I'm not a loser.'[38]

His flat hunt provokes introspective dilemmas of self-worth that make him feel like he has to justify himself. The stigma attached to state benefits overrules his advanced education, employment background as a software developer, and highly developed English language skills. Landlords and housing companies thus constitute key actors that sort arrivals once they have been approved for asylum. The stigmas surrounding refugee labels come to outweigh the material benefits they confer (Gupte and Mehta, 2013; Janmyr, 2016; Ludwig, 2016) as they shape access to housing infrastructures.

These difficulties are compounded by the fact that legal statuses often undermine the ability to guarantee rent in the long term, emphasising the paradox of urban arrival. As Murdie (2008) highlights in Canada, pathways to permanent housing are shaped by the context of legal

[36] Berlin, 01/08/2019.
[37] Berlin, 13/09/2019.
[38] Berlin, 10/09/2019.

statuses, where asylum-seeker claimants within the receiving country have more difficulty than sponsored refugees who have been selected abroad by governments. As Sayyid highlights, in Berlin the key issue stems from the length of time his status lasts for before it must be renewed:

> 'If you have your status, the housing companies tell you to wait until you have the one-year confirmation. But then it takes three months to get an answer and they get back to you saying nine months is not enough time, you need one full year.'[39]

In a similar vein Esmatullah notes his lack of a long-term status bars him from accommodation:

> 'Without an ID I can't get a flat. I only have two months left on my current pass, but that is not long enough for them to give me a flat.'[40]

Legal statuses create contingent temporalities of varying certainty that shape access to permanent residency. For landlords there is a lack of guarantee that the status will be renewed and so any long-term contract may not be able to be fulfilled. On the one hand, this stems from legitimate pragmatic concerns that make people with asylum statuses potentially unreliable tenants. On the other hand, it can also stem from outright discrimination. This reinforces the reality that the labels associated with refugees can subsequently influence the ways other labels take shape, which leads to symbolic and practical consequences in the creation or constraint of opportunities (Janmyr and Mourad, 2018). In this case, legal statuses continue to define arrival trajectories long after they have been given, as the infrastructures that classify and label migrants result in limited access to one of the key milestones in arrival. The state sorting infrastructures thus exist in a reciprocal relation with urban sorting infrastructures as they shape each other's outcomes.

These barriers to permanent housing force shelter residents to rely on other formal and informal infrastructures to secure accommodation. As discussed in chapter two, legal and illegal *Maklers* (brokers) provide a commercial infrastructure that enables those with the financial capital to better navigate the housing market. However, even these are often unsuccessful. Sayyid highlights his negative experience with a company that charges a subscription fee to search for housing on his behalf:

[39] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[40] Berlin, 04/09/2019.

> ‘I’ve also paid 50 euros every month to a firm to look for a flat. They said they’ll find us something within two years, but after two years of paying they say now it takes five years.’[41]

The business constantly moves the goalposts as it fails to deliver on its original promises. This reflects wider critiques of the broker system with many instances where companies simply take the money and disappear while refugees dig themselves into greater debt trying to pay (Dockery, 2018). These private systems open arrivals to potential exploitation. It is in their commercial interest for the process to take as long as possible as they profit from further payments and desperate migrants with few other options. Consequently, they act as gatekeepers that determine who is able to achieve a key stage of arrival.

The alternative to brokers is existing ethnic and national community networks in the city that informally provide support. These informal networks are becoming the primary ways refugees are finding accommodation (Dockery, 2018). Yusuf affirms his alternative route to finding housing:

> ‘I’m not looking for a flat because I’m moving in with my wife in six months. It’s an arranged marriage.’[42]

Both accommodation and employment have been set up for him through familial connections and the Berlin Pakistani community. This resonates with the research that highlights the reliance on informal networks for refugees finding housing in host countries (Hanley et al., 2018; Murdie, 2008). As Xiang and Lindquist (2014) suggest, migrant networks themselves constitute ‘social infrastructure’ as part of their five key dimensions of ‘migration infrastructures.’ Simone (2004) similarly considers ‘people as infrastructure’ which develops when physical infrastructures are lacking. In these contexts, social bonds take an infrastructural form as collaboration among marginalised urban residents provides spaces of cultural and economic operation. As McFarlane and Vasudevan (2013, p. 256) highlight, these informal social networks and services are common in the Global South and address specific cultural needs as urban citizens live informally ‘between schemes and institutions.’ In Berlin, they similarly provide arrivals a crucial foothold into a city where the neoliberalisation of housing infrastructure has made it inaccessible. Yusuf continues by recounting the benefits of these networks as he moves into his fiancé’s flat:

[41] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[42] Berlin, 13/08/2019.

> ‘People get into a bad mindset. This was also my thought at times, but without the drinking. But then I got the wedding sorted so it doesn’t matter anymore. Because I have a plan in my life now, I am getting married, and I will be able to work in a business.’[43]

He felt the adverse mental state the situation placed on him before he was given certainty through his upcoming marriage and promise of employment. These networks not only provide a vital infrastructure of practical support, but facilitate a more profound sense of belonging, connection, and optimism in the arrival city.

However, these informal networks often involve refugees undertaking illicit and illegal acts in order to access vital resources and opportunities. Many residents claim to be undertaking *Schwarzarbeit* (informal and unreported work). These legal subversions are also utilised to obtain accommodation. Habib’s case is notable:

> ‘I am registered here in this shelter, but I actually live in a flat in Brandenburg. I have to come here every now and then, so I am able to keep getting my money. I am doing an *Ausbildung* in a bakery in Brandenburg. My boss has given me a flat there for free. I only lived here properly for two or three weeks. I got a flat there, so I live there. If I wasn’t here, I would be getting much less money, so it makes sense for me to stay registered here.’[44]

As someone with a *Duldung*, he is legally obliged to reside in the shelter (*Residenzpflicht*). However, his apprenticeship is the only thing preventing his deportation, and the only one he found was miles away in a different federal state. The restrictions enforced upon him by his legal status means he is technically committing illegal acts just to obtain his own accommodation. Although he is fulfilling the normative trajectory of arrival through employment, language learning, and housing, Berlin’s housing situation forces him to do so illegally as he navigates the implications of legal statuses for his own benefit.

The growing literature on refugee access to housing in host countries highlights the differences between national contexts. For example, in some cities cultural background causes major variation in the process (Murdie, 2003) while in others individual characteristics such as wage, education, and household size are more influential (Forrest et al., 2013). The experiences of

[43] Berlin, 13/08/2019.
[44] Berlin, 16/09/2019.

refugees in Berlin demonstrate the importance of infrastructures in determining how these variations develop as it sorts refugees by mediating their access to permanent housing. Housing infrastructures which are calibrated towards producing profit, operated by discriminatory landlords, and require legal statuses produced by regulatory infrastructures of the state's asylum process all serve to channel and impede arrival trajectories. A shelter resident's ability to navigate or even subvert such processes crucially impacts who is able to move into permanent accommodation. The cases of people who have found accommodation through formal channels are exceptions that prove the rule. Informal networks and means offer greater chances of access as most struggle against an unjust and unaffordable housing system that keeps them spatially fixed within the shelter. As a researcher even I was consistently asked for advice, where I lived, and if I knew anyone who could offer them a flat in the city. Residents assert autonomy by desperately inquiring through every avenue and opportunity possible so they may move out of the shelter. Yet not all are able to benefit from social networks in the city as most become stuck in the shelter for indefinite periods of time.

3.5 The limits of autonomy

In spite of the possibilities to navigate or subvert the channelling infrastructures that facilitate arrival for refugees in Berlin, refugee experiences emphasise the need to not overstate the autonomy they can exert over this process. Indeed, Scheel (2019, 2013) develops the critiques against the AOM concept for its romanticisation of migration especially in an era of biometric border regimes where a migrant's body becomes a means of mobility control. He advocates for treating autonomy as a relational concept between efforts to control and efforts to contest and subvert this control which reflect the diverse subjectivities of migrants themselves, their divergent access to resources, and the nature of the border regimes with which they interact. Through this the concept has developed to emphasise that it is not reducible to the liberal notion of pure 'autonomy' where migrants are free and sovereign individuals, nor is it a romanticisation of migrant action as purely subversive or emancipatory, but one that is 'necessarily limited, compromised, contradictory, and tactical' (De Genova et al., 2018, p. 243). This section reflects on resident responses that mostly frame the limited autonomy in their arrival even beyond the regulatory infrastructures of the state asylum processes.

The infrastructures that sort refugee arrivals in Berlin serve to limit the autonomy of many newcomers rather than empower them to establish new lives on their own terms. Gwen's comments epitomise this lack of agency as she ponders her uncertain future:

> ‘I heard this shelter is going to be closed. I wonder where they will push all of us? I hope it is more central.’[45]

Her use of the word ‘push’ suggests being buffeted around by forces stronger than her and outside of her control as she is moved by the state to new places. She has little control over her spatial location in the city and can only hope for better outcomes. Kardaar similarly emphasises the restrictions the shelter and arrival process place on him:

> ‘I’m not satisfied. But what can I do? I have to live here.’[46]

He has little other choice but to remain in an environment that is unfulfilling. Despite the narratives of integration, opportunities, and promises for a new life, the infrastructures available to them give limited potential for these to be realised. Mahmoud notes:

> ‘So many people come here looking for a flat, but they get no chance.’[47]

His explicit use of the word ‘chance’ when describing a key landmark of arrival suggests he is being denied even the opportunity to find stability or establish himself. This reinforces the notion that urban infrastructures which sort arrivals protract the bordering process beyond the asylum process. Borders emerge not as linear territorial demarcations but become diffused into everyday society (Lebuhn, 2013; Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013; Yuval–Davis et al., 2019) through an uncertain and elongated process of arrival. As Meeus et al. (2019, p. 16) suggest, arrival is always temporary, but its length is in negotiation. Channelling urban infrastructures are key mediators in this negotiation to the detriment of refugee autonomy.

This lack of autonomy means that psychological issues of demotivation and depression extend far beyond the formal asylum procedure. As Pazir notes:

> ‘You go from being scared of bombs and war to the fear of being chucked out of the country and getting a flat.’[48]

Arrival is painted as a protracted process of trauma that extends from the initial moment of displacement deep into the establishment of new lives in the arrival city. The comparison provocatively equates the fear of death with that of asylum bureaucracy and finding accommodation. Hani describes the continued toll the situation has even after asylum protections are granted:

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[45] Berlin, 07/08/2019.
[46] Berlin, 12/09/2019.
[47] Berlin, 13/09/2019.
[48] Berlin, 27/07/2018.

> ‘My husband doesn’t have any hope. Sometimes he goes to a German course, but he only really wants to get money now. He has no plans. If you don’t have any good work and are not respected, it is not good.’[49]

Similarly, Arif affirms how difficult it is to stay positive in the context of the shelter environment and asylum process:

> ‘My drive used to be so high, but step by step it diminished. I was scared I wouldn’t get a job, that I would be made to go back. Being tired in the mind is much worse than being tired in the body.’[50]

Residents fall into cycles of despair under the expectations and pressures of arrival. Lives continue to remain on hold, in spite of legal confirmation. As Nazar affirms:

> ‘We wish that we get a job, a flat, a German passport. I need to marry. I’m young, I need to work. I don’t know when this will happen. All I can do is sleep. But just sleeping is for old people.’[51]

Many residents feel as though their existences have been hollowed out by the protracted process of arrival. Extensive psychological studies into the links between post-migration stress and psychological disorders demonstrate the diverse aspects of the migration process that adversely impact mental health beyond the asylum process itself (Carswell et al., 2011; Li et al., 2016; Sangalang et al., 2019). These include separation, social isolation, discrimination, financial and housing security, and the stress of acculturation. Urban infrastructures are key causes and exacerbators of these adverse effects as they continue to sort refugees and limit their agency in arrival beyond the initial asylum process.

Refugees are shown to adopt a variety of psychological coping mechanisms in response to displacement, including adaptation to new norms, reaching out for support, and religious faith (El-Khani et al., 2017). In response to the lack of autonomy within Berlin’s channelling infrastructures, newcomers are forced to recalibrate their expectations of arrival and their new lives on multiple fronts. Arif is amused by his initial naivety:

[49] Berlin, 11/07/2019.
[50] Berlin, 10/08/2018.
[51] Berlin, 14/08/2019.

> ‘I came to Germany with a plan, but it didn’t materialise. I thought an angel would come and do everything- “here is your pass, your ID, here is the big dream.” But then I spent two years here doing nothing.’[52]

The most notable adjusted expectation concerns finding permanent accommodation outside of the shelter. Speaking to people over time reveals that as their desperation builds, they reconfigure their preference for both the form and location of permanent housing. For Umar and his family, having their own accommodation is favourable to living in the shelter, in spite of the conditions:

> ‘I would have six people in two rooms, I don’t care, I just want a flat.’[53]

The most common expectation that is consistently rethought is the location in the city they would live if they could choose. The phrase *ist mir egal* (I don’t mind) frequently features. Abbas’s comments are typical:

> ‘I don’t care where I find a flat. Anywhere, really. Maybe somewhere near my work would be nice. But I don’t care.’[54]

While residents do present preferences for certain neighbourhoods, primarily the more ethnically diverse areas of Kreuzberg and Neukölln which have long been what has been the traditional ‘migrant gateways’ for urban newcomers (Bergmann, 2013; Kil and Silver, 2006), they acknowledge the unlikelihood of fulfilling their preferences. In his first interview in March 2018, Ajmal noted his desire to live in a mixed neighbourhood with Europeans.[55] But by the second interview in August 2018, he no longer cared where he lived; he just wanted to be out of the shelter as he had become increasingly desperate.[56] Realignment of expectations supports the more nuanced and subtle forms of autonomy that are related to migration as refugees attempt to adapt to control (Metcalfe, 2021; Scheel, 2013). On the one hand, this is arguably a normal process of any form of arrival in an unfamiliar city as reality mediates the hoped imaginary. However, the extent to which aspirations need to be renegotiated is more severe in the case of refugee arrivals. They are uniquely exposed to certain infrastructures that establish obligations upon which their legal existence in the country is predicated, are subjected to exceptional restrictions, and are disadvantaged in their access to infrastructures that are necessary to facilitate arrival. Refugees are noted for incurring greater distress and having higher negative expectations for the future than other immigrants (Iversen et al., 2010).

[52] Berlin, 10/08/2018.
[53] Berlin, 13/08/2018.
[54] Berlin, 30/07/2019.
[55] Berlin, 09/03/2018.
[56] Berlin, 09/08/2018.

In Berlin even these comparatively limited expectations need to be lowered in light of infrastructural barriers.

The difficulty of negotiating the infrastructures and the limited autonomy in arrival come to constitute part of the expansive acts of deterrence that are embedded in European asylum policy (Boswell, 2003; Brekke and Thorbjørnsrud, 2020; Valenta et al., 2019). Even when arrivals follow the supposed stepwise pathways laid out through infrastructure, there is no guarantee that their lives will be better. Nazar notes his pessimism over his uncertain life trajectory in Germany:

> 'Once I have a German pass, I still need to do an *Ausbildung* and train up for my job. So there is a minimum of seven years being here. But after seven years I don't know if my life will be any better than it was before.'[57]

He admits a desire to return if the chance arises:

> 'In Afghanistan, the only problem is it isn't peaceful. If there was peace tomorrow, I would go back.'

By impeding access to important landmarks of arrival, infrastructures keep refugees doubting that they wish to permanently remain in Germany. Hassan's inability to access affordable and adequate accommodation drives him to consider repatriation in order to re-obtain domestic normality:

> 'I have two bathrooms in Syria but here no. I have a TV in Syria but here no. I have a flat in Syria but here no, because I'm in this shelter. It's only because I can't find a flat here that I am seriously thinking of going back. For me it would be very dangerous as I would have to go straight to the military. How can I do that? Why do we have to kill? I don't even know how to hold a gun. But because I can't find anything here, I might go back.'[58]

Both the inadequate housing infrastructures and the physical infrastructure of the shelter itself become deterrents against building a new life in Germany. Azim similarly yearns to return to Syria because of his experiences in Berlin:

> 'I'm sorry, but I don't like it here. It is very bad. I don't want to stay, I want to go back. If I showed you my hometown, you would prefer it to Berlin.'[59]

[57] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[58] Berlin, 10/09/2019.
[59] Berlin, 09/09/2019.

Unable to arrive on their own terms, they find their lives in Berlin unfulfilling enough to contemplate returning even to active warzones and places of conflict. Channelling infrastructures must thus be considered as part of an infrastructure of deterrence as well as arrival as they lack guarantees to improved lives. Arrival is channelled in such restrictive and unsatisfying ways so as to put people off from continuing the process.

Experiences of refugee arrival in Berlin highlight the danger of overstating the autonomy present in the process as refugees are sorted through the infrastructures that facilitate it. Just as the 'autonomy of migration' has been overromanticised (Scheel, 2013), so too is it important not to overromanticise the autonomy of arrival in the context of channelling infrastructures. Saunders's (2011) notion of arrival has been rightly criticised for its narrow and quixotic definitions based around entrepreneurship and social mobility (Meeus et al., 2019). Furthermore, it fails to recognise the socioeconomic inequality and exclusion between not only different inhabitants of arrival cities but also different arrival cities themselves and their places within the international division of labour under global capitalism (Herscher, 2017, p. 36). Berlin's channelling infrastructures are key entities that undermine the ability to enact autonomy in arrival or even, in the case of asylum, the promises of protection or stability that they are intended to fulfil. For many newcomers they create a form of arrival that produces uncertainty, psychological issues, and disempowerment through their channelling towards specific teleologies of economic productivity and socio-cultural integration, not the emancipatory and prosperous vision that Saunders paints. Residents do not only find this unfulfilling but are actively harmed by the process.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the channelling infrastructures that abstractly sort refugee newcomers in Berlin limit their autonomy in arrival. Rather than enabling aspirations, instead they reinforce normative arrival narratives that are embedded in socio-cultural expectations and legal requirements of the host country. In this they support Xiang and Lindquist's (2014, p. 125) critique of migration infrastructures that have come to primarily impede rather than enhance people's migratory capacity but in the context of arrival. This is not to dismiss the scope for autonomy that some refugees are able to find within these channelling infrastructures. There are ways to subvert them, find creative alternatives such as relying on informal social networks, or act through more subtle responses such as reframing expectations in order to cope. However, these are necessarily limited, contradictory, and compromised. For example, access to informal infrastructures that help circumvent other

infrastructural barriers are not necessarily available to everyone. Many also do not have the necessary financial resources to compete. In contrast, every arrival is subjected to the regulatory infrastructures of the sorting process, the physical infrastructures of the shelters, social infrastructures that are intended to integrate refugees through language acquisition and employment, and housing infrastructures. These infrastructures can even disable the possibilities of some informal infrastructures, such as through the shelters which spatially segregate arrivals. In the immediacy of containment in the shelters that cause heightened emotions, most residents note their feelings of disempowerment rather than empowerment to achieve their arrival aspirations.

The channelling infrastructures of arrival ultimately reveal the Janus-faced policies of the state, which on the one hand hopes the shelters will incorporate refugees into society while also dissuading others from coming to Germany. It is on the municipal and neighbourhood level where this contradiction is most acutely felt and plays out. On the federal level policies of integration appear to be taken with reluctance, as the ultimate aim is to disincentivise further arrivals. On the neighbourhood level, municipal public sector organisations struggle to provide support to residents to engage with and participate in wider society. They deal with the social, cultural, and political tensions that stem from these arrivals and are responsible for trying to reconcile the contradictory aims of federal policy. The shelters are architectural manifestations of this contradiction, attempting to both incorporate the refugee population into as well as segregate them from the city. This establishes a protracted arrival process that retains logics of bordering, as the shelters continue to act as holding pens even after legal protections have been granted. Many residents are rapidly becoming eligible for citizenship, some having lived in the country for over half a decade. When this happens, thousands of new German citizens will be spatially segregated within institutional shelters as their trajectories of arrival continue to be shaped by the spaces in which they are forced to live. It is the internal spatial conditions of these shelters to which Part II now turns to reveal how the architectures of infrastructure embody inherent contradictions. This forces residents to live in ambiguous structures that blur the boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing.

Part II

Infrastructure as a conditional form of housing: normalising the urban camp

4. Contradictory infrastructural functions: between camp, shelter, and housing

4.1 Introduction

The scale of arrival numbers in 2015 had radical implications for the spatialities of Berlin's institutional shelter for refugees as the city attempted to house newcomers through state-created arrival infrastructures. It catalysed the creation of highly diverse and often aesthetically striking constellations of evolving designs, architectures, and accommodations throughout Europe (Katz et al., 2018; Kreichauf et al., 2020; Scott-Smith, 2017, 2020a; Zill et al., 2020). Indeed, the German pavilion at the 2016 Venice biennale entitled *Making Heimat. Germany, Arrival Country*, an adaption of the term 'arrival city' (Saunders, 2011), focused on the diverse shelters used to house arrived asylum seekers in Germany (Schmal et al., 2017). In Berlin, the initial rudimentary *Notunterkünfte* (emergency shelters) were replaced by the more comprehensive *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte* (community shelters). These transformations marked a significant state policy shift from addressing an emergency to a long-term situation, from one underpinning logic to another. The LAF demonstrates this shift in their descriptions of the community shelters:

> 'The aim in each individual case is to enable the people concerned to live a humane and independent life and promote their individual integration' (LAF, 2019).

Rather than merely provide shelter, these structures are explicitly intended as a foundation for a normalised everyday life in the city. In essence, they are conceived as infrastructures that provide the functions of housing. Simultaneously, they are still intended to 'integrate' an arrival population who are supposed to quickly move on to find their own accommodation. In this sense, they remain infrastructures that facilitate the transition of people along normative arrival trajectories, from one condition to another. Infrastructure is selectively encoded with particular values to provide the foundation of social organisation (Power and Mee, 2020). However, complexes of infrastructure are noted for their ability to 'collide with and contradict each other' (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014, p. 124) and being 'sometimes complementary, sometimes competing' (Coutard and Rutherford, 2016b, p. 11). Berlin's shelters suggest that infrastructure can embody contradictory functions within itself that undermine each other and call into question the meanings of urban camps, shelters, and housing.

This chapter explores how the contradictory functions of infrastructure blur the boundaries between camps, shelters, and housing through the internal dynamics of Berlin's shelters. It focuses on the more physical and architectural qualities of infrastructures, which constitute 'material forms that allow the possibility of exchange over space' (Larkin, 2013, p. 327). Camps

and shelters have already begun to be explored through infrastructural lenses at a variety of scales. Katz (2017b) highlights a growing ‘global infrastructure of camps’ which circulates, suspends, and separates the transnational movement of refugees. Similarly, Pascucci (2017a) considers networks of accommodation and emergency shelters as ‘humanitarian infrastructure’ which in turn can foster ‘community infrastructures’ through refugees’ social relations, as material infrastructures come to facilitate social infrastructures (Pascucci, 2017b). While camps are commonly represented as isolated and transitory structures, in situations of protracted displacement they often remain as permanent temporary infrastructures (Oesch, 2019). Studies of European asylum centres since 2015 emphasise their infrastructural function as places of ‘forced arrival’ where refugees are kept ‘on hold’ by the state until their asylum applications are processed (Kreichauf, 2018; Thorshaug, 2019). In Germany, Nettelbladt and Boano (2019) view these centres as ‘infrastructures of reception’ that establish ambiguous relationships between refugees and the cities that host them. They argue that an infrastructural approach exposes the ambivalences of reception, where the state extends gestures of humanitarianism while simultaneously enacting policies which immobilise, contain, and suspend migrants in space. Shelters and camps come to be considered as fundamental nodes of fixity that spatially organise, sort, and order flows of people on the move in the network of ‘migration infrastructures’ (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). Their main function is the technical facilitation of a particular kind of movement and transition, often dictated by the state, rather than the provision of a permanent domestic situation.

These theoretical framings open possibilities to consider infrastructural perspectives in new spatial contexts. Berlin’s community shelters differentiate themselves from these other cases as they are primarily developed by the state to address a shortfall in available housing for refugees after asylum has been granted. Newcomers are crucially imagined by the state as potential future members of the country’s citizenry. This also differentiates them from previous studies of European asylum centres which have tended to depict the contradictory ways in which the state uses them as carceral spaces to control, trap, and disempower asylum seekers on the one hand while providing refuge, care, and hospitality on the other (Campesi, 2015; Kobelinsky, 2008; Szczepanikova, 2013; Welch and Schuster, 2005). Instead, the community shelter constitutes a form of long-term residential accommodation which are designed to facilitate arrival into the city. It becomes more appropriate to consider them as evolving forms of housing.

As introduced in chapter one, recent discussions have explored whether housing itself can be considered as infrastructure. This challenges pre-conceived conceptualisations of infrastructure which focused on the networks that 'integrate' urban spaces in contrast to the 'point-specific urban services like shops, banks, education and housing' (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 9). Power and Mee (2020) propose housing as an 'infrastructure of care,' where care constitutes maintaining, continuing, and repairing the world so that it may be lived in as well as possible. They situate housing as a socio-material assemblage that 'patterns care' through its materialities, markets, and governance in an effort to imagine different futures for housing reform. This highlights a recent trend seen especially in Australia where housing is thought of as a form of infrastructure in order to revalue it as a public asset. Reports by the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) promote the reconceptualisation of social housing as an essential infrastructure in order to address long-term underfunding, policy neglect, and a stigmatised reputation during a significant housing shortage (Flanagan et al., 2019; Lawson et al., 2019, 2018). Similarly, there are calls to view affordable housing as infrastructure to assure adequate supply in the same way cities ensure adequate schools or streets (Kushner, 2010). These positions primarily promote the understanding of housing as infrastructure as a means to better facilitate supply through policy and private investment. This intriguing reconceptualisation raises important questions concerning the nature of infrastructure as housing and whether this infrastructure is compatible with facilitating everyday domestic life. How does infrastructure operate when it is utilised for the purposes of housing and domestic space? How does this interact with contradictory functions of camps and shelters as infrastructure?

To answer these questions, section 4.2 of this chapter establishes the conceptual differences between camps, shelters, and housing and how these typologies have merged as highlighted in recent literature. This provides the necessary foundation to further explore how the German state has attempted to increasingly transform its refugee accommodation into forms of urban housing and to distance it from notions of the 'camp' in order to normalise it. Section 4.3 explores how the state has done so first through the use of labelling before section 4.4 examines trajectories of architectural development. The limitations of these interventions are explored in section 4.5 in regard to aims of integration, governance, and temporalities. This reveals that the shelters offer contradictory functions as infrastructures intended to simultaneously provide domestic space *and* facilitate refugee transition. The chapter will conclude that this paradox ultimately undermines the shelters' ability to fully achieve the physical and conceptual qualities of housing.

4.2 Fluid infrastructures

The German state's response to the significant arrival numbers in 2015 resulted in a process of frantic production of infrastructural spaces that have increasingly blurred the boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing. Conceptualising these structures as infrastructures emphasises this fluidity and diversity of forms, as Simone (2015b, p. 155) affirms that 'infrastructure is never complete' but can expand, change, or decline. Infrastructures come to operate as a changing set of open-ended processes 'that are often lively, powerful, and uncertain' (Graham and McFarlane, 2015, p. 12; Gupta, 2018). Although they have an overarching particular robustness, stability, and coherence (Meeus et al., 2019; Xiang and Lindquist, 2014), their configurations remain mutable as is evident in the evolving materialities of the shelters which provide similar functions but in different architectural settings. This mutability of form is notably absent in scholarship on the pre-2015 European institutional arrival centre, which consisted of comparatively stable functions of control and detention (Darling, 2011a; Fontanari, 2015; Szczepanikova, 2013). In Berlin, the importation of the camp model to act as an urban infrastructure of arrival has produced a new highly diverse and constantly transforming array of shelters that reveals the ambiguous and fluid boundaries between conceptualisations of camps, shelter, and housing.

An increasingly rich literature in the field of camp studies has revealed the complex and specific socio-materialities and politics of camp spaces in cities. It explores the fluid, perspectival, and elastic nature of 'campscapes' which are ambiguous spaces that foster multiple subjectivities (Katz, 2017a; Martin, 2015; Oesch, 2017). Recent discussions have challenged Agamben's totalising view that considers the camp as the ultimate space of exception that reduces its inhabitants to a state of 'bare-life' stripped of political existence (Owens, 2009; Walters, 2008). However, these critiques still affirm how the camp exists through complex forms of political and social spatialities that distinguish it from other spaces. Although camps can be spaces of political agency (Redclift, 2013; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017) and create new forms of citizenship (Rygiel, 2012, 2011; Sigona, 2015), as Ramadan (2013, p. 72) suggests these 'will always be more fragile, transient and temporary than those of citizens of states.' Furthermore, he suggests how they remain distinct from urban areas where the camp is simultaneously 'part of the city and divergent, an enclave of exceptional sovereignty impinging upon but never truly integrated with the city, existing both in the here and now and simultaneously within another spatial-temporal dimension.' The interactions of spatial and temporal factors play a particularly important role in defining camp spaces, which are highlighted as spaces of inherent temporariness (Fontanari, 2015; Picker

and Pasquetti, 2015; Ramadan, 2013; Turner, 2016). Abourahme (2015, p. 200) suggests the camp form is 'not derivative of legal structure, but an ever-moving relationship between temporality and materiality.' These complex socio-temporal and material relations result in spaces that scholars ultimately condemn as a political entity, suggesting they cannot be regarded as mere anomalies of a democratic society that is otherwise healthy (Perera, 2002; Rosenberg, 2011).

The nature of the camp is intimately connected to another spatial typology: the shelter. Notions of shelter are rooted in a rich discourse primarily surrounding practical responses to disaster recovery in the humanitarian sector (Ashdown, 2011; Davis, 2011; Kelman et al., 2011; Opdyke et al., 2021). Scott-Smith (2020b) considers refugee shelters more semantically as 'structures of protection' which crucially offer only *partial* protection from bad weather, violence, or insecurity. While shelters have positive connotations, they are not necessarily 'good' as they can expose inhabitants in more ways than they protect. Katz (forthcoming) coins the term 'bare shelter' to describe a minimal functional space created for or by forced migrants that provides only basic and temporary protection. Refugee shelters are differentiated from notions of the 'habitat/home/house' due to their temporary and emergency form of dwelling (Rueff and Viaro, 2009). While shelter does not necessarily embody the specific political associations of the camp, as Katz and Gueguen-Teil (2018) suggest its meanings can be related to broader social, cultural, and everyday experiences of living in camps. Shelter, therefore, embodies the ambivalences of the camp through its ability to control and limit while also providing potential spaces for hospitality and agency. Indeed, Agamben's ideas on 'bare-life' are equally influential in thinking about shelter in other contexts as in camp studies, such as sheltering homeless citizens (Feldman, 2004). In this area public urban shelter provides safety, support, and community, but only temporarily (Elias and Inui, 1993). The common threads that link these contexts are the conditional, contingent, and temporary dimensions of shelter.

In contrast, housing has different connotations that affirm a greater sense of rootedness, permanence, adaptability, and agency. Madden and Marcuse (2016, p. 12) consider housing a 'universal necessity of life, in some ways an extension of the human body.' It is more than mere shelter, instead confirming 'one's own agency, cultural identity, individuality and creative powers.' Through this housing is intimately entwined with meanings of home and treated as the core domestic unit of society (Mallett, 2004). As Blunt and Dowling (2006) suggest, home comprises of the two elements of place and an idea or imaginary imbued with feeling. It

provides a haven, refuge, and place to retreat that is closely linked with notions of self-identity (Blunt, 2005). It also provides 'ontological security' from a world that is often threatening and uncontrollable, a space free from surveillance, and the material environment most closely associated with permanence and continuity (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). This is not to overly idealise the reality of home as haven, as home can also be a space where tension and conflict are replete (Brickell, 2012). Instead, in this formulation housing exists as a means to a desirable end rather than an end in itself, with that end being personal fulfilment, self-esteem, and a positive identity (Clapham, 2005). Housing crucially differs from the camp and shelter as it facilitates an ideal to strive towards rather than a temporary and conditional state over which an occupant has limited control.

However, in recent years the conceptual boundaries between these socio-spatial phenomena have been increasingly blurred. Historian Andrew Herscher (2017) highlights how the distinction between the architectures of housing, camp, and city is collapsing globally in contemporary humanitarianism as housing becomes increasingly located in camps. He illustrates the evolution of shelter design and humanitarian architecture in the 20th century to demonstrate its deep entanglements with the development of modern housing by architects such as Le Corbusier and Alvar Aalto. Dalal (2020) builds on this by conceiving contemporary emerging camps as forms of urban housing, making connections between their architectural qualities. His focus on Jordanian camps, which have similarities to urban ghettos, gated communities, and urban housing projects, posits potential parallels to the hybrid 'camp-housing' realities emerging in Germany where the camp is increasingly acquiring a visual appearance closer to housing (Dalal et al., 2018). These ambiguous boundaries are also evident in literature that explores processes of homemaking through spatial practices in the camp (Brun and Fábos, 2015; Hart et al., 2018; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020). Residents themselves contribute towards the merging of camp and house by exerting their political agency by physically appropriating and realigning domestic space. These insights can be contextualised within a growing body of work that examines how the urbanisation of camp spaces blurs the boundaries between camp and city (Agier, 2002; Dalal, 2015; Herz, 2012, 2008; Jansen, 2018). While this has begun to demonstrate the conceptual merging of spaces that were previously considered distinct, there remains significant scope to view these transformations through an infrastructural lens. The rest of this chapter will address this omission by considering how the blurring of boundaries between camps, shelter, and housing also transpires when infrastructure enacts contradictory functions within itself.

4.3 Labelling infrastructure

The blurring of boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing in Berlin begins with the development of official state terminology used to identify its evolving refugee shelters, revealing their intended infrastructural outcomes and functions. This terminology reflects a broader national aversion to the term 'camp.' Like many languages in an era of globalisation, German has adopted terms from international English, including 'camp' with its multifarious associations. However, in Germany 'camp' has specific and strong socio-cultural connotations as it is intricately linked to the *Konzentrationslage* (concentration camps) of Nazi Germany. Any use of the term tends to be conflated with this period of profound trauma which influences where and when it is applied. It is the concentration camp that Agamben (1998) promotes as the ultimate bio-political space of exception and has become the key precedent by which all manner of camps today are perceived and condemned (Gilroy, 2004; Netz, 2004). For example, Minca (2015, p. 75) provocatively asks: 'how are we, after Auschwitz, still able to metabolize the camps and remain fundamentally indifferent to their presence?' The sensitivity towards the term 'camp' is rooted in a national culture famous for its process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) as Germany struggles to come to terms with its history that has been described as 'unmasterable' (Langenbacher, 2010; Maier, 1998). The state as well as German society have used terms akin to technical infrastructure to describe contemporary refugee accommodation spaces in order to normalise their presence in cities and avoid associations with this historical precedent.

As part of Germany's distribution of financial and executive responsibilities to municipal states, each state determines the official terminology that denotes its shelters. The state of Berlin exemplifies the national aversion to the use of the term 'camp.' For an LAF representative, the political connotations are significant:

> 'I'm allergic to this term "camp." They aren't camps. My notion is informed by German history. A camp denies people's freedom. It has this strong association here.'[1]

In contrast, one shelter manager notes the use of the term in his daily work. He works for Hero Norge, a Scandinavian company specialising in refugee support. He suggests that due to its foreign origins, the term 'camp' did not have the same associations:

[1] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

> ‘Sometimes they are just words, it doesn’t mean anything behind it. You can use words without negative meaning.’[2]

German society, however, is much more sensitive to it. Public discourse and politicians utilise *Lager* as a highly provocative political and rhetorical device to vilify the spaces which refugees currently experience in Europe, including Berlin’s shelters (Beitzer, 2016; RTL, 2020). As a symbolic designation, the use of term ‘camp’ is so charged that Berlin’s authorities have consciously deployed alternatives.

The alternative terms are rooted in a bureaucratic and normalised language that promote perceptions of their roles as technical infrastructures. Following Foucault (2007, p. 62), normalisation is an attempt to ‘reduce the most unfavourable, deviant’ elements of something and to ‘bring them in line with the normal.’ The state of Berlin does this through language by designating refugee shelter as an *Unterkunft* (accommodation or lodging), which provides a neutral portrayal less associated with personal sentiment or politics. *Unterkunft* has its roots in the verb *kommen* (to come) and literally may be interpreted as ‘under-coming,’ as to come under a physical roof. It is part of a group of words sharing the same root which include *Herkunft* (origin- ‘to come from’) and *Zukunft* (future- ‘to come’ i.e. that which is yet to come). These etymological roots resonate with the conceptualisation of infrastructure as physical networks which facilitate movement of diverse entities (Larkin, 2013; Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). Thus, refugee arrivals are linguistically situated in a temporary space of pause between their origins and the inevitable passage onwards into the future. The addition of *Not-* (emergency) in *Notunterkunft* denotes an immediate crisis of need that is addressed with a functional architectural structure. These emergency shelters were superseded by the *Erstaufnahmeeinrichtungen* (initial reception centres), where asylum seekers submit their asylum application and stay for a maximum of five days. They utilise the highly technocratic term *Einrichtung* (facility), which reduces the accommodation to its most impersonal level as it exists as a space of pure administrative sorting to enact the bureaucratic processes of the state before refugees move to the longer-term community shelter. The state’s use of a more bureaucratic language plays a crucial role to neutralise provocative associations with the term ‘camp.’ As Cowen (2017) notes, infrastructure can often entrench injustices in systems by making them appear to be technical rather than political issues. Yet, the creation and function of infrastructure is inherently political and exists in forms separate from the purely functional

[2] Berlin, 17/08/2018.

(Larkin, 2013). The apparent neutralisation of these designations is in itself a highly political act that attempts to reframe these infrastructures as more normalised and de-politicised.

While the core of state terminology evokes a more neutralised language, in the development of long-term shelters the terminology tends towards greater personal and social attachment. In contrast to the *Notunterkunft*, the term *Gemeinschaftsunterkunft* achieves this through its use of *Gemeinschaft*, which suggests the creation of enduring social connections between individuals (Parsloe, 2020a). Sociologists Ferdinand Tönnies (1988 [1887]) and Max Weber (2013 [1921]) famously distinguished ideas of *Gemeinschaft* (community) from *Gesellschaft* (society) in late 19th century Germany, where the former embodies personal interactions concerning subjective feelings in contrast to the latter's more rational and impersonal relations. This distinction has been influential in thinking about housing and urban planning in Germany as the country and its social organisation modernised in the early 20th century (Welter, 2010). In Berlin's new shelters, the distinction is used in a contemporary setting to frame these structures along more personal lines and make them more evocative of a permanent urban dwelling that is able to foster enduring and localised social connections.

The official terminologies which portray a more normalised ideal are complemented by the labels used by other social actors. Shelter operators, other institutions, and public media notably shun *Unterkunft* and instead refer to the structures in everyday speech as *Heime*, which translates literally to 'homes.' Historically, refugee residential accommodations in Germany have been referred to as *Wohnheime* (Fontanari, 2015), which invites associations with structures such as the *Studentenwohnheime* (student halls of residence). *Heim* evokes greater feelings of comfort or safety and is related to ideas of *Heimat* (homeland). This carries profound associations of belonging and feeling at home that underpinned Germany's aforementioned pavilion at the 2016 Venice biennale (Schmal et al., 2017). Shelter operators themselves have also consciously realigned the language they use to frame their shelters in positive domestic lights. For example, the NGO AWO name each of their shelters as a 'Refugium,' as one manager describes:

> 'It means "refuge" or "hideaway" and sounds more friendly. It isn't specifically to do with refugees. It is so that people feel well and good about where they live and

> feel a sense of refuge when thinking about their situation. We don't call it a "*Heim*".'[3]

In this case an institution adopts a scientific term whose original meaning is an area where biological organisms can survive through a period of unfavourable conditions usually caused by continental climate change. The explicit acknowledgement of a term that isn't specifically to do with refugees attempts to de-exceptionalise and normalise the space by disassociating it with forced migration discourse.

Sigona (2018) argues that the way people on the move are labelled and categorised has profound implications for the legal and moral obligations receiving states and societies have towards them. Berlin's shelters demonstrate how the labelling of infrastructure has equally important implications for the receiving communities, where the development of terminology seeks to normalise camp spaces. Through this they contribute towards the channelling processes of arrival infrastructures (Meeus et al., 2019) not by channelling the arrivals themselves, but by reframing external perspectives that encourage certain associations while impeding others. This labelling reflects the broader trajectory of terminologies used to define current European mass accommodation. The use of 'refugee camp' after the Second World War has evolved into more legal and administrative terms such as reception centres, shelters, and homes as accommodation was increasingly institutionalised through asylum laws since the 1980s (Kreichauf, 2018, p. 2). As Witteborn (2011, p. 1149) suggests, today the 'practice of naming asylum heterotopias constructed the forced migrant *as* a discursive location.' This utilisation of certain terms is entangled with the power dynamics that is inherent in the ability to categorise and label, which is a way to exercise power in itself (Bourdieu, 1991; Zetter, 2007). As Pieper (2008, p. 528) suggests, labelling asylum accommodation spaces is a product of the political will of those who govern them. An LAF worker highlights this in the case of Berlin:

> '*Unterkunft* is more neutral, but it is also of course chosen by the political left.'[4]

Labels are imposed on Berlin's shelter, especially by the state, in order to reframe and channel public perspectives in order to present them as a de-politicised and technical infrastructural response rather than the creation of a new generation of camps in Germany. The next section will consider the role that material architectures and internal shelter policies play in distancing the shelters from the perceived negative historical associations of the camp.

[3] Berlin, 21/08/2018.
[4] Berlin, 09/09/2019.

4.4 Upgrading infrastructure

As Power and Mee (2020) argue, housing materialities, including size, design, layout, and fabrication, play a fundamental role in shaping how housing performs as an infrastructure and reveal the values encoded within it. In Berlin, the state's planning and policies create architectures and internal spatialities that reinforce the process of normalisation evident in the terminology used to identify shelters. Since 2015 scholars have already made valuable contributions to understanding the internal spatial dimensions of Berlin's new shelters (Baumann, 2020; Dalal et al., 2018; Kreichauf, 2018; Parsloe, 2020a; Schroeder-Goh, 2020; Young, 2020). Yet this emerging literature tends to focus on singular shelter typologies and currently lacks an explicit acknowledgement of the unfolding diversity in their architectures and how they constitute an overarching trajectory of spatial development. By considering these structures as a fluid infrastructure, the evolution of multiple shelter typologies comes to be seen as a part of an interconnected infrastructural response where state-created architectural planning and policies attempt to create domestic environments that increasingly resemble urban housing based on better architectural construction, standards of living, and permanence.

The initial shock of mass refugee arrivals caused a substantial decrease in the architectural quality of Berlin's refugee shelters. Kreichauf (2018) coins the term 'campization' to describe the proliferation throughout Europe in 2015 of the camp-like structures which resulted in lowered standards of living, increasing capacities, and closed characteristics in comparison to former types of institutional shelter. Prior to 2014 the majority of Berlin's shelters were hostel-style buildings, other than the registration centre of Motardstrasse which was a container shelter originally built in 1989 for East Germans arriving in the West after reunification (figure 19). Although in this period Germany's accommodation for refugees, known as *Wohnheime*, has been criticised for providing spaces of containment where migrants experienced the 'threshold condition' trapped in prison-like structures (Fontanari, 2015), it nevertheless provided much better standards of living and construction quality in comparison to the rudimentary shelters that were erected in 2015. It featured kitchens and bedrooms inside permanent buildings and remained officially 'open' with residents allowed to go outside when they wished. In Berlin, for example, the largest shelter prior to 2015 was at Marienfelder Allee. This historic reception centre was founded in 1953 for those who had escaped from East Germany and was reactivated in 2010 to host refugee arrivals (Paver, 2016, p. 406) (figure 20). In November 2014 Germany introduced article 246b of the Federal Building Code (§ 246 BauGB) which changed the rules for non-residential areas, such as industrial and

commercial land, and buildings designated by planning law to be utilised or re-purposed for refugee accommodation until December 2019 (BMJV, 2014). The eventual repeal of this law signalled the end of a specific era in Germany's refugee shelter policy.

Figure 19: Motardstrasse Refugee shelter built 1989, Berlin Spandau, 2016 (source: Berliner Morgenpost/Sergej Glanze)

Figure 20: Marienfelder refugee transit camp, 1958 (source: Bundesarchiv/Simon Müller)

The emergency shelters that proliferated across the city after 2015 were situated in appropriated buildings including school gyms; former office blocks; a cigarette factory, and most famously the former Berlin Tempelhof airport. These were temporarily commandeered structures that could host a large number of people at short notice. Scholars heavily criticised these structures for their disempowering environments (Dilger and Dohrn, 2016; Young, 2020), their inability to be personally adapted and inhabited by residents (Parsloe, 2017), and for their adverse long-term impacts on resident mental wellbeing (Schroeder-Goh, 2020). Their architectures were exceptionally rudimentary, utilising lightweight and transportable materials such as plastic panelling to quickly transform non-domestic structures into ad-hoc infrastructures where asylum seekers could live temporarily (figure 21). In Tempelhof, for example, tents and bunkbeds were erected alongside portaloos, and residents had to be transported to local swimming pools to shower (figure 22). No guests were allowed in living areas and residents could not cook for themselves but were provided meals in a canteen (Parsloe, 2017). Living conditions were highly criticised and often sensationalised by media outlets, which depicted them as breeding grounds for disaffection and violence (Beitzer, 2016; Hall, 2015). Such depictions transformed the spaces into ‘new urban spectacles’ of both hospitality and hostility that crystallised the crisis in physical architectural forms (Katz et al.,

2018; Parsloe, 2020a). These conditions were not only apparent in Berlin, but also in a broader network of shelters throughout Europe which were noted for their designed disconnection from their urban environment, situated in sites that were already disconnected from the city to temporarily fill in cracks in the urban fabric (Katz et al., 2018).

Figure 21: sports hall used to accommodate refugees in Prenzlauer Berg Berlin, 2015, (source: Time/Yuri Kozyrev)

Figure 22: tents inside Hangar One at Tempelhof airport, 2015, (source: Time/Yuri Kozyrev)

The initial rudimentary architectures of the emergency shelters signalled the nadir of shelter quality. Yet since this initial construction phase, new structures have provided increasingly better standards of living, permanence, and greater openness. Even during the relatively short two-year lifespan of the emergency shelters, significant improvements were made. For example, at Tempelhof the tents were replaced by more robust cubicles, original airport toilets renovated, and shower facilities installed at the ends of each hangar (figure 23). However, the transition to long-term community shelters embodied the most significant shift, as they were intended to provide a more permanent, normalised, and domestic architecture. Regardless of the building typology or location, all community shelters confer the same new freedoms onto their residents. Residents are allowed guests, have access to kitchens to cook for themselves, and are granted a greater private sphere in rooms shared with fewer people. The state intentionally exerts less control, allowing greater agency through everyday practices to develop with the aim to facilitate greater integration of people into the city along the arrival trajectories outlined in Part I as efficiently as possible.

Figure 23: Tempelhof Hangar Four with cubicles and showers (source: New York Times/Gordon Welters)

These new community shelters manifest in Berlin in three main typologies: the *Bestandsimmobilien* (existing buildings); container shelters, and *Modulare Unterkünfte für Flüchtlinge* (modular accommodation for refugees) otherwise known as MUFs. The first typology consists of existing buildings that have been converted. They are greatly diverse with spatialities significantly influenced by pre-defined architectures rather than an intentional design concept. They tend to be permanent structures that are already embedded within their urban context, making them less conspicuous. For example, a shelter established by the NGO Schwulenberatung for LGBTQ+ refugees is located within a block of flats within a central neighbourhood (Hoare, 2016) in order to make it more anonymous and provide extra-protection to a population made doubly vulnerable to discrimination by their sexual orientation and legal status. Furthermore, their previous function is often easily translatable into a domestic space. For example, one shelter manager of a repurposed elderly care home notes the benefit of each bedroom having its own en-suite bathroom as well as most having a balcony (figure 24).[5] Similarly, a shelter in a former hospital also provides a balcony for each room. This shelter also benefits from existing medical infrastructures in the building and

[5] Berlin, 21/08/2018.

operates as a shelter for refugees with physical and psychological health conditions (Parsloe, 2020b) (figure 25). The shelter for LGBTQ+ refugees also capitalised on the site's existing amenities, as it was an unfinished block of flats which offered the potential to work with an architect to tailor the kitchen and social spaces for specific needs (figure 26). While there are discrepancies between each individual site, because a space designed as a block of flats appears more suited to long-term domestic living than a hospital for example, each case needs to be treated more individually and therefore perhaps more creatively in relation to its population's needs.

Figure 24: balconies of a former elderly care home turned into a shelter, Berlin Spandau, 2018

Figure 25: balconies of a former hospital turned into a shelter, Berlin Wannsee, 2019

Figure 26: mezzanine social and dining space specially designed for the shelter in collaboration with an architect, Berlin Treptow, 2018

The intentions of the state to create new forms of housing are rendered more clearly visible in structures that have been created as total design concepts. The second typology consists of shelters made from shipping containers, which can be subdivided into the two typologies of *Containerdorf* (container village) and Tempohomes. Like the emergency shelters, the containers attracted particular scrutiny both in scholarship (Baumann, 2020; Dalal et al., 2018; Parsloe, 2020a; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020) and public media (Hall, 2015; Schönball, 2017; Yu, 2015), as they were created at the height of the so-called crisis when global attention was greatest. As Pascucci (2021) suggests, there is a growing trend for the provision of refugee shelter through 'supply-chain humanitarianism,' where commercial logistical management techniques have been utilised to distribute aid. In this instance, the literal use of structures intended for global trade and logistics for domestic spaces epitomises the collapsing distinction between the materialities of infrastructure and housing. Through this they invite specific metaphorical associations in an era of neo-liberal globalisation as they constitute infrastructures of mobility which, on the one hand, distribute goods and generate wealth while on the other contain and redistribute refugees and asylum seekers (Baumann, 2020).

The two sub-typologies attempt to recreate urban planning layouts through container arrangement. The *Containerdorf* presents an environment more evocative of apartment blocks, formed by stacked containers (figures 27-28). They are surrounded by an open shared space for the residents with a greater distance between the blocks. In contrast, the Tempohomes are single floor structures arranged in a grid pattern which evokes suburban streetscapes, offering a personal front porch and sometimes a garden space (figures 31-32). They were consciously designed to be improvements on the container villages. The *Containerdorf* has a dormitory layout, with shared kitchen and bathroom facilities (figures 29-30). In contrast, the Tempohomes are spaced out into modules, each consisting of three containers: two wings for sleeping up to four people and one in the middle providing a personal kitchen and washing facilities for just that module (figure 33). This design is intended to provide a greater private sphere and sense of personal dwelling than the shared dormitory corridors.

Figure 27: container village courtyard, Berlin Zehlendorf, 2018

Figure 28: container village courtyard, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 29: communal cookers in a container village, Berlin Zehlendorf, 2018

Figure 30: communal sinks in a container village, Berlin Zehlendorf, 2018

Figure 31: newly built Tempohome before residents have moved in, 2018 (source: LAF)

Figure 32: inhabited Tempohome ‘street’ with verandas and gardens, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

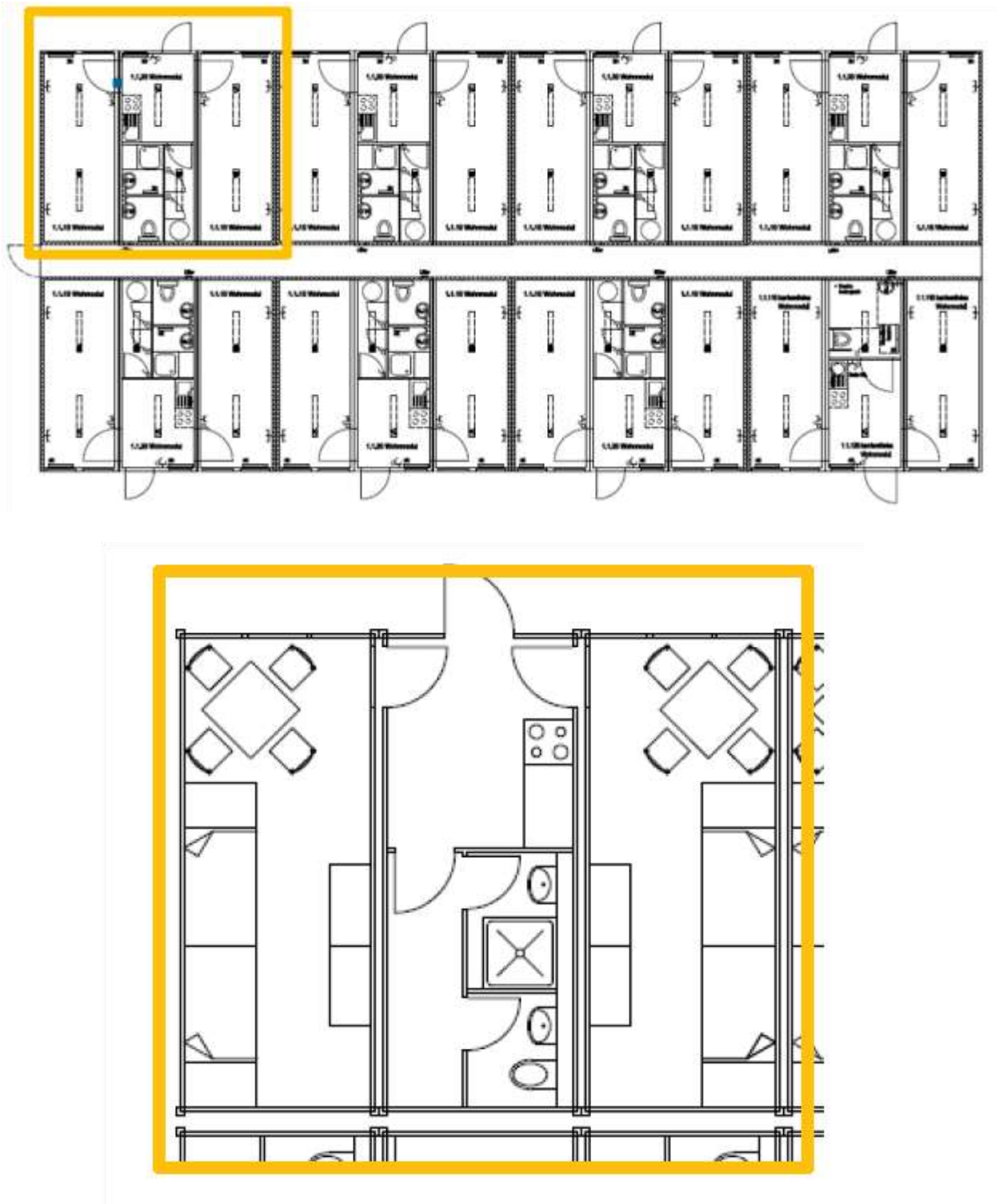


Figure 33: Tempohome units with personal kitchen, bathroom, and two bedrooms (source: LAF)

The final shelter typology is the MUF (figures 34-35) (LAF, 2020a). These structures are the most architecturally developed and most evocative of urban housing, made from prefabricated concrete panels that are erected on site and intended to last for 80 years in contrast to the containers which were only supposed to operate for five. Parallels are often drawn with the prefabricated and modular *Plattenbau* buildings built by East Germany (Ritter, 2017; Sauerteig, 2017) (figure 36). As Urban (2013) highlights, prefabrication was common everywhere in Germany including West Berlin, and mass housing around the world has conditioned social relations and channelled polarities rather than created them. Those in the former East have become iconic and synonymous with the 'losers' of reunification who live within the failed socialist architectural utopia (Kil and Silver, 2006; Matejskova, 2013). Such comparisons stigmatise the new structures, suggesting they are the 'dull', 'sterile', and 'generic' new generation of prefabricated homes in former East German territory (Sauerteig, 2017). Similar to the container villages they offer primarily dormitory style rooms with shared kitchens and bathrooms (figure 37). In contrast, however, the first floor offers flat-like rooms with their own kitchenette and en-suite bathroom that are intended for particularly vulnerable individuals or families (figure 38). Crucially, MUFs are planned to become social housing or student accommodation when no longer needed for refugees, meaning that they convey an inherent architectural permanence intended to facilitate a future use for non-refugee populations. Theoretically, they are thus designed to be good enough for German citizens. Despite the parallels drawn with the stigmatised *Plattenbau*, many shelter managers and workers consider MUFs as vast improvements on the emergency and container shelters. They suggest how they provide domestic spaces where residents are better able to physically and mentally live long term, highlighting a sense of permanence more akin to housing than the temporary camp or shelter.

Figure 34: MUF courtyard, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

Figure 35: MUF entrance, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

Figure 36: prefabricated *Plattenbau* estate in Berlin Marzahn, 1986 (source: Bundesarchiv/Hubert Link)

Figure 37: communal kitchen in a MUF, Berlin Buch, 2018

Figure 38: MUF plans. First floor ‘flats’ are on the left and dormitory rooms with shared bathrooms and kitchens on the right (source: Bauwelt)

Tracing these trajectories of improvements reveals the importance of considering the shelters as developing on a spectrum of highly diverse architectural typologies that constitutes an interconnected infrastructural response to a particular geo-political moment. They highlight the state’s explicit attempts to transform the shelters into more normalised forms of urban housing which provide a greater permanence and rootedness in the city. As Baumann (2020, p. 25) argues, Berlin’s container shelters are ‘types of mobile infrastructures, which can barely be called housing,’ that ‘enable survival, but not living.’ Yet by considering them diachronically and with more hindsight, they are revealed to be a fluid infrastructure that goes on to become something increasingly more like housing. This infrastructure operates on a scale from the mobile to the semi-permanent to the constant. The process of evolution remains fluid in response to the needs of the state, who are able to adapt architectural design.

Throughout Europe cities imported and deployed the camp-model to address an emergency situation (Katz et al., 2018; Kreichauf, 2018; Scott-Smith, 2020a). Yet following this, in Berlin the state’s needs for these infrastructures changed as asylum applications were approved. The structures increasingly embody stable domestic foundations that are more reflective of urban housing as migrants are supposed to be incorporated into German society but are unable to do so due to the housing crisis discussed in Part I. They thus come to operate as infrastructures which provide the foundation for a normalised everyday domestic life in the city.

Herscher (2017, p. 8) elaborates on the rationales behind the collapse between camp and housing:

> 'When the state imagines refugees as members of the labor force, architecture for refugees is oriented toward cities; when the state imagines refugees as members of its citizenry, architecture is oriented towards housing; and when the state cannot imagine refugees as either citizens or workers, architecture is oriented towards camps.'

Berlin's shelters reflect these differentiations as they become new forms of housing designed to facilitate the transition from asylum seeker to citizen. Residents are granted substantively better structures to live in and are encouraged to act with greater autonomy because the state imagines them as future citizens. Such developments mark a shift from the European asylum centres before the events of 2015, which were viewed as part of expanding 'cultures of control' over migrants embedded in carceral spaces (Szczepanikova, 2013; Welch and Schuster, 2005) and existed as 'traps' from which asylum seekers could not escape (Campesi, 2015). They provided minimum welfare and restrictive enjoyment of personal freedom that were not supportive of dignified lives (Rosenberger and Konig, 2011) and created spaces of regulation and discipline (Darling, 2011a). In contrast, Berlin's evolving shelters have developed new dimensions of stability, permanence, and robustness to fulfil the state's explicitly cited aim of enabling a 'humane and independent life' (LAF, 2019) for new citizens. Through this the community shelters' construction tends towards the ideals that are commonly associated with urban housing and away from the conditional, contingent, and temporary qualities of mere shelter. However, the transformation of Berlin's shelters into urban housing importantly has limits in regard to aims of integration, governance, and temporalities. It is these limits that the next sections address.

4.5 The limits of infrastructure as housing

If the shelters increasingly demonstrate spatial qualities of permanence, rootedness, and agency, then to what extent can they be considered as forms of urban housing or to what extent do they retain elements that keep them within a distinct spatial-temporal dimension (Ramadan, 2013)? The second half of this chapter turns to the limits, caveats, and messy grounded realities that are inherent in the shelter's materilialities and policies, and how these produce a conditional form of housing through opposing infrastructural functions. Their intended potential to create 'a humane and independent life' is contradicted by their purpose to promote 'individual integration' (LAF, 2019). In this sense they remain part of what Katz (2017b) refers to as the expanding 'global infrastructure of camps.' This facilitates the

transnational movement of refugees, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants that circulates, suspends, and separates them from society through internal ongoing transitions. Through this the infrastructure reproduces uneven global divisions as it processes the mobility of unwanted populations. To reveal how Berlin's shelters continue to operate as infrastructures that facilitate and control such transition on the urban scale requires analysis of their internal spatial configurations and the governance structures that undermine their function as housing. With this in mind, this section explores three key functional dimensions of the shelters as infrastructure: first the sociological channelling of domestic practices; second their everyday governance; and third their embedded temporariness.

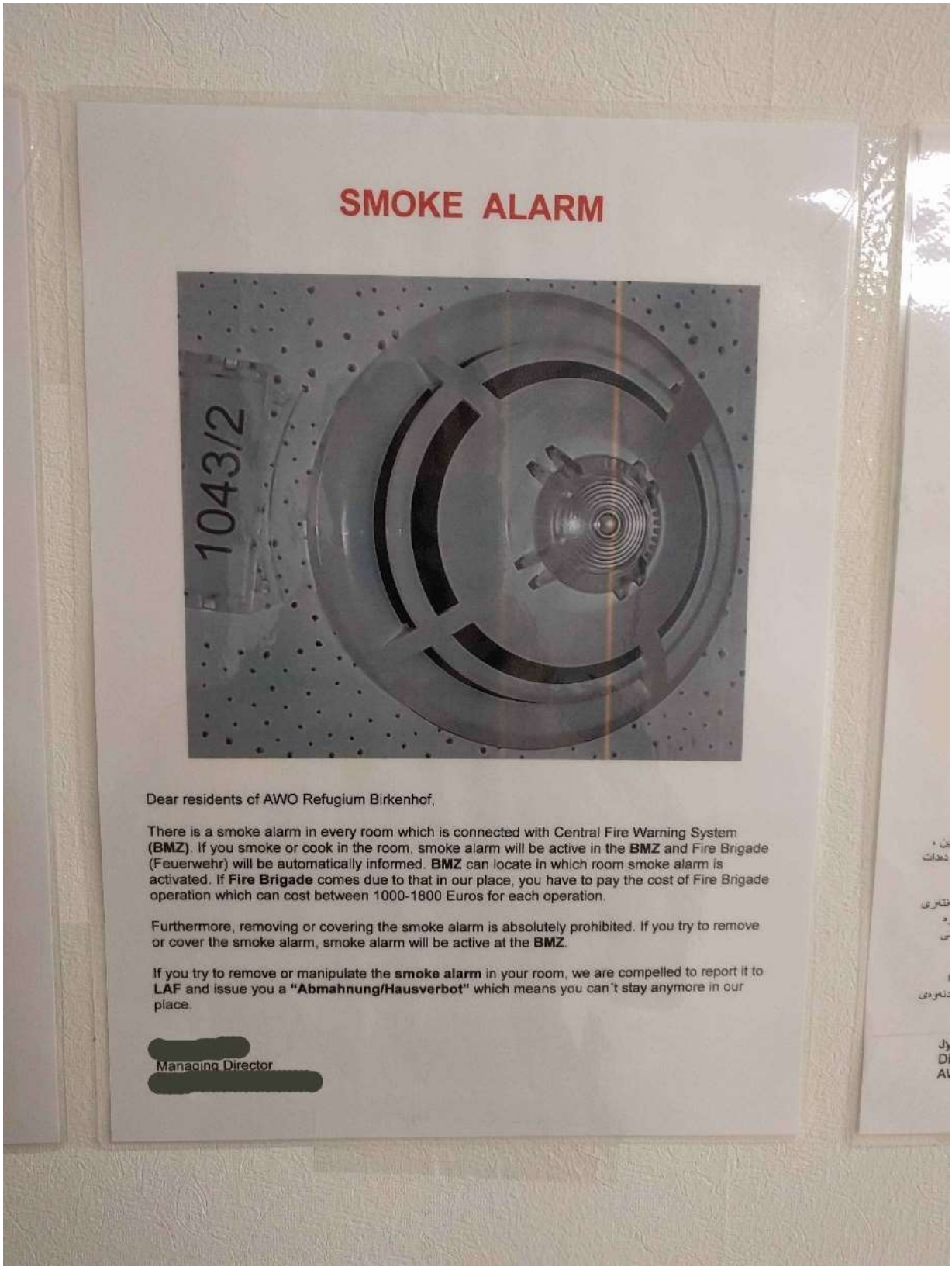
4.5.1 Channelling domestic practices through an infrastructure of signs

The administrative sorting processes that channel refugees towards a specific ideal of arrival as explored in Part I are reinforced by the internal spatial configurations of the shelters. Namely, they are infrastructures designed to shape internal domestic practices along certain German cultural lines as refugees move through them in preparation for their new lives in the city. Domestic environments have long been used as tools to shape the identities, politics, and social relations of their dwellers. Scholars have explored how educational institutions use them to facilitate learning (Parameswaran and Bowers, 2014; Pascarella and Terenzini, 2005); states have attempted to shape both territory and identity through the use of public housing to mould people into citizens of an imagined nation-state (Kallus and Yone, 2002), and companies selling domestic products have increasingly represented domestic life through symbols and meanings that naturalise and legitimate the global neoliberal order (Ledin and Machin, 2019). In Berlin's shelters, signs are used as an overt spatial intervention which directs domestic meanings and activities towards German visions of dwelling (figure 39). Blommaert's (2014) study into the 'linguistic landscapes' of a multi-ethnic neighbourhood in the city of Antwerp demonstrates the way public signs, from professional billboards to handwritten announcements in shop windows, constitute what he terms an 'infrastructure of superdiversity.' He considers signs useful tools for understanding the social, cultural, material, and ideological contexts that generated them and for determining who is able to participate and how within a given society. In Berlin's shelters signs constitute an infrastructure that educates a diverse population on how to act within a new culture of domesticity.

Figure 39: signs and leaflets on a shelter noticeboard, Berlin Buch, 2019

Shelter operators distribute official signs and produce their own which affirm the production of a specifically German way of acting in domestic space. A notable example is the emphasis of German fire codes beyond the usual no smoking and fire escape signs that are legally required in buildings (figure 40). For example, one affirms that any tampering with the smoke alarms will be reported to higher authorities and may result in resident eviction (figure 41). The unofficial signs exist in collaboration with official and legally required ones to help explain the rules and their severe repercussions should they not be followed to people unfamiliar with them. Indeed, much of the shelters' architecture is defined by fire safety, with high numbers of extinguishers and alarmed doors. Germany has highly developed fire-safety regulations with a prescriptive design approach that defines construction (Kaiser, 2019), whereas many residents come from countries with different regulatory cultures. The signs therefore not only inform about how fire regulation works but also instruct about German society in a deeper sense. The signs in Berlin's shelters not only realign behaviour according to German expectations just along technical grounds, but also on socio-cultural grounds.

Figure 40: official fire regulation sign, Berlin Buch, 2019



SMOKE ALARM

Dear residents of AWO Refugium Birkenhof,

There is a smoke alarm in every room which is connected with Central Fire Warning System **(BMZ)**. If you smoke or cook in the room, smoke alarm will be active in the **BMZ** and Fire Brigade (Feuerwehr) will be automatically informed. **BMZ** can locate in which room smoke alarm is activated. If **Fire Brigade** comes due to that in our place, you have to pay the cost of Fire Brigade operation which can cost between 1000-1800 Euros for each operation.

Furthermore, removing or covering the smoke alarm is absolutely prohibited. If you try to remove or cover the smoke alarm, smoke alarm will be active at the **BMZ**.

If you try to remove or manipulate the **smoke alarm** in your room, we are compelled to report it to **LAF** and issue you a **"Abmahnung/Hausverbot"** which means you can't stay anymore in our place.

[redacted]
Managing Director
[redacted]

Figure 41: smoke alarm sign in a community shelter, Berlin Spandau, 2019

Signs also seek to acclimatise residents to German socio-cultural standards of domestic and urban living. To facilitate the often-difficult process of adaptation to different cultural standards, notices, posters, and flyers are prevalent in every corner of the shelter and outline the rules of the shelter and expectations for how residents are to act in these spaces. Residents are confronted in personal and communal spaces of their responsibilities to clean the kitchens, when to be quiet, when guests must leave, and about the hygiene and maintenance checks with which all residents must comply (figures 42-43). On the one hand these signs reinforce a sense of order inherent in institutionalised living, but on the other they also evoke particular obligations and civic duties that play an important role in German society. The concept of *Ordnung* (order) is noted as a core German cultural value by scholars and in public stereotypes (Baur, 2020; Cramer, 2015). It is epitomised in institutions such as the *Ordnungsamt* (office for public order) or well-known phrases such as *Ordnung muss sein* (there must be order). The signs do not merely promote practical domestic obligations, but deeper cultural values that residents must learn before they move out of the shelters. For example, there are instructions to keep communal corridors or stairwells clear from pushchairs and bikes, affirming the expectations they could anticipate when living in apartment blocks in the city (figure 44). Such signs promote a form of behaviour that is necessary for their potential futures in shared domestic buildings in Germany.

Outside of general domestic expectations, the signs also promote more profound societal values to which residents of diverse cultures must acclimatise. For example, signs in communal spaces emphasise German standards of gender equality by affirming the illegality of gender-based violence (figure 45). In some women's bathrooms posters inform residents about support available regarding domestic violence as they display particular moral and legal expectations in this country of arrival (figure 47). They also outline other fundamental cultural differences, such as how to use western bathrooms correctly (figure 46). These signs all affirm particular ways of living and acting in domestic space that seek to train the shelter population through specifically German and Western European social and cultural conditioning. The spaces become quasi training grounds, which even includes visual instructions, where residents learn to live like Germans.

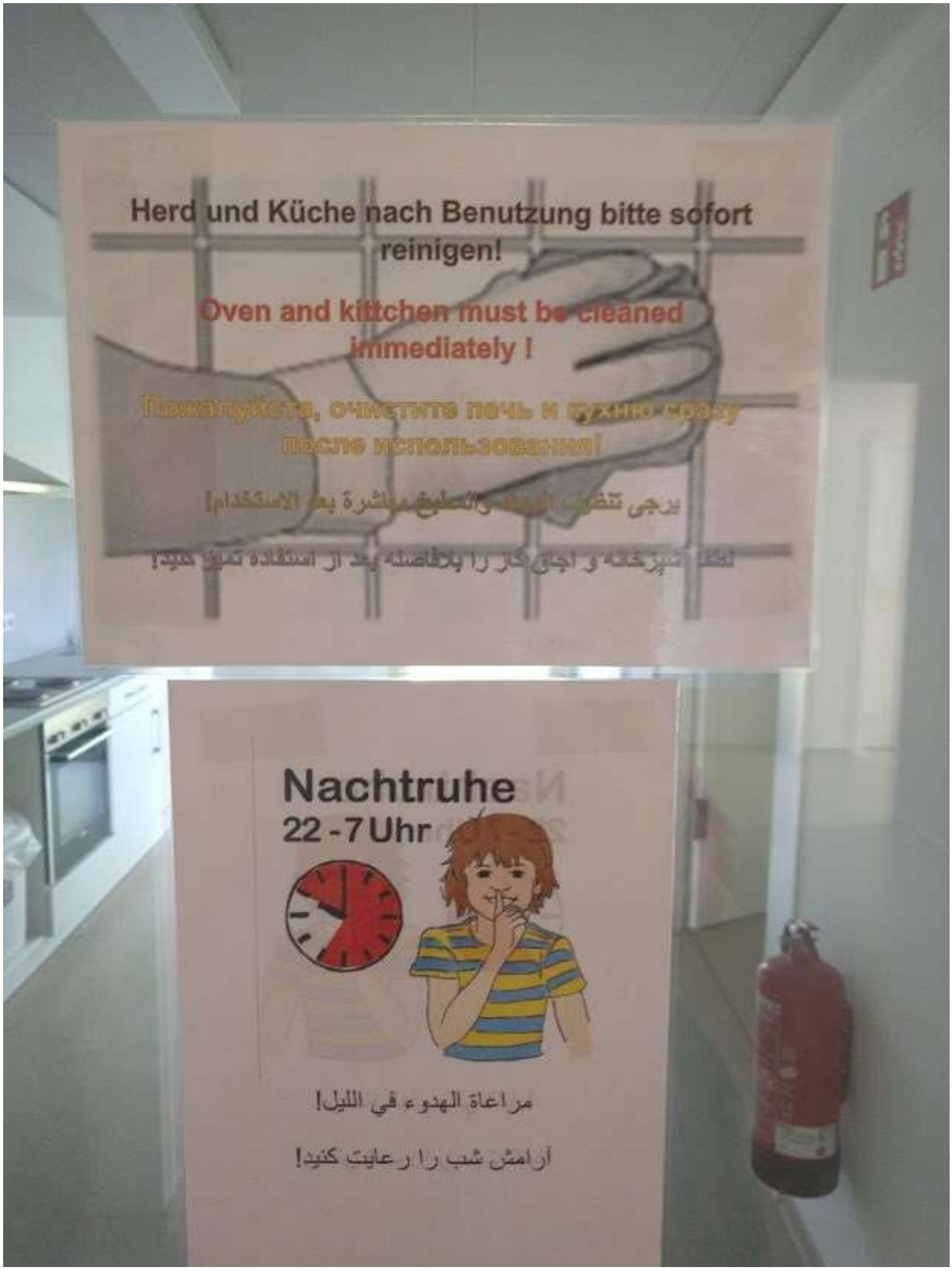


Figure 42: rules for using the kitchen and ‘quiet hours’, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 43: reminder of the frequent ‘cleanliness checks’ of resident rooms in Arabic, German, Farsi, and English, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 44: signs in a shelter corridor to stop the storage of bikes and prams, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 45: signs against violence, unwanted storage, and smoking in a shelter, Berlin Spandau, 2019

Figure 46: sign to show how to use a western toilet, Berlin Wannsee, 2019

Figure 47: domestic violence support poster in a shelter women's bathroom, Berlin Buch, 2019

In Blommaert's (2014) Antwerp neighbourhood, the infrastructure of signs suggests a space in constant motion within which important forms of conviviality are being articulated and sustained by diverse language display. In Berlin's shelters, although they present a similar plethora of languages and visual forms, signs represent a channelling of cultural domestic heterogeneity toward homogeneity. As Larkin (2013) suggests, infrastructures embody poetic symbolisms that reflect the ideal of what a state wishes to be and how its citizens are to operate. In Berlin's shelters, infrastructure is oriented towards static German visions of urban dwelling and society that is rooted in the country's long history of integration into the *Leitkultur* (leading culture) explored in Part I. This type of 'Germanness' is not one that embodies the complexity, conflicts, and negotiations within its imagined national identity (Schäfer-Wünsche, 2005; Swanson, 2017), but exists in a reductive, essentialist, and disciplinary form that is imposed through domestic space. Scholars have already begun to interrogate these cultural realignments through shelter spaces. Dalal et al. (2018, p. 76) speak of an 'educative landscape' in the Tempohomes that prepares residents for life in the city. Specifically, they highlight the control of domestic space, where predominantly Western styles of furniture and modes of living are facilitated by the container's architectures. Similarly, Kreichauf and Dunn (forthcoming) affirm Berlin's shelters as spaces that produce new German citizens in the figure of 'Homo Germanicus.' The use of signs creates an infrastructure through which these cultural realignments are mediated by channelling domestic practices towards German visions of urban dwelling. They reinforce the shelter's operation as facilitators of transition in the sense of moving refugees onto new lives as potential future German citizens.

4.5.2 Everyday infrastructural governance

The limits of the shelters as housing are also evident in the forms of everyday governance that shape the domestic lives of residents. The ability to exert individual control over space and behaviour is considered fundamental to the creation of a home by its occupants (Fox, 2002; Kidd and Evans, 2011). Shelter operators and managers enact the everyday operation of these infrastructures that shapes the extent to which occupants can exert this agency over domestic space. They play an important and often ambiguous role in the mediation of state policies. Discussions of infrastructural governance have tended to focus on the levels of authority between the local, metropolitan, and national scales or relationships that develop between governments and the private agents that have become increasingly responsible for providing the planning, financing, and building of physical public infrastructures (Kenny, 2007; McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008; Wegrich et al., 2017). However, the shelter operator's role in Berlin's shelters reveals the multi-scalar and often contradictory nature of everyday

infrastructural governance. Diverse institutions including NGOs, governmental organisations, and private companies have already been identified as key constituents of migration and arrival infrastructures (Sidney, 2019), yet the micro-level governance of shelters as infrastructure is absent. Swyngedouw (2019) arguably comes closest by exploring how workers in refugee reception offices provide the day-to-day services for newcomers and their efforts to increase autonomy, reflecting the ways that street-level bureaucrats are moral agents that are 'vested with a considerable margin of discretion' (Zacka, 2017, p. 11). This reveals there is scope to explore how on-the-ground governance of domestic arrival infrastructures plays out through individual discretion by shelter managers and its impact on the shelter's functioning as housing.

While managers perceive there have been substantive domestic improvements in the newer shelter typologies, they simultaneously highlight their limitations. For example, one manager of a Tempohome disparagingly refers to the shelter as a 'doghouse' wherein residents are stuck and unwanted by German society.[6] The LAF provide each shelter official *Hausordnung* (House Rules) that outline resident obligations (LAF, 2018). These rules highlight more mundane aspects such as the importance of cleanliness, the disposal of rubbish, and when bedsheets must be changed, but also the more exceptional threat of eviction if residents are absent from the shelter for more than three days without written permission. Residents must frequently undergo 'room checks' to ensure they are complying by the rules (figure 48). Some managers find such regulations overly restrictive:

> 'You live here but you can't have your own rules. You are treating adults like children. The new LAF rules are ten pages. There are no guests, there is room control once a month for a hygiene check. People are coming in telling you things, monitoring you, examining you. These rules are not helping people to take care of your room, to become independent. You have companies to clean rooms. You are taking away their responsibility.'[7]

These concerns emphasise an infantilisation process that is the result of an abnormal domestic situation. Furthermore, such rules can actively undermine the goal of achieving independence in the city thereby constraining the explicitly stated outcomes of integration that the shelters seek to facilitate.

[6] Berlin, 17/08/2018.
[7] Berlin, 16/08/2018.

Figure 48: sign informing of an upcoming ‘room check’ for fire safety, cleanliness, rule breaking, and maintenance that requires the resident to be present, Berlin Buch, 2019

Managers are also critical of the state intentions behind the shelters, where internal configurations are designed primarily to operate as an infrastructure that facilitates technocratic state management instead of creating long-term domestic spaces. One suggests they are designed for practicalities and efficient operation:

> 'It is very functional and easy to clean. The purpose is not to make people feel at home. There is a control of cleanliness, and it is designed to ease the following of regulation. It is like an architectural model, sort of like a rendering- very clean and pristine, with little figures wandering about.'[8]

This ease of regulation is inherent in the interior architecture of the shelter environment which depersonalises and codifies shelter spaces to be easily understood and managed. For example, rooms are given numerical codes to identify them, which are pinned up on the outside corridor (figure 49). They refer to the number of people as well as precise values of the room size, conferring information to a privileged outside observer. Through this they evoke James Scott's (1999) critique of 'seeing like a state' where the state attempts to render space as legible as possible for effective control rather than for those on the ground who must experience it. Internal spatial configurations are aligned towards the shelter's efficient management.

These criticisms are significant as shelter managers sit in an important position between the residents and the state which processes and incorporates them on a large and abstract scale. The managers are able to personally address some of the issues through their role as mediators of the regulation. However, their primary role is to uphold the rules that ultimately limit domestic agency and appropriation. For example, when a manager discovered a piece of paper which held a bathroom lock open in a MUF, making a key fob unnecessary and access to the bathroom more convenient, they immediately removed it citing security concerns (figure 50). Similarly, the aforementioned signs that outline the shelter rules are made by the operators themselves, as they use their own unofficial signs that attempt to translate state regulation through an accessible visual medium that addresses linguistic barriers and illiteracy. Through this, operators enact, clarify, and impose state regulation in domestic space.

[8] Berlin, 13/08/2018.

Figure 49: room sign in a shelter corridor revealing its capacity and size, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 50: paper jammed in the shared bathroom door, Berlin Buch, 2018

Simultaneously, shelter managers can also bend the regulations to facilitate aspects of refugee domestic agency. They use their role as interpreters and implementers of regulation to address some of their own misgivings. For example, the manager who was concerned about the infantilisation effect of shelters also acknowledges the limit of their power:

> 'You can't smoke and you can't drink. But what we don't smell or see is ok.'[9]

Similarly, in regard to some wooden additions that residents had built for themselves in a Tempohome, another manager notes they permit some infractions of the LAF *Hausordnung* as they await approval from other institutions:

> 'We have allowed people to put wood against the containers for now. We hope they can keep it and the fire brigade says its ok.'[10]

Managers are often pragmatic and willing to turn an occasional blind eye to certain rule violations when they feel the benefits for residents are justifiable. Many admit to allowing fire exits to remain open in the summer due to the unbearable heat especially in the containers while some allow overnight guests in very specific cases when it is not officially permitted. The power dynamics at play are not simply the state or the operators against the adaptations of residents. Instead, there is a constant negotiation where shelter operators act as mediators between the agency of residents and the LAF *Hausordnung*, revealing the often-messy reality of everyday governance.

While infrastructural debates have limited engagement with the complex and contradictory forms of everyday governance, scholars in camp studies have explored these avenues especially in informal camps or those outside Europe, where state governance is exercised through a plethora of institutions and organisations (Ramadan, 2013, p. 5). In contrast, the governance inherent in European asylum centres has previously been identified through expressions of regulation and discipline that are negotiated through conflicting interests of federal and regional governments (Darling, 2011a; Rosenberger and Konig, 2011). Furthermore, it is considered to be increasingly reflective of neoliberal logics of commoditisation that have privatised asylum (Darling, 2016a, 2016b; Novak, 2019). Yet Berlin's shelters suggest that a messier form of governance is enacted on the ground through the discretion of shelter managers that then shape the possibilities of domestic practices in those shelters. Governance exists through the constantly evolving relationships between actors (Maestri, 2017). Their existence as a state-created infrastructure means there is no

[9] Berlin, 16/08/2018.
[10] Berlin, 17/08/2018.

extensive vacuum that can be filled by alternative forms of governance or allow shelter communities to develop agency over production to the same extent as identified elsewhere (Hanafi and Long, 2010; Ilcan and Rygiel, 2015; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). Shelter managers are bound by formal legal contracts that regulate institutional spaces. Nevertheless, their managerial role allows scope for subjectivities. As Werner et al. (2018) suggest, the governance of Germany's reception centres is especially contested, as it is the only country in the EU where municipal authorities have financial and executive responsibilities. Berlin's shelters show this contestation extends to the ground level through everyday infrastructural operation. Rules regarding daily practices limit the extent to which the shelters enable refugee agency over their domestic space, yet such limits remain in flux due to the partialities of managers that allow for the blurring of boundaries between institutional accommodation and housing. However, as will be discussed next, there are certain structural issues that they have little power to alter. Namely, they are unable to limit the amount of time residents spend in their shelters.

4.5.3 Infrastructures of temporariness that protract arrival

While shelter managers play an important role in shaping the manifestation of state power on a ground level, their influence has limits. Primarily, they are unable to improve inherent structural issues that keep residents in the shelters. They especially highlight the limits of the shelters' ability to act as urban housing through temporality. Infrastructure mediates and builds temporalities as much as it does space, making certain social temporalities possible while disabling others (Anand et al., 2018; Appel, 2018). Infrastructural functions are often oriented towards the symbolic promise of creating a particular future of modernity and development defined by the state (Larkin, 2018, 2013). In contrast, the temporalities of home are rooted in permanence, continuity, and stability that are defined on an occupant's own terms (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998; Fox, 2002). Berlin's shelters exist as infrastructures designed to facilitate a future where residents move on to other accommodation. These state-determined temporalities make instability inevitable and undermine their infrastructural function as a form of housing.

While shelter managers acknowledge that substantive improvements in architectural construction convey a greater sense of permanence, they consider the new spatial configurations to only be acceptable in the short term. One manager affirms:

> ‘The main problem is that they have not been thought for people to live in them at all, so they are not designed to last long. But people do stay here for long. It would be ok for six months if people had their own kitchen or shower.’[11]

One shelter worker comments on the containers:

> ‘As long as you don’t stay in the containers too long, they are ok. They are clean and offer security, but they are not good long-term. If you can’t find a flat, and have to stay for years in them, you get depressed. Six months would be ok, but after that it gets worse.’[12]

From a managerial perspective, the conditions of the long-term shelters are made temporarily tolerable through their architectural improvements. As Faure et al. (2020) suggest about the stakeholder legitimisation of Germany’s emergency shelters, the best strategy to gain acceptance and a perceived legitimacy was through the need to achieve an adequate standard of living. Flawed institutional accommodation is perceived as a better outcome than homelessness. However, this precarious temporality pushes the structures towards the realms of shelter rather than the permanent and rooted qualities associated with urban housing. The shelters are deemed acceptable only on a conditional basis, namely if people are able to continue moving through the arrival process.

The defining feature of this temporality is the uncertainty over how long the residents must live in these limited domestic environments. It is not the spatial conditions that cause the main injustices, but the fact that residents must experience them for longer than the facilities were originally intended. Another manager suggests that a greater temporal certainty would benefit the residents:

> ‘People can tolerate difficult conditions if they know when the situation will end. The problem is when they don’t know how long it will last. It is the uncertainty that creates the biggest issue.’[13]

Indeed, another shelter worker succinctly articulated this reality as the ‘normalcy of uncertainty’ that pervaded every aspect of a resident’s life.[14] In spite of improving trajectories of architectural improvement, they are not intended to be permanent destinations. However, the protracted asylum process and lack of affordable housing prevent any certainty over when

[11] Berlin, 16/08/2018.
[12] Berlin, 25/07/2019.
[13] Berlin, 30/03/2016.
[14] Berlin, 02/07/2016.

or even if they will ever be able to move out. In the meantime, residents are kept in these transient spaces. One shelter worker expands on this temporality:

> 'MUFs are in some way an improvement, but you're making the camp situation permanent.'[15]

Even though the solidity of the MUFs provides better conditions, it serves to merely protract a difficult situation rather than solve it. At their core all shelters are intentionally designed with an embedded temporariness as people supposedly move into permanent accommodation. While the MUFs are designed to last for 80 years, they are not designed to be lived in by the same residents for that long.

The temporalities of infrastructure are often founded on their promises to create modernity, progress, and freedom (Anand et al., 2018). Infrastructure facilitates what Harvey (1989) terms the 'space-time compression' which allows for 'real-time' financial transactions across the globe as well as 'just-in-time production' where supply is closely aligned with demand. In contrast, Berlin's shelters as infrastructures reveal temporalities that are aligned with the conceptual foundations of shelters and camps as they create domestic situations that are explicitly intended to be temporary. Rather than evoking the promise of modernity, they are infrastructures which address its darker consequences of global displacement and restrictive national immigration policies. For Oesch (2019), the constantly changing materiality of camps responds to the changing conceptions of temporariness by residents and authorities, which remain fluid. In Berlin, these changing conceptions are primarily defined by their function as fluid infrastructures that are constantly redefined by the state's needs. They become more permanent as arrivals are unable to find their own accommodation, yet still provide temporary sojourns in the facilitation of arrival. As Martin (2015, p. 14) highlights in Beirut's camps, the solidity of construction through materials like cement have seemingly caused them to lose their temporary character, yet they still retain temporary elements that cause them to 'occupy a temporality between temporariness and permanency.' Even when physical architectures appear to be more permanent, such as the MUFs, they can still embody temporary existences.

This permanent state of temporariness means that refugees cannot plan their lives towards a predictable reality, a fact which Katz (2015, p. 737) suggests is its own form of inflicted violence. Similarly, Thorshaug and Brun (2019) speak of the 'temporal injustice' that is

[15] Berlin, 18/09/2019.

inherently built into the European asylum-seeking system and its accommodations, as residents have a lack of control over their own time. In Berlin, as residents remain within an institutional environment, their process of arrival is impeded as their future prospects for progressing cannot take place. This is notably different from the instability and precarity of the temporal uncertainty that awaits deportees or those who await their asylum status (Bakker et al., 2014; Griffiths, 2014). In the case where individuals have been granted asylum, temporariness is primarily imposed by the housing crisis that keeps residents within the infrastructures that are designed to host them for a short period of time. Yet the overall temporal impact is the same, where the future becomes detached from the present (Fontanari, 2015) and the present comes to exist as a period of temporary transition between two planes of meaningful existence (Ramadan, 2013, p. 73). Oesch (2019) calls the camp situation a 'lasting temporariness,' where the process of 'arrival' does not end but may continue to occur years after the initial settlement in camps to create a 'permanent arrival' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 2). In spite of upgraded architectures, Berlin's shelters become infrastructures of permanent arrival rather than providing a permanent domestic situation.

4.6 Infrastructures of ambiguity

In spite of trajectories of spatial improvements, the shelters' function as infrastructures that facilitate transition to other permanent accommodation crucially distinguishes them from 'normal' urban housing. This partially realised reality introduces an inherent ambiguity into the meanings of their architectures, structures, and internal configurations. On the one hand, improvements that grant increasing freedoms reflect genuine attempts by the state to address complex needs (Dalal et al., 2018). On the other, the channelling functions towards German visions of domesticity, their blurred boundaries of resident agency, and their structural temporariness result in spatial dynamics that make a highly contingent, conditional, and unstable domestic situation. These ambivalences embody the contradictory spatial implications that Danielak (2019) highlights in Germany's asylum policies, which are torn between the long and short term, the permanent and temporary. They reflect broader contradictions where European asylum centres act as 'spaces of controversy' between camp and city, stuck between control and assistance (Calcagno and Bologna, 2019; Szczepanikova, 2013; White, 2012).

However, it is not enough to consider such asylum accommodations as embodying the 'Janus-faced' nature of arrival infrastructure that welcomes newcomers by making the city hospitable while simultaneously rejecting, deceiving, and disappointing them in equal proportions (Felder

et al., 2020). Instead, Berlin's shelters constitute fluid infrastructural spectrums as they tend at times more towards one reality than another. Contradictions are constantly negotiated through different iterations of architectural design that are dependent on their infrastructural purposes. In mathematics, an asymptote is a line on the graph of a function which represents a value toward which the function may approach but does not reach. The development of Berlin's shelters as housing may be considered a form of architectural asymptote towards which the shelters tend but cannot reach. State planners have attempted to transform the shelters into ersatz forms of urban housing, yet they retain qualities that continue to differentiate their spatialities from the rest of the city. They are ambiguous spaces that are constantly evolving, tending towards an ideal of urban housing without ever fully reaching it.

The ambiguity inherent in the shelters' planning extends into the terminology used to identify them. For example, *Heim* in German is simultaneously associated with the more stigmatised *Jugendheim* (youth centre), *Kinderheim* (children's home), or *Altersheim* (retirement home), spaces where state care and assistance is distributed to vulnerable populations that live under restrictions. Notably Berlin's shelters are referred to as solely *Heime* without any prefix, but the term may be considered in the context of the *Flüchtlingsheim* (refugee home) or *Asylheim* (asylum home) which qualifies the notion of home along such institutional associations of care. An LAF worker suggests that 'even *Heim* conveys a certain paternalism.'[16] As Darling (2011b, p. 414) illustrates, spaces of care in refugee contexts are entangled with the assertions of state power and control, which can reproduce a vision of a marginalised and politically passive asylum seeker. *Heim* emerges as a Janus-faced term that implies both a material place for living as well as one of otherness. It signifies an institutional location that promotes the state's ability to protect, control, nurture, and discipline, until residents lose their right to live there which is determined by the state itself (Witteborn, 2011, p. 1149). The shelters are intended to increasingly evoke a normalised domestic urban architecture, but the fact that they are never referred in terms such as *Wohnung* (flat) suggests they remain in the realms of the temporary and conditional shelter. Instead, the use of institutional terms evokes inherently uneven power dynamics as the state attempts to portray the shelters in a particular light. The labels continue to suggest that residents still live within the parameters of significant state oversight.

[16] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

The entanglement of camps, shelter, and housing as forms of infrastructure call into question the conceptual boundaries that exist between all institutional spaces intended for domestic purposes. An LAF worker affirms her concerns over how liberally the term camp is used in relation to the shelters:

> 'To me, a camp is to do with coercion, force, or limitation. It is not a neutral term. I don't think it applies to civil society where life continues as normal. Does it make it a camp just because it has rules? What about old people's homes then, are they camps because they have rules- an old people's camp? If you define a camp as a communal space of living, then you are talking about all institutionalised living.'[17]

The boundaries between these structures become so ambiguous that the camp comes to bleed into any aspect of society where care is administered in an institutional domestic setting. Instead, she emphasises a qualitative difference between institutional spaces of care and the camp. This view is shared by some shelter managers, who evoke a similar differentiation as they make global comparisons with shelters elsewhere. For example, one manager refuses to consider his shelter a camp, which he associates with structures seen in Jordan such as the infamous Zaatari camp (figure 51).[18] However, he had worked in the notorious aforementioned Motardstrasse shelter (figure 19), which he considered a camp due to its poor conditions. Another manager who arrived as a refugee himself does not consider Berlin's shelters as camps, but instead as 'sites of transition.'[19] Coming from Iraq, he had witnessed camps that were located outside of the city, led by humanitarian organisations. Yet this does not mean he finds the shelters adequate, responding to whether one shelter typology was better than the others:

> 'Neither is better. It's the same shit, different place.'[20]

While the shelters may not be camps, they remain differentiated from housing where life does not continue as normal. In contrast, one shelter volunteer considers this abnormality as the foundation for her perception that the shelters are indeed camps:

> 'Children are not allowed school friends under 14 to visit without parental permission. That isn't normal. We have to not get used to living in these sorts of conditions. That's why I call them camps.'[21]

[17] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[18] Berlin, 21/08/2018.
[19] Berlin, 06/08/2018.
[20] Berlin, 06/08/2018.
[21] Berlin, 18/09/2019.

These multi-faceted and contradictory responses demonstrate a conceptual confusion over how these spaces should be considered or labelled, emphasising the blurring of boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing. As the trajectories or architectural improvement that stem from the shelters evolving roles as infrastructures continue to develop, they make it increasingly difficult to distinguish between these concepts.

Figure 51: Zaatari refugee camp, Jordan, 2014 (Source: AFP/Khalil Mazraawi)

This confusion is, however, perhaps the point of this process of spatial production that creates increasingly ambiguous structures. The initial proliferation of emergency shelters in response to the shock of arrivals revealed the inadequacies of the city's infrastructures to accommodation a large arrival population. As Graham (2010) suggests, it is only when infrastructures fail that they become visible, as those which function well disappear into the background. For Meeus et al. (2019, p. 17) the 2015 'crisis' can be considered as a 'spectacular case of infrastructural failure,' rendering highly visible an asylum infrastructure that usually works 'in the background, effectively and silently' (Walters, 2004, p. 255). The state's ill-preparedness was made visible through the spectacles of rudimentary structures that forced the city to enact a process of 'campization' in order to cope. The Tempelhof Tempohomes epitomised this public visibility, situated within Berlin's largest public park. Due to the site's historic monument protection, its plumbing and electrics had to be suspended

above ground which literally uprooted and exposed the infrastructure that served it (Parsloe, 2020a) (figures 52-53). Since then, the attempted transformation of shelters into forms of urban housing helps this infrastructure to disappear once again, receding from the highly visible spectacles and serving to normalise an infrastructure that has profound connotations in Germany due to its history. It is telling how comparatively little attention has been paid to the MUFs in scholarship and public media in contrast to the emergency shelters and containers. As the shelters become more like urban housing, they distance themselves from the associations of the camp and shelter. One manager mentions the optics of the improving shelters as 'the infrastructure looks better on paper than it actually is.'[22] The shelters are intended to at least be perceived as better, primarily by the local German population who are encouraged to believe that internal spatial conditions are adequate. Indeed, it is unlikely that many Arabic or Farsi speaking refugees will be aware of the nuances of the German *Gemeinschaft* or sense of refuge embodied in the Latin-based Refugium. As Pieper (2008, p. 528) suggests, terms such as 'asylum centre' are used to downplay the objectives of these spaces and their difficult living conditions. By doing so the shelters become increasingly normalised as they evoke characterises of housing to blend back into the city.

[22] Berlin, 08/08/2018.

Figure 52: wiring and piping raised above ground, Berlin Tempelhof, 2018

Figure 53: visible infrastructure in a public park with water and sewage piping under the raised boarding, Berlin Tempelhof, 2018

An asymptote, by its nature, tends towards the infinite. As an architectural asymptote that tends toward urban housing, so too is the production of new shelters potentially infinite. Future shelter designs such as the MUF 2.0 have been planned which provide even greater improvements such as personal washing facilities and private kitchens in flat-like modules (LAF, 2020b). These too will continue to blur the boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing but remain as infrastructures that facilitate refugee transition into other accommodation. Many shelter managers question why the state continues to mass produce institutional shelters rather than just address the issues of the housing crisis. One affirms:

> ‘Why are they not building normal flats? They put millions into this camp, but they could use that money to build something proper. Most problems would be solved. It would lead to less stress and more motivation.’[23]

Another cynically states:

[23] Berlin, 17/08/2019.

> ‘It costs more money to keep [shelters] running than if they just paid for flats. It’s not even for a home, but just a place for sleeping. The whole situation is fucked up. The plan is only to keep the economy running and make jobs for people.’[24]

The sense that the shelters are not just a waste of money but a way of propping up certain industries just to keep some German citizens employed paints them as unnecessary structures that serve purposes beyond merely providing accommodation. This somewhat conspiratorial view emerges directly from the state’s production of these ambiguous infrastructures. By planning improved shelter typologies, the state is merely mitigating architectural and spatial problems which themselves were state made. It is after all the state who established the highly regulated spaces of arrival that consisted of low-quality architecture, as it imported and deployed the camp model in the city. Dalal et al. (2018) suggest that the genuine attempt of planners to address complex needs through Tempohomes still bears ‘paternalistic’ elements, where control of everyday life is camouflaged through aestheticisation. However, it is more apt to illustrate the camouflaging of the state’s failure to moderate a system that provides affordable and adequate housing to vulnerable arrival populations. Rather than addressing the underlying issues that made the shelters necessary in the first place, it has been sucked into an endless process of infrastructural and architectural production in these conditional forms of urban housing that increasingly obscure their persistent domestic abnormalities.

4.7 Conclusion

The evolving development of Berlin’s shelters reveals the ways in which the state has attempted to increasingly transform rudimentary, temporary, and limiting structures into something that resembles the robustness and permanence of urban housing. Through their contradictory functions as infrastructure, to facilitate transition and also provide domestic space, they blur the boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing. The AHURI reports (Flanagan et al., 2019) affirm that while the case can be made that social housing is infrastructure, it is crucially not sufficient by itself for making the case *for* social housing. They promote an infrastructural approach for its policy and budgetary tools such as cost benefit analysis in order to increase supply, yet this must be coupled with strategic arguments to promote the value of social housing as something that enables the achievement of a range of social and economic aspirations. In essence, housing contains complex meanings beyond its primary infrastructural function of providing a place to live. Berlin’s shelters reveal that

[24] Berlin, 06/08/2018.

infrastructure is unable to achieve these meanings of housing when it is also calibrated to facilitate other outcomes. They remain as transitional spaces for a refugee population that channel arrival along the normative trajectories established by the state. They are monodirectional and do not provide spaces of tenant circulation where people from the city may be able to move in. The continued failure to address the underlying issues of affordable housing suggests that the state is condemned to perpetually produce shelters that resemble housing in order to provide better living conditions, yet these will continue to operate as infrastructures that remain differentiated from permanent housing. The next chapter addresses the grounded experiences of domestic living in these spaces. It considers the forms of inhabitation and urban dwelling that manifest as a fundamental part of arrival which is undermined by the architectures and spatialities of the shelters as institutional infrastructures.

5. Inhabiting infrastructure for domestic purposes

5.1 Introduction

The merging of camp and housing that develops through the evolving infrastructural functions of Berlin's shelters raises key questions: is this infrastructure able to fulfil domestic purposes for those who live there? How do shelter resident experience, perceive, categorise, and even adapt these spaces as their physical materialities change? Latham and Wood (2015) consider the ways in which infrastructure itself becomes *inhabited* as urban dwellers reinterpret existing infrastructures through use in different ways. This begins to address a significant gap in scholarship in terms of how infrastructures come to be used and evolve through time (Furlong, 2011; Graham and McFarlane, 2015). Through the lens of cyclists' use of London streets, they demonstrate how the obduracy of road infrastructure designed for motorised traffic is negotiated and adapted through their movements. This establishes new avenues of infrastructural analysis, but the focus on transport and mobility necessarily disregards how an infrastructure can also be inhabited in the context of domestic space. The ways that residents are able to create new homes within the shelters provide the opportunity to fill this gap and reveal its importance to the 'future becomings' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 7) inherent in the politics and autonomy of arrival. To consider how residents come to 'inhabit', or not, in the form of 'inhabitation-as-arrival' within infrastructural domestic spaces demonstrates how the ability to find some stability in their everyday lives is intimately linked to internal spatial configurations of infrastructure.

While notions of inhabiting infrastructure are currently underdeveloped in infrastructure studies, in refugee and camp studies there is a growing literature that conceptualises how spaces of displacement become inhabited by their users through material appropriations and everyday practices of 'homemaking' (Beeckmans et al., forthcoming; Brun and Fábos, 2015; Brun and Thorshaug, 2020; Hart et al., 2018; Long, 2013). The creation of 'home' is an active process of cultural labour that exemplifies the agency, innovation, and resilience of displaced persons (Dossa and Golubovic, 2019). Abourahme (2015) argues how material assemblages in camp spaces, such as the use of cement, breaks down the 'structure versus agency' binary. He affirms how camps bring together subjects and objects in mutually constitutive relations that makes material-lived quotidian life 'spill over' into symbolic-political meanings. This importantly challenges the usually de-politicised meanings of home, instead showing how homemaking in displacement contexts are ways of asserting agency and affirming political subjectivities as camp inhabitants erect and adapt spaces of meaning (Abourahme, 2020; Katz, forthcoming; Singh, 2020). Residents are thus able to live as distinct human beings

rather than unified subjects of control and care. In these spaces, inhabitation transpires in the form of informal material developments and objects where residents adapt their physical environmental to address their own needs or aspirations (Herz, 2012; Sanyal, 2014) and through memories and storytelling that create narratives of home (Dossa and Golubovic, 2019). These actions in turn can transform camps into connected spaces of circulation, with busy streets and their own real-estate markets which has the potential to recast its residents as productive neoliberal urban subjects, entrepreneurs, and consumers (Oesch, 2019, 2017). Inhabitation thus becomes a key factor in both the material and conceptual merging of camp, shelter, housing, and city as camp spaces are increasingly transformed into homes by their occupants.

These actions of inhabitation importantly raise the question of where the limits of such transformations lie. Architects and urban scholars have long conceptualised what it means to inhabit or 'dwell' within the city, often treating the condition as an ideal towards which to strive. Architect Charles Moore (2001, p. 1) declared dwelling as a basic human need, which is articulated through 'connecting ourselves, however temporarily, with a place on the planet which belongs to us and to which we belong.' These reciprocal relationships of belonging are embodied in Heidegger's (1971) seminal explorations of dwelling, where the act of building exists in a simultaneous means-end interrelation with dwelling. He argues that to dwell is not to simply be located within a space, but to belong there in a deeper sense of being through *Dasein* (being in the world) (Heidegger, 1962). More recently scholars have explored the meanings of dwelling and inhabiting in relation to concepts of assemblage and affect (Kraftl and Adey, 2008; McFarlane, 2011), where a sense of belonging and the performance of selfhood is anchored through relationships with materiality and objects (Jacobs and Smith, 2008). In urban space others have argued that dwelling is inextricably linked with an openness to the complexity, diversity, and contradiction that is inherent in the city (Harrison, 2007; Sennett, 2018; Simone, 2016). If refugee shelters are inhabited infrastructures, to what extent do they fulfil these profound meanings of dwelling that are possible in the city?

This chapter explores the everyday possibilities of inhabiting a form of infrastructure in a domestic sense from the perspectives of its occupants to reveal how they categorise the shelter environment and are able to dwell in a space that tends towards an ideal of urban housing. To do so section 5.2 reveals that residents first highlight improving domestic conditions and greater agency before section 5.3 notes the limits of these improvements. Section 5.4 then examines the relational ways that residents perceive their domestic situation

before section 5.5 emphasises the inherent ambiguity of inhabited shelter spaces that limits the possibilities of resident dwelling.

5.2 Infrastructures of domestic agency

The transformation of Berlin's shelters into new forms of urban housing allows for substantive architectural improvements and greater domestic agency, in the sense of being able to exert power and act, that enable residents to better inhabit these infrastructural spaces. The inhabitation that Latham and Wood (2015) highlight importantly transpires when people find space within infrastructures that were designed for different purposes or with exclusion in mind. The users reinvent and reimagine these infrastructures by partially subverting their original purpose, such as cyclists deviating from the prescribed flow of traffic. In contrast, Berlin's shelters are infrastructures that are intended to be, at least partially, inhabited through their provision of housing until residents can move out. They supposedly encourage the creation of a home of sorts in which displaced people can exercise domestic agency. Brun and Fabós (2015, 2017) create a triadic conceptual framework for understanding the 'constellations of home' through homemaking for refugees in limbo. This consists of 'home,' created through everyday practices that establish a particular kind of place; 'Home,' which consist of values, traditions, and memories that create an ideal of home to which refugees aspire, and 'HOME' which concerns the broader political and historical context in which home is understood. While they note how these understandings are analytically difficult to separate, these modalities mutually influence each other in different ways and are given different weight within diverse contexts. This section explores how the evolving spectrum of shelters facilitates these 'constellations' for residents in their inhabitation of infrastructure.

The rudimentary emergency shelters built in 2015 provided the most disabling living conditions for residents. Experiences of these spaces left strong impressions, as Okot notes of his time in Tempelhof's hangars:

> 'That was really more than hell- a freak. There was no roof, there were 20 people in one place. I was only there for one night, but I was praising God I didn't have to stay there longer.'[1]

Nazar spent two years living in these conditions:

[1] Berlin, 15/07/2019.

> ‘Tempelhof was really bad. There were so many people there, old and young, all together. The room had no ceiling. We couldn’t sleep, we couldn’t cook. The queue for food was so long, sometimes one hour. Something (bad) was always happening there.’[2]

The open-top cubicles meant sound and light in the cavernous hangars constantly disturbed residents, who were also exposed to pigeon droppings from above. The former airport was so notorious among refugees throughout Berlin that when a nearby emergency shelter closed and the residents were to be moved to the hangars they instead camped out on the street in protest declaring ‘we would rather sleep on the street than go to Tempelhof’ (Wimalasena, 2016). Such negative experiences were not unique to Tempelhof. Almas highlights the conditions in another iconic emergency shelter situated in a convention centre (figures 54-55):

> ‘That was a camp: everything was together, cooking and showering. Here I get to be alone. I can cook for myself and the shower is better. Of course it is better here.’[3]

The emergency shelters were experienced as spaces of significant regulation and low standards of living where residents could not cook for themselves or host guests. Small realignments of domestic space did, however, develop to certain extents. For example, residents would move furniture or erect sheets to confer some sense of privacy (figure 56). At one point in Tempelhof, political and cultural appropriations occurred through graffiti markings on the wall panels (Parsloe, 2017) (figure 57). Nevertheless, the daily routines and incorporations of social connections that constitute ‘home’ were severely limited in their development within highly disempowering spaces with low standards of living.

[2] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[3] Berlin, 19/09/2019.

Figure 54: interior of the former International Convention Centre (ICC) converted into an emergency shelter, Berlin Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf (source: AIA/Mark Breeze)

Figure 55: the striking spaceship-like exterior of the ICC, Berlin Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf (source: Wikimedia Commons)

Figure 56: small domestic realignments by moving furniture and using bedsheets, Berlin Tempelhof, 2016 (source: VICE/Grey Hutton)

Figure 57: graffiti on shelter cubicle wall panels, Berlin Tempelhof, 2016

The transition to community shelters from 2016 onwards marked a significant moment in shelter policy which granted greater resident agency over their domestic space while living in structures of greater permanence and construction quality. Gwen speaks of these benefits:

> 'Before I was living in a camp. This is not a camp, this is a *Wohnheim*. You can go out any time you want, you can sleep, you can have visitors, you can cook your food. There you couldn't. There they would come and check your room often.'[4]

Her comments highlight key new freedoms noted by many residents: the ability to come and go as they please; control over food preparation; the opportunity to host guests, and comparatively less oversight by shelter authorities. Okot, who lives in a MUF, similarly compares these freedoms to the emergency shelters:

> 'I would say this isn't a camp. This is a *Heim*. First, the amount of money is higher, and they are not supporting meals. You prepare your own meals. The camp is the first station, and people will be under psychological pressure. The whole environment is different. There are rules for everything, you get food and you have to sign in.'[5]

The idea that the camp is the 'first station' emphasises its infrastructural function as a space part of a broader network or process through which people are moved. Even though certain restrictions still apply in the community shelters, there is a substantive improvement in resident experience. The long-term shelters confer a greater degree of control and agency that helps people to overcome feelings of intrusive state control, a pressured environment, and financial dependence.

Greater agency over everyday practices is importantly linked to the architectural developments of the shelters that facilitate such practices. For example, the provision of kitchens crucially allows residents to cook for themselves. Conversely, the emergency shelters had canteens with set menus at regulated times that could not cater for an ethnically and culturally diverse population, making food a particularly contentious grievance (Hall, 2015; Young, 2020). Nazar emphasises cooking and the lengths he went to in the emergency shelter to be able to exert some control over his subsistence:

> 'Tempelhof was a camp. During Ramadan we cooked in our room even though we weren't allowed. We held a blanket over it so the security couldn't see. A camp is

[4] Berlin, 07/08/2019.
[5] Berlin, 15/07/2019.

> where people can't cook. There were 12 people in a room. Here in this *Heim* you can cook, and there are two people in a room. We can do a lot here.'[6]

The lack of facilities led them to break shelter regulation, using available materials to not only undertake a basic domestic activity but enact a deeper cultural expression during a highly important period in the Islamic calendar. In the new community shelters such surreptitious acts are no longer necessary. Kitchens enable an everyday practice of 'home' that is able to articulate deeper cultural values and religious traditions associated with 'Home.' Through this Berlin's shelters no longer act as minimal physical protection of a 'bare shelter' (Katz, forthcoming) but begin to provide a context in which cultural ideals for future homes and diverse domestic subjectivities can develop through domestic practices.

This greater scope to create 'Home' highlights the inherent political nature of homemaking in displacement contexts, as the provision and consumption of food is itself entwined with political acts (Usborne, 2013). The nutritional management of refugees through humanitarian organisations is considered as an act of bio-power based on top down control (Foucault, 1977; Scott-Smith, 2015, 2013). In contrast, the kitchens in the community shelters enable processes of cultural and physical resilience evident in other camp spaces, such as the mud ovens constructed by Moroccan women in transit camps to bake their traditional bread (Katz, 2017c, p. 70). Although the ways in which cooking is done in displacement spaces may be different from the technologies and cultures to which refugees might be accustomed (Barbieri et al., 2017), greater control over their diet provides them with greater agency over a vital everyday experience. Indeed, Hannah asserts the importance of controlling her nutrition:

> 'African food is very strong. I often buy this smelly chicken, which has a very strong flavour. This food is very expensive to buy, but there are so many chemicals in other food here which I don't want.'[7]

Furthermore, access to a kitchen space also enables residents to display their own hospitality to guests through refreshments. The provision of hospitality is identified as highly important in Arab culture and the reception of displaced fellow Arabs within the Middle East (Mason, 2011, p. 356). Spaces that allow refugees to perform hospitality are fundamental in recreating notions of home by subverting the hierarchy of 'guest' and 'host' as refugees become hosts themselves (Hart et al., 2018; Vandevoordt, 2017). During interviews many residents, including non-Arabs, generously offered tea, shisha, or whatever small acts of hospitality they

[6] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[7] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

could. The kitchens provide a space to establish cultural familiarity and control over nutrition while opening a new social realm of possibility that crucially allows refugee subjectivities and political agency to develop through inhabitation (Katz, forthcoming; Singh, 2020).

While all community shelters theoretically provide the same basic facilities of kitchens, social areas, and more private space, the existence of a diverse spectrum of architectural typologies influences the specific manifestations of the everyday practices of 'home' and therefore necessarily their ability to articulate the ideals of 'Home.' This intimate relationship between architecture and practice is particularly evident through various material appropriations by residents. Realignments of domestic space at various scales are evident across all typologies, yet the plan of the Tempohomes that resemble suburban streetscapes with singular unit dwellings provides greater potential for more comprehensive urban appropriations. While containers have been criticised elsewhere for their resistance to any stamp of individuality by residents (Katz and Gueguen-Teil, 2018), in Berlin they offer opportunities for a personal garden space as well as a veranda-like terrace for outdoor furniture, similar to a suburban dwelling. This evokes a key urbanist debate from the mid twentieth century surrounding studies on dwelling within the detached house (*pavillon*) and collective estates (*grands ensembles*) (Stanek, 2011). For Lefebvre (1966), the *pavillon* provided expanded possibilities of appropriation in contrast to the inflexible estate, leading to its greater popularity among the public. It provided the ability to socialise individual space while also individualising social space. Indeed, the greater private sphere offered by the Tempohomes in comparison to the dormitory shelter typologies offers more scope for material appropriation, which have been documented in a Berlin university research project (Dalal et al., 2021, 2018; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020). Through these acts, residents capitalise on the expanded freedoms and possibilities granted by the state to introduce a certain urban and domestic messiness into the internal configurations of the shelter.

An especially common appropriation in Tempohomes is the cultivation of personal gardens. In one Tempohome, residents significantly transformed their 'street' by growing luscious greenery, so much so that it became informally referred to as the *Blumenstrasse* (flower street) (figures 58-59). The nurturing of personal gardens has a strong cultural tradition in Germany, from allotments for the 19th century working class (Nilsen and Barnes, 2014) to contemporary urban garden projects (Winkler et al., 2019). Research into refugee experiences and cultivation of gardens demonstrates the importance of memory and nostalgia as newcomers use gardening and plants to evoke landscapes of their places of origin (Liempt and Miellet,

2020; Strunk and Richardson, 2019). This builds the foundations for new 'Home' lives while also creating opportunities to interact with neighbours where minor acts of sociality can become significant moments of connection. Saba, who lives on the *Blummenstrasse*, affirms that the entire 'street' has become mutually inspired through a friendly competition over the best garden space, creating social bonds in the process.[8] On the one hand, such appropriations importantly do not exist to the same extent that scholars note elsewhere, especially the Global South, where comprehensive alterations and informalities can radically transform the camp's spatial configurations (Dalal, 2015; Herz, 2012; Sanyal, 2014). In Berlin's shelters, appropriations exist more as small realignments rather than fundamental changes. Nevertheless, on the other hand these shelters still provide the opportunity to resist the Agambian reduction to bare life within camp spaces through strategies of dwelling (Agier, 2014; Katz, 2017a; Ramadan, 2013, p. 67). They give greater scope for domestic realignment and agency to provide personal spaces of belonging.

Figure 58: the *Blumenstrasse* in a Tempohome, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

[8] Berlin, 17/08/2018.

Figure 59: growing vegetables and pot plants on the *Blumenstrasse*, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

Despite this possibility for greater inhabitation through acts of appropriation, the containers still cause grievances for the residents. The lack of thermoregulation is a particular problem in container shelters throughout the city (Parsloe, 2020a). Girma affirms:

> 'It's so hot in the summer and too cold in the winter.'[9]

During the August 2018 heatwave, for example, temperatures reached over 40 degrees Celsius in the containers (Fritzsche, 2018). Abbas similarly highlights the extremity of the heat and its impacts:

> 'In the summer the containers were like a sauna. You can't sleep. I was on the top floor (of a container village) where it was the worst.'[10]

[9] Berlin, 18/09/2019.
[10] Berlin, 20/07/2019.

The lack of thermoregulation forces residents to take somewhat extreme measures to cope in the heat, as Yusuf laments:

> 'I've seen people sleeping outside once or twice in the summer because the room is too hot.'[11]

The containers, therefore, become spaces in which residents struggle to be physically present at times, let alone inhabit. Some residents in Tempohomes attempt to mitigate this issue by purchasing portable air conditioning units and create small vents out of cardboard in their windows to properly seal their rooms (figure 60). This creative construction adapts available materials to create greater comfort. However, the majority of residents end up languishing in the heat and have to avoid their containers in the daytime.

Figure 60: creative cardboard interventions for air conditioning units, Berlin Tempelhof, 2018

[11] Berlin, 13/08/2019.

The container's inherent physical qualities also impact refugee inhabitation through their dimensions and size (figure 61). Sayyid notes:

> 'Currently we have five people in one room. My wife and our three children. My children need their own room to learn. They can't do that in one tiny room. It's so difficult, but I have to stay.'[12]

Ahmad highlights how this impacts his ability to learn:

> 'There are five people in two rooms, it's too small. I can't learn in this environment; I can't do my studying. There is no privacy, and my family is always around.'[13]

The sizing is based on the International Organisation for Standardization dimensions of the 20 ft container, with external dimensions of a length of 5.9 metres, a width of 2.3 metres, and a height of 2.6 metres. The structures have underpinned the revolution of global transnational mobility and economic globalisation since the 1960s (Harvey, 2010a), designed explicitly to move cargo as efficiently as possible rather than house individuals. Okot laments both their size and proportions:

> 'Tempelhof really was a very bad place. The houses there are caravans, they are very small. They are very narrow and long. It was just like hell, being so close to a stranger.'[14]

The oblong dimensions exacerbate the feeling of a restricted space, as does the furniture which leaves only 7m² of space in a bedroom in which to move (Dalal et al., 2021, p. 286) (figure 62). The container's unsuitability for human inhabitation extends into its potential to be stacked. While this is useful in global logistics, when applied to a residential context as in the *Containerdorf* it causes issues as Nazar highlights:

> 'When people walk along the corridors it makes your bed shake up and down and it wakes you up.'[15]

The containers are not solid constructions, causing links between them to allow movement to reverberate through into other rooms. Residents also complain of being able to hear everything going on in nearby rooms due to the thin walls. Although the containers are improvements on the emergency shelters, they pose significant challenges for domestic spaces. These insights reinforce the scholarly criticisms of using containers to house displaced individuals elsewhere, including their inability to foster social interaction and the

[12] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[13] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[14] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[15] Berlin, 14/08/2019.

inhuman conditions they offer (Baumann, 2020; Katz and Gueguen-Teil, 2018). It is the embedded structural shortcomings of containers that limit possibilities of inhabitation through poor insultation, inappropriate dimensions, and material instability.

Figure 61: the basic setup of a Tempohome bedroom, Berlin Tempelhof, 2018

Figure 62: conditions become even more cramped once a Tempohome is inhabited, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

The transition from containers to the prefabricated MUFs signifies a substantial improvement in architectural quality for residents, both in terms of literal construction tectonics as well as more generous spatial proportions. The containers provide better interior conditions than the emergency shelters, but the MUFs are considered the best option (figure 63). As Yusuf suggests:

> 'This [container shelter] is a camp as well because people are not comfortable. *Lindenberger Weg* [a MUF] is not a camp. The rooms are much bigger and its very beautiful there.'[16]

He displays a hint of envy towards those living in the MUFs due to their larger rooms and greater aesthetic value. Sayyid is similarly jealous and emphasises the importance of a supposedly 'real' building:

[16] Berlin, 13/08/2019.

> ‘I would like to move into a MUF because it is a real building. A container is not a real building.’[17]

Those who live within the MUF echo this opinion from the reverse perspective, as they look upon the containers and acknowledge that the MUF offers better conditions. Hannah affirms:

> ‘There are people staying in the containers, and that’s much worse. It doesn’t matter that here is grey; this *Heim*, to be honest, is beautiful.’[18]

Chakir similarly reflects on his favourable position inside a MUF in comparison to previous shelters:

> ‘This is my third *Heim*. The others weren’t good at all; they weren’t clean. Here it is a beautiful *Heim*.’[19]

These favourable comparisons of MUFs to other typologies are notably founded in the physical and material qualities of its architecture. In contrast, the containers are perceived favourably because of the greater domestic freedoms they provide. The MUFs build upon these benefits by crystallising them in a more solid architectural form.

[17] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[18] Berlin, 01/08/2019.
[19] Berlin, 04/08/2019.

Figure 63: the comparatively better conditions of a MUF bedroom, Berlin Buch, 2019

The solidity of this construction importantly promotes a greater sense of permanence. Okot compares his previous experience in a Tempohome before moving into a MUF:

> 'But it felt very temporary. I knew when I arrived that everything would be removed. Here it is four storeys and is very well-designed.'[20]

The removability of the containers embodies an inherent temporariness, whereas the MUF is experienced as more permanent. The question of temporality is, however, complex. For example, Abbas also affirms how temporality plays an important role in his perception that his container shelter constitutes a form of home:

> 'I wouldn't call it a camp. I'd call it a home. I want to feel at home there. I want my freedom; I want to do what I want. Some people live five to ten years in a shelter, it is a home.'[21]

[20] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[21] Berlin, 20/07/2019.

Even the containers can confer a sense of permanence to its residents that reflects the stability and rootedness of home. Nevertheless, here temporality is defined by the time spent within the shelter, rather than the physical structure. For Abbas, home becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy that transpires through his own determination to consider it so in spite of the physical enclosure; the longer people live there, the more it earns the right to be called a home. In contrast, for the residents in the MUFs a greater permanence is conferred through their formal construction.

Overall, resident perspectives reflect the increasing permanence, stability, and rootedness that manifest through the developing spectrum of shelters that increasingly embody the qualities associated with home and housing (Blunt, 2005; Dupuis and Thorns, 1998; Mallett, 2004) and away from the control of the European detention and asylum centres (Campesi, 2015; Darling, 2011a; Szczepanikova, 2013). While Power and Mee (2020) consider housing as an 'infrastructure of care,' Berlin's shelters affirm housing especially as an infrastructure of domestic agency. Greater agency over everyday domestic practices of 'home' crucially allows residents to foster the deeper traditions, values, and ideals of 'Home' (Brun and Fábos, 2015). These deepening relationships develop in tandem with architectural transformations, as resident insights reveal the reality that the same legal and regulatory order that underpins all long-term shelters can result in different qualitative domestic experiences depending on the typology of accommodation. Dalal et al. (2018) criticise the Tempohomes for camouflaging state control over everyday life through aestheticisation. Yet to consider control of everyday life to be merely camouflaged crucially omits the genuine relinquishment of certain aspects of control by the state as the shelters allow greater potential for inhabitation. Just as Abourahme (2015) challenges the structure versus agency binary in camp spaces, where the former is always cast as a negative restraining effect on human action, the inhabitation of Berlin's shelters demonstrates how their 'material-lived' dimensions also 'spill over' into the symbolic-political meanings of housing. More permanent materialities and greater domestic agency clearly do matter to residents in their everyday lives and must not be ignored. However, just as the state's transformation of shelters into forms of urban housing has its limits, so too does the ability for residents to inhabit these infrastructural spaces, which will be discussed next.

5.3 The limits of inhabitation

Despite the acknowledgement of substantive improvements that enable the shelters to become more liveable, residents also highlight the limitations and caveats to their freedoms as a result of the shelter spaces. Recapitulating Katz's (2017b) notion of the 'global

infrastructure of camps,' the camp as a form of infrastructure facilitates transition while also suspending or separating particular individuals from society. It thereby fundamentally contradicts logics that seek to establish inhabitable domestic space. This raises the question of how resident experiences of Berlin's shelters evoke these qualities of the camp as infrastructure which shape possibilities for inhabitation. Agier (2014) establishes his own triadic analytical model that consists of extraterritoriality, exception, and exclusion that provides a useful conceptual framework to understand overarching characteristics of camp spaces. Although he stresses that these features are not felt the same by all camp residents, they still must confront these constraints. To explore the limits of inhabitation, this section considers how this triad of the camp experience intermingles with the triadic 'constellations of home' that are achieved in displacement settings (Brun and Fábos, 2015). To do so reveals the extent to which the shelters' functioning as part of a camp infrastructure that facilitates transition inhibits the ability to dwell and creates abnormal domestic spaces of exclusion, exception, and incarceration.

First, residents feel excluded from the rest of society and consider themselves unwanted by the city. As Yusuf affirms:

> 'A camp is when they don't have space for you, so they put you in a camp.'[22]

By 'they' he alludes to both German society and the city itself, which has not developed infrastructure to include them in its status quo. Instead, the shelter embodies the camp as a site for 'undesirable populations' (Agier, 2011; Picker and Pasquetti, 2015), a collection of people whom the city does not appear to want. In this sense, residency in the camp results as a lack of any other option; it is not a choice. Indeed, as Gwen affirms:

> 'Here isn't good, but we don't have a choice.'[23]

While residents are not technically forced to live there, they remain because they have no other option due to Berlin's competitive housing market that fails to provide them with affordable and accessible places to live.

Intermeshed with resident exclusion, a sense of exception is also embedded in their everyday lives. In particular residents lament the shared facilities that restrict their domestic autonomy. As Sayyid suggests:

[22] Berlin, 13/08/2019.
[23] Berlin, 07/08/2019.

> ‘Yes, this is a camp. There is one toilet for 100 people, you share a kitchen and a shower.’[24]

Hannah echoes this:

> ‘Here is a camp because you’re sharing toilets and a kitchen. It is not a private space.’[25]

Despite living in improved structures, the lack of personal facilities undermines any ability to be in control of their domestic spaces. The reality of shared space is also evident in the furniture, where residents have their personal fridges within their rooms rather than in the kitchens. These serve as constant reminders that they live in shared facilities rather than placing appliances where they are perhaps more convenient (figure 64). The shared nature of the shelters creates a general lack of a private sphere. Families are able to have their own rooms, but single men and women often have to share with strangers. While they may only be sharing a room with one other person, they are not able to choose who this is.

Shared facilities and a lack of private sphere extend into a broader perception of difficult, cramped, and impersonal living conditions. Girma notes the diversity of the shelter population and the levels of noise that certain groups make:

> ‘It’s shit to live here. There’s no peace and quiet. There are so many refugees from different places, Arabs, Serbs, everywhere, and they’re always so loud. I have to work, but it’s so loud I can’t sleep. The kids are playing right in front of the door.’[26]

The intensity of activity within the confined space adversely influences his efforts to progress and transition to living in housing in the city. Tensions develop not just between different cultural groups, but also between those who are attempting to navigate the state-organised sorting mechanisms and processes of arrival. Habib also notes the noise issue:

> ‘I was always asking people to be quiet because they are so loud, and I have to go to school the next day. Playing music, talking. But they say: you are not the boss, you can’t tell us what to do.’[27]

The frenetic shelter environment is not conducive to concentration. For people determined to progress with their future plans, it is particularly distressing. While the social spaces are

[24] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[25] Berlin, 01/08/2019.
[26] Berlin, 18/09/2019.
[27] Berlin, 16/09/2019.

undeniably important sites of social interaction and community formation, they are too compacted as the activities they host adversely impact many others who are in close proximity (figure 65). Residents who use the spaces also criticise them, as Kardaar affirms:

> ‘I have two sons who want to play football here, but it isn’t big enough. Everyone needs more space for sport.’[28]

In reality the social spaces are quite limited. They are not large enough for the people who want to use them and also aggravate those who want to be separated from them to create a more peaceful domestic environment in which they are able to progress with their trajectories of arrival.

Figure 64: fridge placed in a MUF bedroom rather than the kitchen, Berlin Buch, 2018

[28] Berlin, 12/09/2019.

Figure 65: social spaces and playground adjacent to living blocks in a MUF, Berlin Buch, 2018

On the one hand, complaints about noise and cramped conditions are not necessarily exceptional to the shelters. Cities can be noisy, confining, and difficult spaces in which to live, and shared facilities are common in buildings such as student housing or house shares. On the other hand, there is a particularity to the way the experiences of shared facilities transpire within the shelters. First, the population is specific as it is defined by a shared pursuit of asylum and a lack of German citizens. Second, the shelters were permitted through article 246b of the federal building code (BMJV, 2014), which was brought in specifically to temporarily allow exemptions to residential planning norms. Their legal foundation thereby derives from a fundamental state of exception. Finally, even though the shelters are also subjected to the same buildings codes as 'normal' apartments, the way this transpires differs. For example, the designs are dictated by building codes specified by the LAF, where each person is granted 10m² in an individual room or 15m² for two in a shared room, with 6m² extra per child under 6 years old. Although the codes exist in relation to the federal *Wohnflächenverordnung* (living space regulation) (BMJV, 2003), in reality they are mediated through the LAF, a separate entity, which places its own limits on the design. Indeed, in Germany 10m² is the minimum

floor space required for a room to be considered a full room, otherwise it becomes a 'half room.' The shelter spaces are consistently designed around absolute bare minimums of private space afforded by the building regulations, contributing towards the comparative feeling of cramped conditions.

The sense of exception in the architecture is accompanied by experiences of exception in everyday domestic practices. Residents particularly highlight the *Hausordnung* (House Rules) which define what is and is not permitted. As Ahmad affirms:

> 'Yes, this is a camp. There are many people together and lots of rules. I can't listen to loud music. It's not like being at home. At home you can do what you want. Here you cannot. My friends can't stay. I stay at theirs, but they can't stay at mine.'[29]

Similarly, Rebin laments his inability to do what he wants:

> 'It's annoying that I'm not allowed to smoke in my room. I have to come to the smoking area, going up and down the stairs all the time.'[30]

Hausordnung are commonly found in German flat complexes, emphasising the aforementioned notions of *Ordnung* as a core cultural value (Baur, 2020; Cramer, 2015). The fact that there are rules does not by itself suggest that Berlin's shelters are overly restrictive and disempowering spaces in comparison to other housing stock in the city. Instead, it is the specificities and exceptional nature of these rules that differentiate everyday life in the shelter from other urban areas. Ajmal notes their abnormality:

> 'This is a camp. I can't have visitors, there are security and police, and I have to show ID. It is not like in a flat.'[31]

The extent of the shelter rules imposes a particular way of living that differentiates it from other domestic spaces. The shelters thus remain institutionalised spaces with exceptional rules.

The limits on everyday practices imposed by restrictions reveal the domestic freedoms that constitute 'home' to be conditional. On the one hand, the ability to provide some levels of hospitality through features like kitchens and allowing guests provide the residents with greater domestic autonomy. On the other hand, the fact that this hospitality is not able to be unconditional continues to differentiate life in the shelter from the rest of the city. This is most

[29] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[30] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[31] Berlin, 09/08/2018.

apparent in the 10pm curfew when all visitors must leave the shelter (figure 66). As Hussain highlights:

> ‘One of the worst things about here is the guest policy. It is annoying as it can take 20 minutes to book them in, there is often a long queue and they need to be out by 10pm.’[32]

The entire process of booking in a guest is burdensome and reminds residents of the abnormality of their situation. During a research visit a wedding celebration for two Afghani residents was taking place in a shelter. A resident who was not part of the celebrations was denied guest passes from the shelter security as the wedding guests had used them all. The potential to have guests thus remains a finite and regulated privilege. Furthermore, although kitchens offer the potential for providing hospitality to others, other factors negate this as Ahmad notes:

> ‘Our guests have to leave at 10pm, but that’s when we usually eat. In our culture we eat late, so we can’t have guests around for dinner.’[33]

The 10pm curfew does not take into consideration such cultural differences. Instead, the imposition of German cultural norms limits the practices that help recreate cultural familiarity and the ideals associated with ‘Home.’ These rules actively hinder the process and act as deterrents to inviting guests. For example, Yusuf always visits his fiancé in her accommodation rather than invites her to the shelter:

> ‘I tell her that she shouldn’t come here because there’s no room.’[34]

The ability for refugees to extend unconditional hospitality remains limited, which weakens the potential for their domestic space to help develop social connections with people in the city. They have limited autonomy over who is able to enter their private environments and when.

[32] Berlin, 27/07/2018.
[33] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[34] Berlin, 13/08/2019.

Figure 66: rules for visitors at the entrance to a container village, Berlin Buch, 2019

These feelings culminate in the sense that living in the shelters makes a 'normal' life impossible in the long term. Esmatullah is unable to see a positive future within the shelter itself:

> 'I don't want to make my life here. All the people are here, but they can't say why. None of us want to make our lives here. They are looking for flats but there are none. A camp is a place where life doesn't continue.'[35]

Ahmad frames his reality along the lines of obtaining a 'real' life:

> 'In these places you can't lead a real life. A real life is when you have a flat, a good job, a car.'[36]

The inability for the shelter to emancipate its residents from restrictions which are not normally applied to other urban dwellings means the freedoms they confer remain conditional. Exclusion and exception exist in more subtle forms than in camps that are intentionally designed to permanently separate their populations. In Berlin these conditions manifest through restrictions that create domestic abnormalities. Rather than the home acting as a 'means to end,' with the end defined as a form of self-fulfilment (Clapham, 2005), lives are instead put on hold.

Not only does this institutional form of living evade a sense of normality, but it also shapes the success or failure of residents to create a normal life in the future. Hannah shows concern for what she considers an infantilisation process caused by shelter life:

> 'If they didn't clean it (professionally), it would be better for people if they could be paid and clean it themselves. People don't turn off the gas, they feel like they can waste it because the government is paying. If they let people manage themselves, that would be better, and it would be cheaper for them also. People are sitting here for one year doing nothing. It makes you lazy. The government needs to do something so that we are not just eating and sleeping.'[37]

She perceives the abnormal lives led in shelters to be actively damaging the residents' potential to live independent lives in the city long-term. As a new arrival she feels an obligation to work and aims to not be on welfare in the long-term, but the configurations of shelter life do not incentivise this process. Some shelters notably have programmes that employ residents

[35] Berlin, 04/09/2019.
[36] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[37] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

as full time cleaners, while a governmental programme is available where residents get paid 80 cents an hour to undertake work in the shelter such as through administering the laundry facilities (BMAS, 2018). Nevertheless, the shelters generally place residents in an institutional environment that unburdens them of certain domestic responsibilities. Scholars note the way refugees can be treated in the host country 'like a baby' and be subjected to a public discourse of infantilisation that subordinates them to policies which undermine their basic human rights (Avramidis and Minotakis, 2017; Harrell-Bond, 2002, p. 60). This supports the narratives of 'refugees as victims' rather than independent and capable political subjects (Crawley et al., 2016; Darling, 2013). In Berlin's case, the symbolic 'promise of infrastructure' (Anand et al., 2018; Larkin, 2018, 2013) rests in state intentions to create independent and productive German citizens and incorporate them into existing society. Yet the shelters end up undermining this process through its regulatory system that can cause residents to become dependent on support services while they are unable to move into a flat.

The rules that govern the everyday lives of residents demonstrate how elements of state control linger in spite of the intentional provisions of greater domestic freedoms in the shelters. These restrictions cause residents to feel continually monitored and regulated, as Esmatullah notes:

> 'It is a camp here. A camp is a place that is policed. You don't know what is going on. Without a card you can't leave.'[38]

The need to scan cards every time they leave or enter the shelter is a common grievance. Some residents even make provocative comparisons between the shelters and prison environments, such as Ahmad:

> 'It's like a prison. You need to scan in and out. Sometimes you can't find your card, and you have to tell the security and they get annoyed at you.'[39]

The card scanning allows the state to partially monitor the movements of refugees and provide evidence of whether they are following their obligation to reside (*Residenzpflicht*) in Berlin. Through this the state can reassess their entitlement to access support. This can be a point of everyday tension between residents and the security guards who are employed to enact the state surveillance. Abdel expands on the prison metaphor:

[38] Berlin, 04/09/2019.
[39] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

> ‘It was like a prison-you live in a small room. The security could open your door whenever they wanted. When you spend a long time there, you are purposeless. You have no personal time. You are only a number. You are illegal. Yes, these are camps here.’[40]

The camp when perceived as a prison is a space of depersonalisation where individuals become mere figures whose primary purpose is to be subjected to the bureaucratic processes of the state. Abdel feels no other objective to guide his life or propel him forward, as he considers his situation as an undeserved punishment.

These evocative prison comparisons evoke notions of carceral geographies, where scholars identify strategies of social control and coercion as key features of the modern age (Foucault, 1977; Moran et al., 2018). As Deleuze (1992, pp. 3–4) famously asserted, society has moved on from the early 20th century Foucauldian ‘disciplinary societies’ which were organised through ‘vast spaces of enclosure’ such as the school, barrack, and prison. Instead, in the latter half of the 21st century new ‘societies of control’ have emerged which are ‘free-floating’ and less bounded, both temporally and spatially, as the most repressive aspects of modern institutions were reformed. Indeed, it is this seeping of control and increasing surveillance into wider society that underpins Agamben’s (1998, 1997) notions of the camp. Yet refugee experiences of Berlin’s shelters as prisons partially resurrect the notion of a spatially bounded disciplinary institution, albeit within the broader context of deepening technological surveillance. In fact, digital surveillance plays an important role in defining the space of enclosure through the scanning of cards on entry and exit. The digital infrastructures that have been leveraged for surveillance and control of refugee movement throughout Europe (Broeders, 2007; Jacobsen, 2017; Latonero and Kift, 2018) are also used on an everyday urban level to demarcate such spatial boundaries between shelter and city. These constitute the ‘regulatory infrastructures’ that are part of migrant infrastructures where the state engages a diverse range of actors and technologies to control migrants (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014). Through this the shelters reveal the relevance of scholarship that explores carceral elements through the confinement of refugees, especially in relation to detention centres that are designed primarily to expel individuals from a certain territory (Conlon et al., 2013; Felder et al., 2014; Mountz et al., 2012). Indeed, all of Berlin’s shelters remain enclosed structures surrounded by a combination of gates, fences, barriers, and securitised entrances (figures 67-68). They evoke elements of Diken’s (2005, 2004, p. 92) critique that refugee camps are the ‘perfect materialisations of a “fear of touching” made obvious by their very architectural

[40] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

design.' Rather than an infrastructure of autonomous arrival or domestic space, the shelters are reframed as an infrastructure of incarceration that physically detains residents within a space of monitored enclosure.

Figure 67: securitised entrance to a Tempohome, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

Figure 68: securitised entrance in a MUF, Berlin Buch, 2019

These everyday lived experiences demonstrate the limits of inhabiting the shelters as an infrastructure intended to create domestic space. The inhabitation that Latham and Wood (2015) highlight transpires through the novel elements which are added to an established infrastructural configuration, where small-scale, localised, or incremental processes subtly alter or transform the configuration. Although she doesn't refer to it as inhabitation, Von Schnitzler's (2013) work on the way in which residents in South African townships bypass prepaid meters, enabling them to illicitly access electricity and water, similarly affirms adaptation of infrastructures through primarily subversive means. Amin (2014) considers such acts in terms of adjustments, improvisations, and co-constructions of physical infrastructure by the urban poor, which seek to address needs not met by the state due to uneven resource distribution. This resonates with the literature of homemaking within situations if displacement, where inhabitation often occurs in contravention or subversion of initial logics that established the shelter (Brun and Fábos, 2015; Herz, 2012; Singh, 2020). In Berlin's shelters, inhabitation is importantly embedded within the initial state intentions of the infrastructure. Their partial inhabitation thereby mostly transpires within boundaries set by state intentions which allows

certain domestic practices while prohibiting others. The shelters are designed to be conditional, providing communal, institutional, and de-personalised domestic spaces where freedoms are contingent. Residents can cook but they must share the kitchen; they can provide hospitality to their guests, but their guests must leave before 10pm; some can have overnight guests, but they must be registered in advance and only stay for a set period of time. Shelter life becomes more domestic, but it remains exceptional and mostly within the boundaries of state oversight.

These limitations of inhabitation and dwelling notably undermine the ability for the shelters to have the same positive transformative effects that are noted in other arrival infrastructures. For example, the Refugio project in Berlin is a cooperative share house where refugees live alongside local Germans and also operate a public cafe (Baban and Rygiel, 2017; Kreichauf et al., 2020) (figures 69-70). Similarly, the Grandhotel Cosmopolis project in Augsburg accommodates refugees as well as local artists, musicians, and travellers, providing familiarisation and contact with the city (Zill et al., 2020). Other European collaborative housing projects experiment with collective self-organisation among citizens and newcomers to facilitate integration through social connections (Czischke and Huisman, 2018; Mahieu and Van Caudenberg, 2020). Unlike the shelters, other forms of urban life permeate these spaces as they host NGO projects, public cafés, and artistic spaces that act as both a cultural hub for migrants while also becoming a destination for locals and visitors. In these decentralised accommodations refugees are accommodated in homes that provide them with greater empowerment, independence, and well-being while reducing conflict with local citizens (Hauge et al., 2017; Thorshaug, 2019; Werner et al., 2018). This is not to say such projects do not contain their own issues of exclusion, housing availability, and top-down governance structures, but that they achieve comparatively greater possibilities for inhabitation through more mixed and open spatial configurations and programmes. This contributes towards a transformative power that is defined to a greater extent by residents themselves and local communities rather than the state. Dalal et al.'s (2018, p. 76) calls for a 'more participative, cooperative, experimental, and open-ended planning' as well as Brun's (2015b) demand for a minimum set of standards that promotes 'homes as a critical value' for displaced populations would require implementation in order for Berlin's shelters to achieve similar effects. Just as the transformation of shelters through state planning and policies tends towards but never quite reaches the qualities of urban housing, so do refugee experiences reveal the limits to which inhabitation in the sense of a deeper belonging can develop in these spaces. What is particularly striking, and which will be discussed next, is the way that resident perceptions are formed and how they react to this conditional form of inhabitation. Namely, they derive from

relational understandings that reveal how residents come to terms with their domestic conditions.

Figure 69: entrance to Refugio on a residential street in the heart of the city, Berlin Neukölln, 2019

Figure 70: the Refugio rooftop garden space for its residents, Berlin Neukölln, 2019

5.4 Relational infrastructures

The striking feature of resident experiences of Berlin's shelters is how they are perceived through relational understandings. Residents consider their shelter environment within experiences of other shelter typologies in Berlin and beyond to draw both favourable and unfavourable comparisons. Simone (2015a) introduces the notion of 'relational infrastructures,' where relationships themselves constitute the constraints and possibilities of inhabitation in the postcolonial city. This can be contextualised within broader scholarship which has explored notions of relationality in multiple disciplines. In sociology 'relational sociology' suggests the social world does not derive from static 'things' or the substantive, but through unfolding social relations (Donati, 2011; Emirbayer, 1997; Schinkel, 2007). In philosophy 'relational ontology' proposes that organisms, things, and existence itself do not have an 'essential nature,' but instead they are constantly changing and coming into being in relation with the surrounding world (Benjamin, 2015; Ingold, 2006; Wildman, 2010). These relational approaches have been applied to urban and architectural discourse, where buildings themselves are considered to be 'an after-effect of a network of relations' (Herva, 2015; McCann and Ward, 2010; Reinmuth, 2017, p. 99). This is not to diminish the importance of the object itself but to relocate it in a network of relations constituted through elements such

as transportation to and from buildings, movement within them, and the impact of materiality in their programmatic realisation. Resident perspectives of Berlin's shelters suggest a particular form of relational infrastructure through the experiences of the infrastructure's user. They consider their situation through relational spatial comparisons as they differentiate their experiences in the containers and MUFs in contrast to previous experiences in the most rudimentary emergency shelters.

Relational experiences of the shelters are created through the complex interaction between perceptions of architectural quality and everyday domestic agency. For example, Gwen struggles with the physical demands of living in a container shelter:

> 'Here isn't good…the buildings are too hot in summer. You can hear everything your neighbour does.'[41]

However, she importantly prefers her current shelter in spite of the better construction of her previous emergency shelter:

> 'It was a nice house with big rooms, it was a lovely building…a huge house made of cement, not like this at all. But there were more rules. It was not good for me. You couldn't choose your food. You had to wait for certain times to wash. It made you depressed.'

Both the architectural enclosure of the emergency shelters and everyday practices within them influence her perception of an improved domestic situation in the containers. These relational understandings are not limited to Berlin's shelters but extend beyond the city's borders. Some residents would have travelled along the 'camp archipelago' such as along the Balkan route (Katz, 2016; Minca et al., 2018), while others would have experienced other forms of institutional shelters elsewhere in Europe and Germany. For example, Abdel describes his shelter in Neubrandenburg where he was before he came to Berlin:

> 'In comparison to what I stayed in, these (shelters in Berlin) are way better.'[42]

Residents have experienced a highly diverse spectrum of shelter arrangements to which Berlin's institutional shelters are compared.

[41] Berlin, 07/08/2019.
[42] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

Infrastructural relationality also evolves over time, as residents are situated within new unfolding spatial relations that influence their perceptions and everyday experiences. The manager of the shelter for LGBTQ+ refugees reflects on these relational experiences from a unique position, as this shelter is the only place where an emergency and community shelter exist within the same building. He notes how residents in the former would be grateful when they arrived but would soon envy those with better amenities in the community shelter with whom they interacted every day.[43] Relatively better conditions became their new objects of desire. Similarly, even though Hannah lives in the most developed shelter typology available, she suggests a fundamental difference between her dormitory situation and those in the first floor 'flats' of the MUF:

> 'This is a camp, but it is like a home to some. If they have the bottom floor flats, it's a house. They don't share with other people. They are more permanent. It becomes a house.'[44]

She considers herself to still be living in the camp, while others look upon the MUFs enviously to escape their own comparatively worse conditions. With each new shelter and spatial situation, the relations between structures become renegotiated to influence resident perceptions.

These relational understandings impact the way refugees themselves label the shelters. Their consistent use of the term *Heim* suggests residents have imbibed and now regurgitate the normalised language of the state. For many, the community shelters are *Heime* because they provide the discussed freedoms and domestic amenities that the emergency shelters did not. The emergency shelters were camps, whereas the new spaces are relationally experienced as a distinct and improved typology which provides many practical benefits. The new structures are not considered against an objective standard, but a lower quality spatial precedent to which a resident's current situation can be compared and categorised differently. Through this they establish a hierarchy that derives from architectural differences across the spectrum of shelters.

The relational perspectives of residents reflect the increasing ability to inhabit the improving domestic infrastructures. However, this process also importantly has its limits. While the *Heime* are relationally distanced from the more rudimentary shelters, residents simultaneously

[43] Berlin, 12/03/2018.
[44] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

demonstrate relational perspectives that differentiate the shelters from a 'normal' domestic situation, namely life in their own flat. Nazar's comments articulate the trajectory of gradually improving conditions while acknowledging they can never reach the status of urban housing:

> 'Here is better than Tempelhof, but it is not like a flat. Here is not a home. The MUFs are much better, because it's a block. Of course it is better. I've tested it there as I have visited my friend. It isn't as hot as the containers. Piece by piece it is better. Here is better than Tempelhof, the MUFs are better than here. But a flat is the best of all.'[45]

Obtaining a flat remains their primary aspiration, which emphasises the desire to realise the ideal of 'Home' through domestic practices in a permanent residence. The state transformation of internal shelter configurations into urban housing is never fully completed nor creates an environment where practices of 'home' can achieve this ideal. Relationality thereby operates in both directions, as residents compare their situation to their previous situation as well as what they strive for as they become stuck between the two.

The impact of this two-way relationality is a reframing of the expectations, ambitions, and desires of refugees within the city. Facing a housing situation that is unable to cater to their needs, residents interact with shelter structures that become increasingly desirable as what they want transforms into what is possible to achieve. By offering a 'slightly better shelter' (Scott-Smith, 2017), the state creates a new space of desire that is the next best thing to a flat, even if it does not provide a permanent domestic situation. The promise of slightly better conditions exists in tandem with spaces that inspire fear in the form of the lower quality shelters, as Nazar highlights when considering Tempelhof:

> 'Here we can come and go. We shower as long as we want, which you couldn't do at Tempelhof. I don't want to repeat that experience.'[46]

The presence of a known worse alternative looms over him as a threat. Okot compares the nature of these relational architectures through a provocative metaphor:

> 'It reminds me of political torture in Sudan. They lock someone in the toilet, which in Sudan are very small rooms. They can't lay down. Then they put in a baby goat. Now his demands are not "get me out of here" but "please remove this goat." His

[45] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[46] Berlin, 14/08/2019.

> demands change. This is like the containers: "we are happy here, don't put us back in there."'[47]

He suggests that the gradually improving conditions may be a political tool to extend control over those living in the shelter by the ever-looming threat of the potential for worse conditions. Reflection on previous shelters and the trauma they caused establishes a reframing that forces residents to view their current situation in a more positive light.

The fear of returning to worse conditions is entangled with a sense of gratefulness when residents do have access to the best accommodation available in comparison to others. Kardaar is in a privileged position on the ground floor of a MUF which grants family access to a personal kitchen and bathroom:

> 'Here is better. It isn't 100% better, but in comparison to the other *Heime* it is much better. I have my own space and we can cook in our own kitchen. Not everyone has that though.'[48]

He reconciles his lack of total domestic satisfaction through the fact that things could be worse as he compares his current situation with other shelters that he experienced and other residents in the same MUF. These comparisons extend beyond the boundaries of Berlin, where residents perceive better conditions in comparison to their countries of origin. Hannah highlights an underlying appreciation for the shelter:

> 'When you are at a certain stage in life, I can't complain. What I didn't have in my country I can get here. It was very difficult in the shelter in Steglitz, like a prison, you didn't have your freedom. But I couldn't complain. Here they give you a washing machine, you don't have to wash things by hand.'[49]

Basic amenities such as a washing machine are improvements on her domestic life in Nigeria, where the difficulties of shelter conditions pale in comparison. Kaleb similarly describes his reaction in comparison to others around him:

> 'These are containers and people have lots of problems. They say it's not a natural house. They say: we need to live like how other people live, how Germans live. But for me it's ok here. I cannot say for other people. I know where I come from,

[47] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[48] Berlin, 12/09/2019.
[49] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

> my start in life in Africa. Here is better for me, so I don't say anything or complain. If I get something better, I think "Thank you God".'[50]

He acknowledges that the shelters present fundamental difficulties for daily life but dismisses them through a gratefulness for the enhanced opportunities he gets in Germany. As long as the conditions gradually improve, residents are kept focused on their immediate surroundings and privileges rather than comparing their situation to German citizens. Their expectations become reframed, as those who are in the best possible accommodation are grateful for what they have in comparison to others or their previous lives before coming to Berlin.

On the one hand, relational perspectives reveal improving spatial conditions that allow a greater sense of inhabitation. On the other, they simultaneously reveal the shelters' limitations in domestic agency and material qualities which differentiate them from permanent accommodation. In his understanding of relational infrastructures, Simone (2015a) questions how urban residents are able to put together ways of inhabiting the city in the face of injustices and exclusionary structures. He posits how relationships themselves constitute an infrastructure of inhabitation, consisting of the aforementioned circulation of bodies, resources, affect, and information. The relational understandings of Berlin's shelters exist as such forms of relational infrastructures which offer a way to inhabit the shelters. They provide a sort of coping mechanism through the re-orientation of resident perspectives (Thorshaug and Brun, 2019) that enables them to tolerate conditions which are unable to provide urban dwelling in a deeper sense. Consequently, residents come to expect less from their domestic environments. If they are only partially able to inhabit the shelters as infrastructure, at least they can achieve it to a greater extent in one type of shelter than another. As with the shelters' ambiguities in state planning that blur the boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing, these relational perspectives provoke the question how these infrastructures should be considered in light of refugee experiences, which will be addressed next.

5.5 Infrastructures that inhibit inhabitation

The relational nature of refugee experiences and perspectives reveal both substantive improvements and limiting factors that support the ambiguous meanings of the shelters. These diverse subjectivities emerge through the evolving infrastructural spectrums as the shelters become more like urban housing. Just as state planning and policies create asymptotic

[50] Berlin, 18/09/2019.

structures that tend towards but can never quite reach an ideal of urban housing, resident experiences also embody an asymptote of domestic life that tends towards urban dwelling without reaching it. Latham and Wood's (2015) analysis of infrastructural inhabitation borrows Hommels' (2005) use of the term 'obduracy' to describe the fixed nature of certain urban structures which create obstacles and resistance for new users. While cities are considered as dynamic spaces, significant adjustments can be difficult to make. Although people reinterpret and reuse infrastructure and infrastructure itself can change or decay over time (Gupta, 2018; Simone, 2015b), it can also remain surprisingly intractable. The function of Berlin's shelters as infrastructures presents this underlying obduracy, in spite of the shelters' architectural fluidity. They convey a certain permanence, but one that is fundamentally different from that associated with the creation of home (Dupuis and Thorns, 1998). Permanence is not defined on the occupant's terms but embedded in its function as an infrastructure that only temporarily accommodates arrivals. Although new structures provide greater potential for inhabitation, these possibilities also exist along an asymptote that can never reach urban dwelling due to the shelter's function as infrastructures that facilitate transition.

As the asymptote tends towards an ideal of home without ever reaching it, resident perspectives become increasingly diverse and further emphasise the blurring of boundaries between camp, shelter, and housing. Habib considers his domestic situation in the containers:

> 'This isn't a camp here. Tempelhof was a camp, you were all placed in a big hall. Everyone was together and you had a canteen. Here is a *Wohnheim*, like a hotel. You can't call these places camps.'[51]

Although he does not perceive his shelter as a camp, his comparisons with a hotel suggests a temporariness and non-belonging that differentiate it from a permanent dwelling. Yusuf affirms a similar reality, where even though he does not consider the MUFs to be camps, they are abnormal spaces that cannot constitute a proper home:

> 'But a *Heim* is a *Heim*; they still have rules. What's good for everyone is a home.'[52]

The *Heim* remains a differentiated space that is no substitute for permanent accommodation, even if he does not consider it a camp. On the other hand, for Pazir, who lives in a Tempohome, the notion of the camp is at the foundation of every shelter he has experienced:

[51] Berlin, 16/09/2019.
[52] Berlin, 13/08/2019.

> ‘A camp is a camp- it doesn’t matter if it is better or shitter, it is still the same. It is all the same. Camp is camp.’[53]

This totalising rejection affirms that the shelters could never be considered anything other than camps, even in spite of substantive improvements. He evokes the same relational perspective of the shelters as Yusuf, affirming they exist outside the realm of normality, but does so through the term ‘camp’ rather than utilising the normalised terminology of *Heim*. These perspectives demonstrate that the shelters are part of a continuum that is connected by a common distinction between the forms of dwelling they provide and those in the city. They are simultaneously considered camps and *Heime,* with complex rationales that underpin them, but still remain separated from the *Wohnung.*

The ambiguity of these spaces is epitomised by how residents often contradict themselves and suggest ambivalent realities. For example, Hannah also makes the prison comparison with her shelter, painting it as a space of control:

> ‘Here there is no freedom, it is like a prison. It’s a place where they send strangers. It is not a private space. They check where you go and come, you have to scan in and out. They know where you are.’[54]

Yet she simultaneously praises certain aspects of shelter life:

> ‘But everything here is still beautiful. If you are sick, then security can help you immediately. In your house you have to go by yourself. It’s good here for a husband and wife and children.’

Although it is a space that restricts freedom, for Hannah it is also a space of beauty and support which she is simultaneously aggrieved by and appreciative of. The shelter represents both hospitality as well as hostility to the residents, invoking a reality which scholars have identified for refugees in cities throughout the Global North (Darling, 2013; Goodall, 2010; Young, 2011) and also in camps in the Global South (Bulley, 2016; Ramadan, 2008). Fassin (2011, p. 133) notes the conditional nature of hospitality in camps through his concept of ‘ambivalent hospitality,’ where compassion and repression are inevitably connected. In Germany, Partridge (2019) suggests that a ‘politics of pity’ has developed from such hospitality toward the 2015 arrivals, which in turn influences the possibilities for participatory politics for the noncitizen by bringing not only exclusions but also implicit hierarchies and feelings of

[53] Berlin, 27/07/2018.
[54] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

superiority of the host over the guest. This 'darker side' of hospitality is reflected in the word's etymological link with the word 'hostility,' where both derive from the same Latin root *hostis*. Derrida (2000) uses this to develop the neologism 'hostipitality', which suggests the ambiguous distinction between a guest and an enemy. Hannah's ambivalent response is indicative of this Janus-faced reality of hospitality as the shelter provides support but also restricts, controls, and monitors in ways similar to the pre-2015 European asylum centres (Campesi, 2015; Szczepanikova, 2013). The shelters become urban spatial embodiments where these ambivalences of hospitality are experienced by their residents.

The existence of ambiguous domestic structures that residents simultaneously praise and condemn has important long-term implications for how these shelters are considered. Their limits to inhabitation correspond with limits to their normalisation as domestic structures. Yet there is a danger of increasingly treating the partially inhabited shelters as normal as the boundaries between camps, shelter, and housing are blurred. While German citizens are far more conscious of the symbolic dimensions of labelling the shelters as camps, the attitudes of many residents can sometimes downplay their situation. As they traverse the spectrum of shelters some express a certain pragmatism as although they may consider their environment to be a camp, they appear to be relatively unphased by the fact. For example, Chakir laments the restrictions placed on him, but simultaneously notes:

> 'This is what a camp is, but it's ok for now. It isn't that bad.'[55]

He is able to find some level of tolerance for his abnormal domestic situation. However, he importantly affirms it is only ok for now, suggesting that it is only acceptable in the short term. Firouzeh states the same, finding the situation acceptable but existing outside the realm of a normal domestic environment:

> 'Here is a camp. It's ok here, but a flat is much better.'[56]

This pragmatism demonstrates a certain resilience in adapting to difficult circumstances but still identifies them as exceptional domestic situations. As Katz (2017a) suggests, the ability for migrants to cope with difficult conditions in camps, although admirable, should not be idealised due to their continued exposure to violence and abandonment inherent in the camp. Such examples should therefore not be read as vindications of the shelter spaces. Instead, they demonstrate the dangerous reframing of abnormal architectures as increasingly normalised, justified, and legitimised. Indeed, Kaleb's comments that the shelters are ok for

[55] Berlin, 04/08/2019.
[56] Berlin, 16/08/2018.

him even though he does not live ‘how Germans live’ potentially suggests that refugees should be happy with what they receive even if they are granted worse conditions than citizens, especially if it is an improvement on their lives in their countries of origin. This reinforces narratives of gratefulness in forced migration where refugees are often expected to appear ‘eternally thankful’ as they spend their lives repaying the debt of hospitality (Nayeri, 2017). The right to asylum becomes conditional, supporting Arendt’s (1973) argument that refugees are figures which cast doubt over the inalienable and universal nature of human rights. It is this normalisation of the camp and the state of exception it embodies that Minca (2015) particularly warns against, which in turn can normalise human suffering by prolonging and expanding displacement (Kandylis, 2019). The improvements in conditions and possibilities for inhabitation should be considered as forms of appeasement which assuage certain grievances rather than provide permanent solutions. The shelters offer conditional progress that makes them increasingly acceptable for longer periods of time, but by doing so they merely protract arrival by limiting the incorporation of resident lives into the city through contingent inhabitation.

The complex subjectivities of resident perspectives reinforce the shelters as ambiguous spaces of contention, reflecting the everyday impact of their asymptotic nature that tends toward, but never achieves, the ideal of urban housing. Residents are only able to *partially* inhabit the shelters. In spite of Dalal et al.’s (2021, p. 292) claims that the spatial appropriations in Tempohomes produce a ‘comprehensive, complex, and dynamic space, namely a dwelling,’ they should not be considered as such. As Hart et al. (2018) suggest, homemaking practices do not necessarily result in acceptable or desirable conditions. The transformation of camp spaces into a ‘home’ does not make them ‘normal in the sense that this is how things should be’ in the context of chronic crisis (Vigh, 2008, p. 8). Although forced migrants may make uninhabitable spaces more habitable through their occupation, the spaces remain marginal (Brun and Thorshaug, 2020). In Berlin’s shelters, it is their intended function to facilitate the transition of people as part of the ‘global infrastructure of camps’ (Katz, 2017b), in this case into the city, which makes them designed to be uninhabitable. They intentionally prevent the ability to dwell in the profound senses of belonging, anchoring, and rootedness that constitutes the creation of home and inhabitation of the city (Jacobs and Smith, 2008; Kraftl and Adey, 2008; McFarlane, 2011). This undermines the possibilities for the ‘autonomy of arrival’ introduced in Part I. While residents acknowledge greater domestic agency, they are limited in their ability to achieve the same levels of domestic autonomy in the sense of acting according to their own motives and desires in the shelters as they would in ‘normal’ urban

housing. They are only able to achieve *partial* autonomy in their inhabitation-as-arrival as their domestic agency is strictly managed and monitored within the parameters of state control.

5.6 Conclusion

The shelters' contradictory functions as an infrastructure that creates domestic spaces as well as facilitates transition into the city and other accommodation impede the potential for residents to inhabit and ultimately dwell within these structures. Porteous and Smith (2001) famously coined the term 'domicide' to describe the deliberate destruction of home that causes suffering to the dweller. Berlin's shelters create a situation where the re-creation of home after such destruction is intentionally denied through their very design and governance as infrastructure. The ability to dwell in the city in the sense of inhabiting and being in control of domestic space must be considered a key part of the autonomy and 'being-becomings' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 2) of arrival. Although many residents have had their asylum application approved, their inability to move from the shelters because of a housing market that cannot cater to their needs perpetuates their state of arrival through the contingency and uninhabitability of infrastructural domestic space. Instead, the development of an architectural spectrum of improving shelters reframes resident perspectives on what to expect from their dwellings, serving to increasingly normalise the abnormal forms of domestic urban life that unfold in the shelters. The highly contingent inhabitability of these shelters requires explorations to move beyond the spatial confines of the shelter itself to understand more deeply the role of the urban in the lives of Berlin's refugee arrivals. To do this, Part III explores the forms of relations that emerge between the shelters and their urban infrastructural contexts as residents interact with the city and urban citizens interact with the shelters. This reveals how the location of the shelters entangles them with other diverse urban infrastructures that shape trajectories of refugee arrival.

Part III

The urban emplacement of infrastructure: Berlin's eastern periphery

6. Infrastructural entanglements: everyday urban encounter and living with difference in Berlin-Buch

6.1 Introduction

The events of 2015 also had radical implications for where in the city Berlin's new shelters were built. The dispersal logics that exist on a national scale through the *Königsteiner Schlüssel* also operate on an urban scale, where the Berlin state intends to evenly distribute refugee shelters around the city (Baumann, 2020). This even dispersal was notable in the emergency shelters, which were embedded in the national outpouring of hospitality, solidarity, and *Willkommenskultur* (welcome culture) (Hamann and Karakayali, 2016; Karakayali, 2019) during the peak of arrival numbers and attempted to temporarily address an immediate emergency situation through the provision of basic necessities (Parsloe, 2020a) (figure 71). In contrast, the long-term shelters provide a more enduring domestic situation and become permanent infills within their neighbourhoods. This permanence introduces a greater complexity to their planning and construction in comparison to the emergency shelters where spaces could be relatively easily commandeered for temporary purposes. Mapping the locations of long-term shelters crucially reveals their concentration within peripheral boroughs in former East Berlin such as Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Pankow, and Lichtenberg (figure 72). These areas not only host more shelters overall, but also host more newly erected long-term shelters on sites that have not been used for refugee shelter before (figure 73). For example, Marzahn-Hellersdorf has erected nine and Pankow ten new long-term shelters with respective capacities for 3,500 and 4,300, while the central neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg and Neukölln combined have only erected five with capacity for 1,300.

These concentrations are significant as they result in state-imposed ethnic, cultural, and social difference onto areas that may not have hosted particular migrant populations before. Berlin's contemporary neighbourhood demographics demonstrate geographic patterns of immigration that derive from the market effects and socio-political systems caused by its divided history (Heyd et al., 2019). Former West Berlin neighbourhoods such as Kreuzberg and Neukölln have traditionally been Berlin's 'arrival neighbourhoods' for Middle Eastern and Turkish populations (Akcan, 2018; Saunders, 2011; Tize and Reis, 2019) while former East Berlin neighbourhoods such as Marzahn and Lichtenberg have become hubs for migrants from Vietnam (Bösch and Su, 2020; Kil and Silver, 2006; Kreichauf et al., 2020). This stems from West Germany's *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) schemes of the 1970s for primarily Turkish migrants and the East German *Vertragsarbeiter* (contract workers) from socialist states. For example, in 2014 Neukölln had the greatest percentage of inhabitants of Turkish descent with

11.1% (36,170 individuals), while in the eastern borough of Marzahn-Hellersdorf it was only 0.3% (844 individuals) (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2015). In contrast, 6.2% (15,847 individuals) of the population in Marzahn-Hellersdorf had a former USSR background, while in Neukölln it was only 1.7% (5,580 individuals).

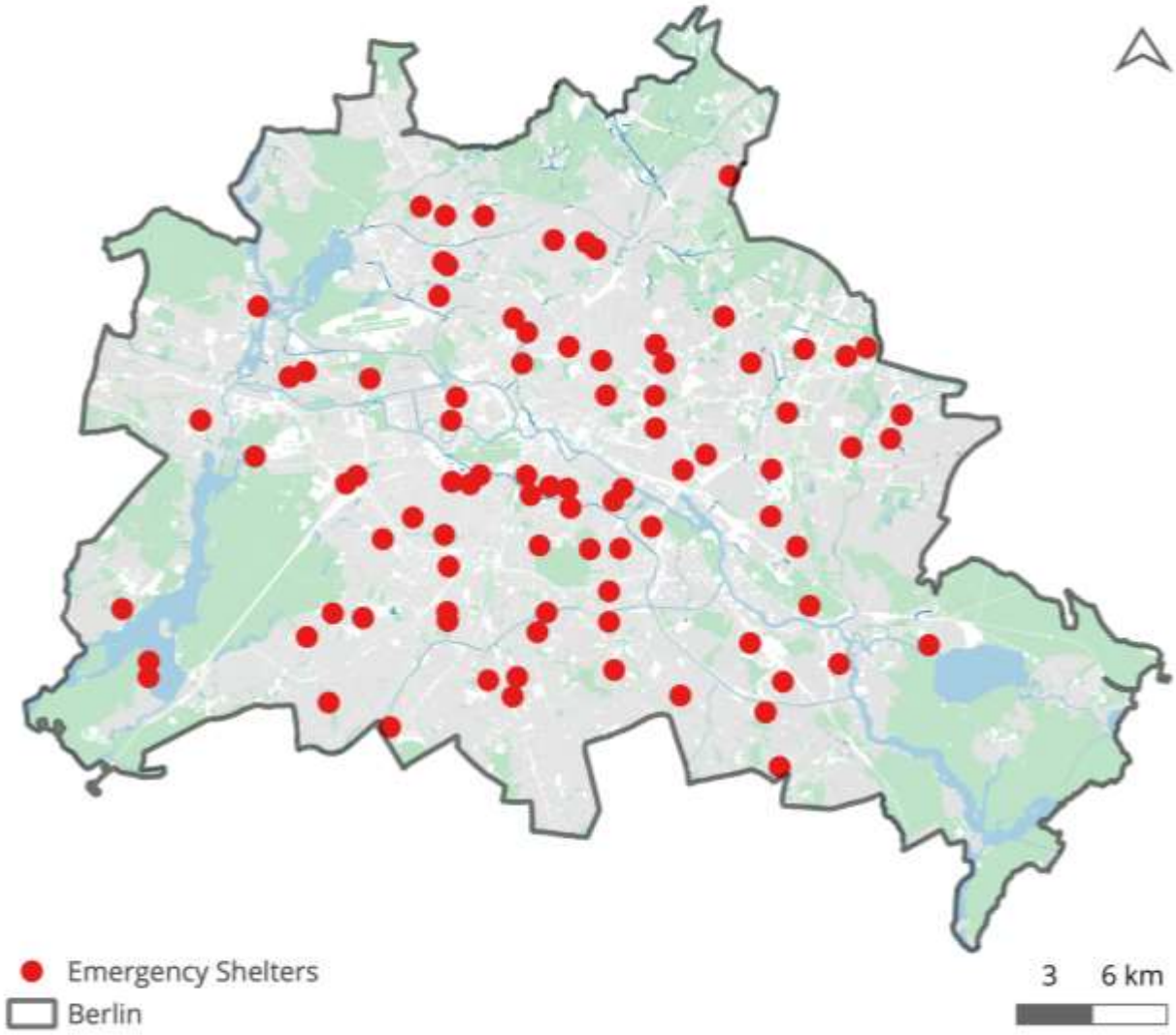


Figure 71: map to show locations of emergency shelters 2015-2019

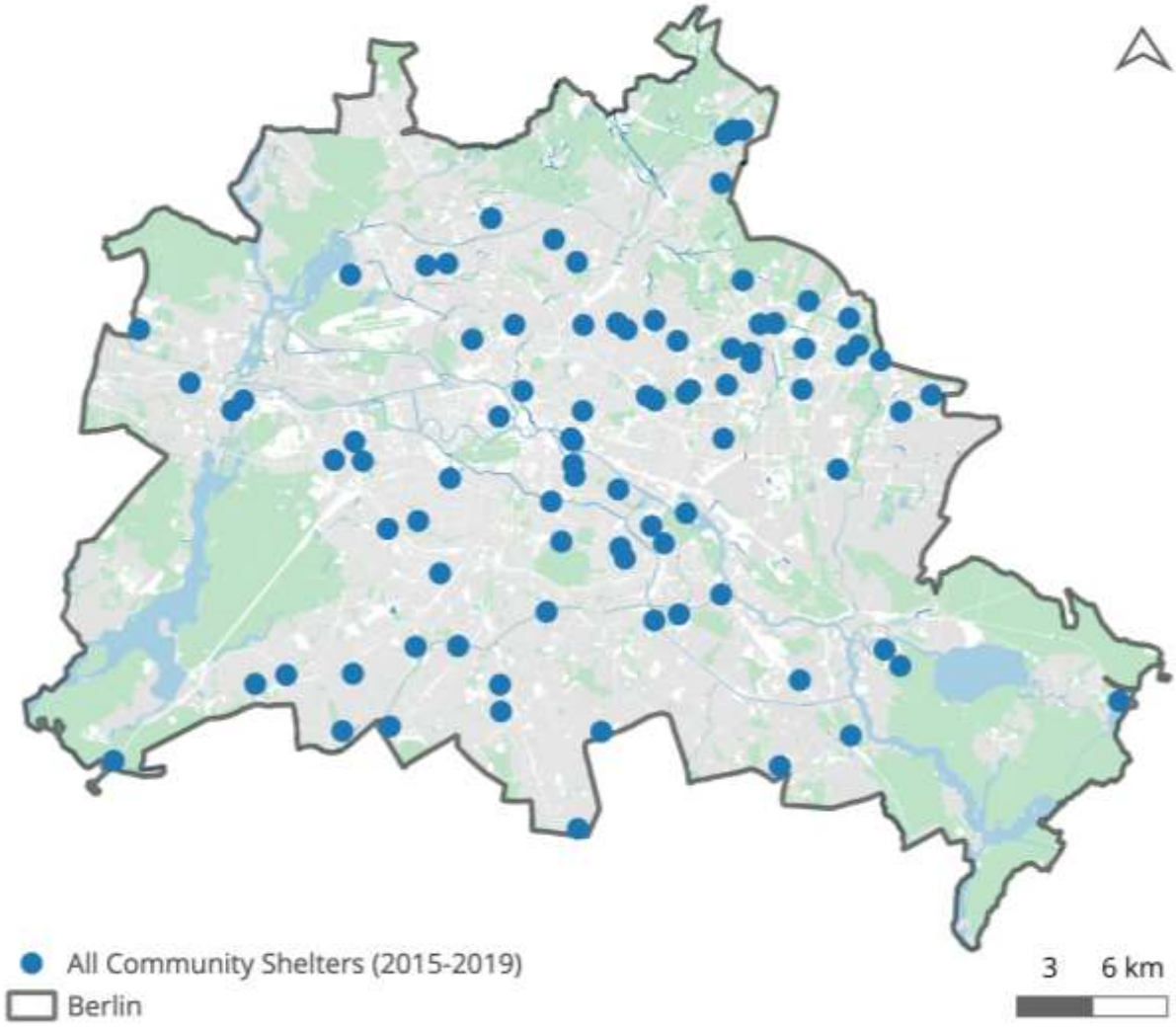


Figure 72: map to show locations of community shelters 2015-2019

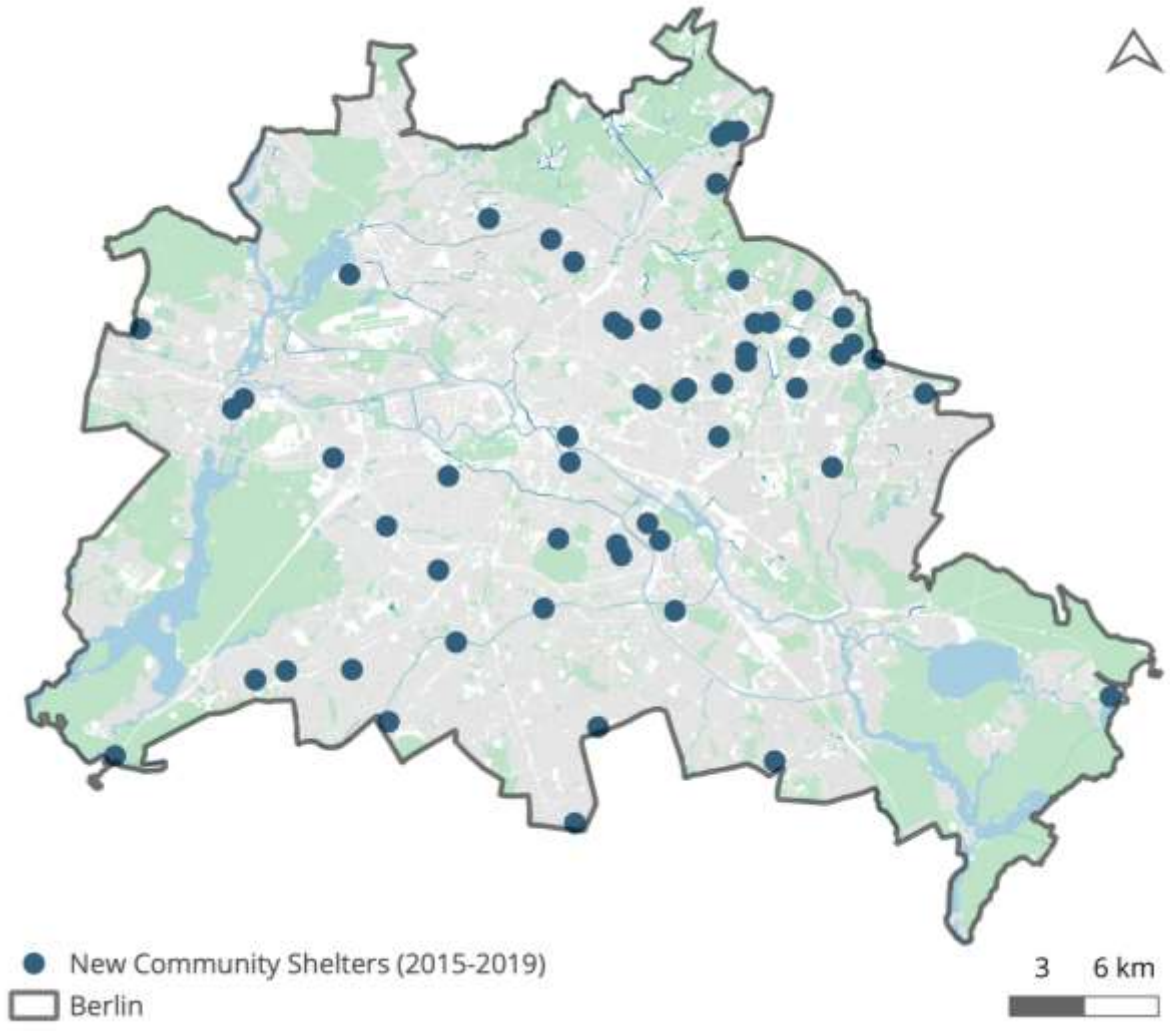


Figure 73: map to show locations of community shelters constructed in new locations 2015-2019

The peripheral concentrations in Berlin's more ethnically homogenous former East crucially call into question the importance of the urban locations of shelters and the wider infrastructures those locations provide. Why have they been constructed primarily in these areas and what impact does this have on refugee arrival? As Graham and McFarlane (2015) affirm, people's experiences of everyday urban life are intermeshed with and sustained by the complexes of infrastructure which both enable and disable particular kinds of activity in the city. Yet the relationships between urban infrastructure and everyday life vary considerably across contexts, where differing relations can produce both normality and exclusion. Indeed, Meeus et al.'s (2019) conceptualisation of arrival infrastructure is rooted in a growing trend for migration scholars to think about the *emplacement* of mobile subjects and the 'where of asylum,' especially on the scale of the city (Dikeç, 2009; Schiller, 2012; Schiller and Çağlar,

2016, 2009). This emplacement, in the sense of being in a particular place or environment as part of a wider ‘ecology of things’ (Pink, 2011), defines the socio-political and demographic contexts with which shelters interrelate.

This is particularly important due to emerging trends in settlement patterns. Migrants are increasingly arriving in suburban and even rural areas of socio-cultural homogeneity with little experience of cross-cultural communication or integration service provision rather than traditional ‘gateway cities’ (Boost and Oosterlynck, 2019; Donato et al., 2007; Lichter and Johnson, 2006; Ray, 2003). While in these cases migrants are attracted to areas especially for employment opportunities, in Germany trends are defined by its dispersal policies that forcibly situate refugees in certain areas. Steigemann (2019) explores the development of arrival infrastructures in smaller East German municipalities that are neither socio-culturally disposed nor prepared to receive people with migration backgrounds (Eckardt, 2015; Kronauer and Siebel, 2013). These areas are contrasted with the larger and more diverse metropoles that show ‘special capacities’ to integrate newcomers (Fawaz, 2016; Jacobsen and Fratzke, 2016). Similarly, El-Kayed et al. (2020) point out the blind spots in current discussions around arrival spaces by focusing on how peripheral estates, especially in East Germany, are supporting migrant arrival. They pose a series of questions for a research agenda that examines migrants’ access infrastructures within areas with limited migration histories. These insights highlight the ways in which newcomers are situated by both choice and imposition within the existing resources, demographics, and infrastructural networks of different urban areas. This creates a process of entanglement, in the sense of an ongoing interweaving of different things on different scales that create complex relationships. However, their primary focus on the trajectories of migrants crucially omits the reciprocity of relations that develop, namely how local residents interact with and consider newcomers in such neighbourhoods mediated through forms of infrastructure. Yet these relations are vital as they can consequently shape the nature of arrival through the reception of newcomers by the host population. This chapter therefore focuses on local responses to the shelters and the relationships that develop in areas with limited histories of migration.

This focus evokes the key question of how the local population negotiates ‘living with difference’ in the city, a topic that has long drawn attention from scholars and now faces refugee arrivals in Germany today (Bock and Macdonald, 2019; Lévinas, 1969; Sennett, 2018, 1974; Simmel, 1950; Valentine, 2013, 2008). Contemporary debates have their roots in psychologist Allport’s (1954) seminal work on the ‘contact hypothesis’ which posits that contact

and knowledge of the ethnic and cultural 'other' can help decrease fear and feelings of 'social distance' between strangers. The city is often considered the place par excellence where connection and living with others occurs through a 'throwntogetherness' in 'frontier zones' (Binnie et al., 2006; Massey, 2005; Sassen, 2013; Valentine, 2008). This negotiation of difference is becoming increasingly important in an era of so-called 'super-diversity' which goes beyond ethnicity or country of origin to involve the unprecedented proliferation of social and cultural categories (Berg and Sigona, 2013; Pemberton and Phillimore, 2018; Vertovec, 2007; Wessendorf, 2014). In recent years a growing literature has defined the qualitative nature of this contact in cities through the lens of everyday urban encounters. As Darling and Wilson (2016) affirm, encounter constitutes a specific form of contact that is centrally about the maintenance, production, and reworking of difference. It fundamentally frames urban experiences and subjectivities while also offers points of possible transformation. Through everyday spatial encounters, the multifaceted articulations of difference are negotiated on a local urban level (Amin, 2002; Matejskova and Leitner, 2011; Noble and Velayutham, 2009; Seethaler-Wari, 2018; Wise and Velayutham, 2009). Yet as Koefoed and Simonsen (2011) suggest, the figure of the 'stranger' is crucially relational and defined by the context in which the relation is performed. They consider it impossible to 'be' a stranger, but that the stranger comes into being through specific embodied encounters with their context. Encounters thus not only *make* difference (Wilson, 2017a), but do so in the city through the social, cultural, political, and demographic specificities of particular urban neighbourhoods.

Despite the rich literature on 'living with difference,' the role that infrastructures play in mediating such difference through encounters in particular urban neighbourhoods is underexplored. Burchardt and Höhne (2015) highlight the possibilities of connecting these topics, as they assert that the key processes that organise difference in urban life are always articulated with particular spatial expressions and regimes that are facilitated, shaped, and produced by material *infrastructural* formations. These facilitations constitute what they term 'infrastructures of diversity' that enable, circumscribe, and constrain interactions between specific ethnic groups. In these instances, infrastructure constitutes that which exists in between people, and allows them to 'reach toward or withdraw from each other' (Simone, 2012). The infrastructures that exist within an area set certain conditions that will shape the relations between arrivals and their neighbourhood, meaning that encounters cannot be properly understood without looking at their infrastructural contexts. By combining conceptualisations of infrastructure with that of everyday urban encounter, there is scope to reveal how infrastructure produces, manages, and distributes urban encounters that shape how urban dwellers live with difference. This chapter therefore asks: how does infrastructure

shape the reciprocal relationships that develop between locals and refugee newcomers? Specifically, how does it shape the qualitative nature of everyday encounters and what impact does this have on the ability for locals to live with imposed ethnic and cultural difference?

To answer these questions, this chapter explores how the construction of shelters in Berlin's more ethnically homogenous peripheral eastern neighbourhoods entangles state-imposed infrastructures with pre-existing socio-economic, political, and infrastructural contexts. It considers the shelters as material infrastructures that exist in relation to other local infrastructures as part of interlinked complexes of infrastructure on the neighbourhood level. In particular, these other infrastructures are considered in the form of systems that organise and pattern the possibilities of urban social life (Amin, 2014). As Wilson (2016, p. 274) notes, infrastructure concerns not only technology or immaterialised objects, but also includes:

> 'a sense of systems, management, and energy, as well as planning and design-hence, discourses, symbols, and, arguably even affect. In many situations, these systems provide the structures on which sociality hangs.'

This chapter thus explores the social infrastructures which enable interactions across ethnic difference by bringing people into contact such as social services, networks, integration projects, and other social amenities. It analyses how these complexes of infrastructures interact with, complement, and even contradict each other and how this shapes the neighbourhood context into which refugee newcomers arrive.

To do so the chapter focuses on the case study of Buch, a neighbourhood in northeast Pankow (figure 74) chosen for two key reasons: First, since 2015 three community shelters were placed several hundred metres from each other with a combined capacity of 1,500 residents (figure 75). This provided a significant and sudden concentration of newcomers. Second, the area originally had comparatively low levels of ethnic diversity. In December 2013, Buch's foreign-born population was 3.8% (519 individuals out of 13,701). It also had a predominantly white German population, with only 7.8% (1068 individuals) having any form of migration background (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2014, p. 27,30,33). By December 2019, as a direct consequence of the shelters, Buch's foreign-born population had more than quadrupled to 15.7% (2643 individuals out of 16,868) (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2020, pp. 24, 30).

Through interviews with locals who live or work in the area, the chapter analyses how the shelters' entanglements with local socio-political and infrastructural contexts create forms of encounter that ultimately make living with newly imposed difference in the form of an arrival population more contentious. First, section 6.2 examines how the processes that have concentrated shelters in peripheral eastern boroughs are themselves the result of complex entanglements with historic socio-political and economic urban inequalities. Section 6.3 then explores the state of existing institutional infrastructures and socio-political tensions in Buch that create a challenging context in which to negotiate difference. Section 6.4 then analyses the greater dependency on civic organisations in order to overcome these challenges, which results in 'organised' encounters that have limited potential to constructively negotiate difference. Finally, section 6.5 explores how the limitations of these encounters and existing social marginalisation lead to unplanned conflictual encounters that occur at the shelters' borders. Together these empirical findings reveal the importance of neighbourhood contexts in shaping the nature of encounters through infrastructure and its consequent mediation of difference as part of the arrival process.

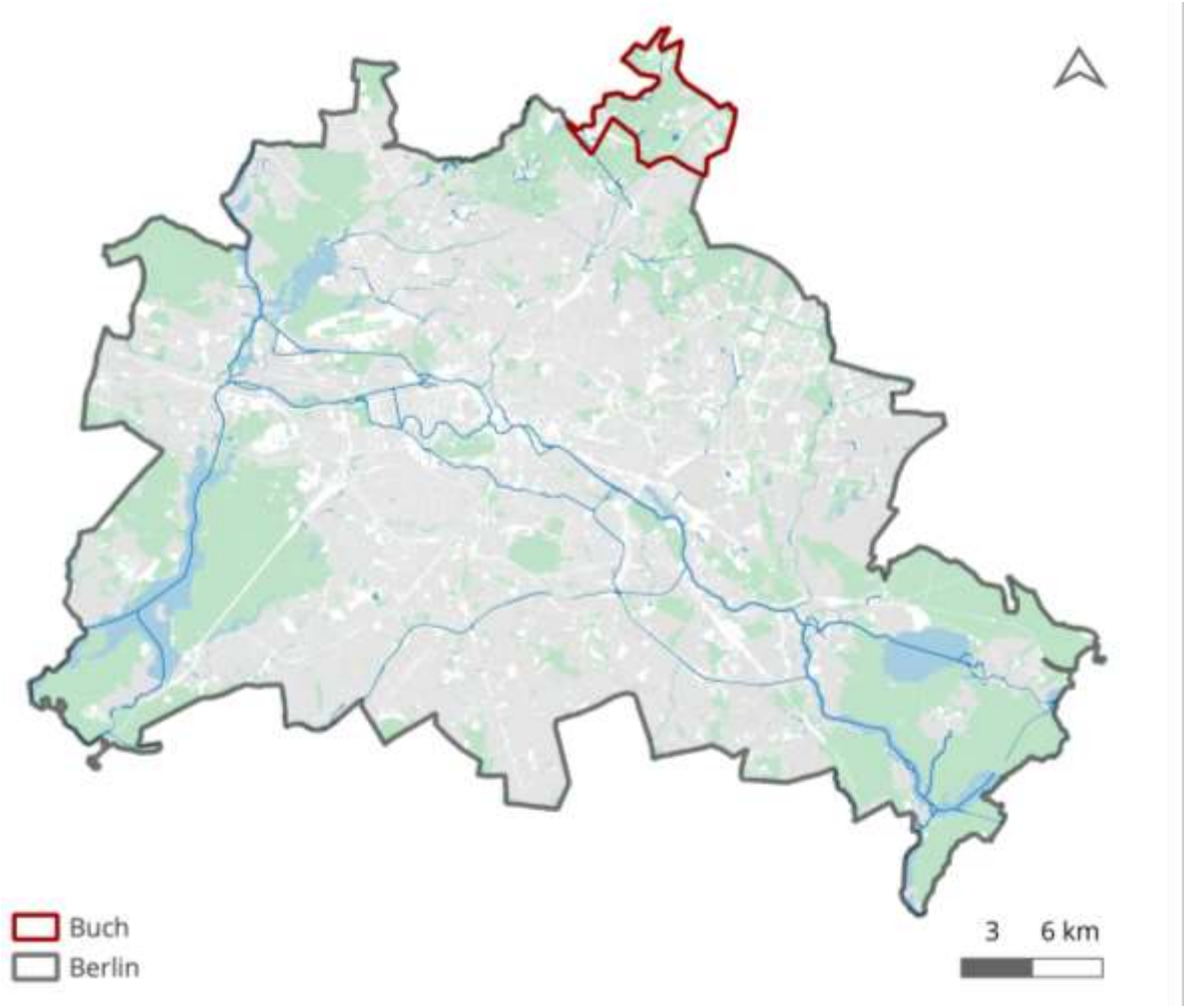


Figure 74: map to show location of Buch in Berlin

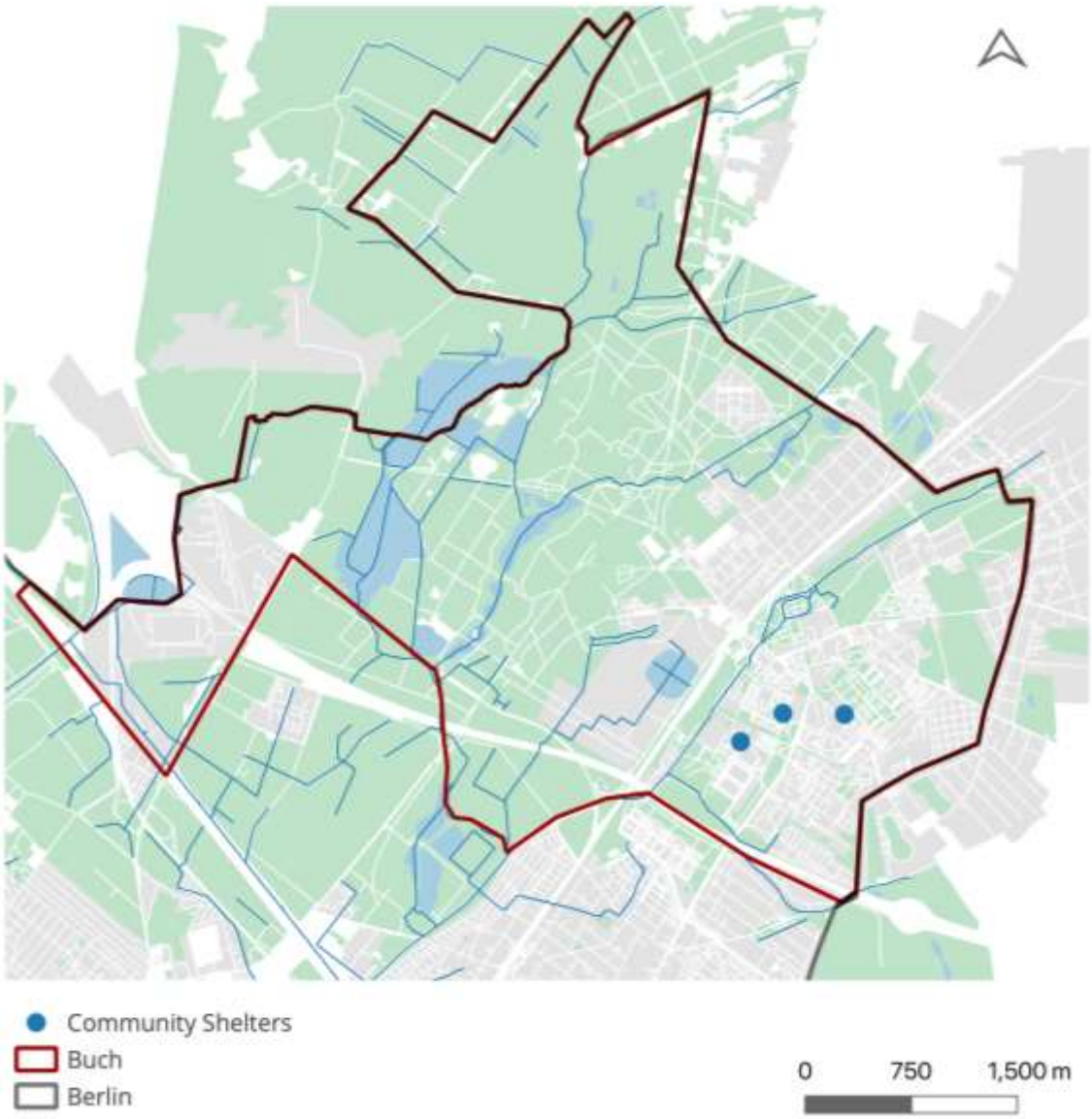


Figure 75: map to show locations of the three community shelters in Buch

6.2 Peripheral concentrations in East Berlin

The entanglements of Berlin's shelters with existing socio-political and infrastructural urban contexts begin with the complex processes by which their distribution is negotiated in the city. Recent scholarship on the construction of large-scale infrastructure projects reveals that the main challenges are no longer technical or scientific but concern the social and political mobilisations that oppose their development (Carley et al., 2020; Coppens et al., 2018; McAdam et al., 2010). This opposition is shaped by factors including the social acceptance of a particular infrastructure (Tanaka, 2004; Tighe, 2010), the abilities, resources, and opportunities that neighbourhood groups have to transform grievances into protest behaviour (Coppens et al., 2018; Nicholls, 2009), and the proximity of a local community to proposed

infrastructure (Swofford and Slattery, 2010). However, these studies focus primarily on energy infrastructures such as wind turbines, oil pipelines, and nuclear power stations. How do pre-existing economic, social, and political dynamics shape the construction and forms of opposition to state-made infrastructure when it is intended for refugees in the city? Why are the long-term shelters concentrated in peripheral eastern neighbourhoods?

Land availability, or lack thereof, has dictated where long-term shelters were built. A representative of the LAF planning department describes their use of land for shelters:

> 'In 2015 there was huge pressure to shelter people quickly. We used a mixture of public and private land and buildings and there wasn't so much urban planning. We were looking at vacant land and seeing where shelters could be built quickly with few restrictions. Afterwards almost all shelters were built on public land, because it is generally cheaper and you can build on it much quicker.'[1]

These public sites are mostly managed by the Berliner Immobilienmanagement GmbH (BIM-Berlin Property Management), a private company fully owned by the state of Berlin that is responsible for managing state-owned real estate (BIM, 2020a). However, not only did the 2001 Berlin Banking Scandal force the privatisation of public assets and radically diminish social housing provisions as discussed in chapter one, it also had a profound impact on the city's land policy. Large scale urban land-grabbing transpired in tandem with privatising public services in order to pay the city's debts, where budgetary consolidation came to be prioritised above land policy (Thiel, 2015). In 2001 the city established the Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin GmbH & Co. KG, a real estate fund whose sole purpose was to sell public properties that were considered to be 'not needed in the foreseeable future to fulfil the tasks of Berlin' (BIM, 2020b). Between 2001-2011 it sold 5,500 public properties throughout the city with a total income of €2.5 billion (Der Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin, 2011, p. 10) (figure 76). In 2015 it was incorporated into the BIM, which as of December 2019 manages over 5,000 buildings and urban sites (BIM, 2020b; Jürgens, 2014). While the city achieved some short-term financial gain, it now suffers from the resulting problems that come with losing many of its prime real estate assets, leaving it with unsellable sites that continue to drain public resources. It is these severely diminished sites that were not desirable enough to the private sector upon which long-term refugee shelters are built. Many of these are located in peripheral boroughs in the former East, where property prices are some of the lowest in the city and speculation has been less targeted (figure 77).

[1] Via video call, 11/03/2021.

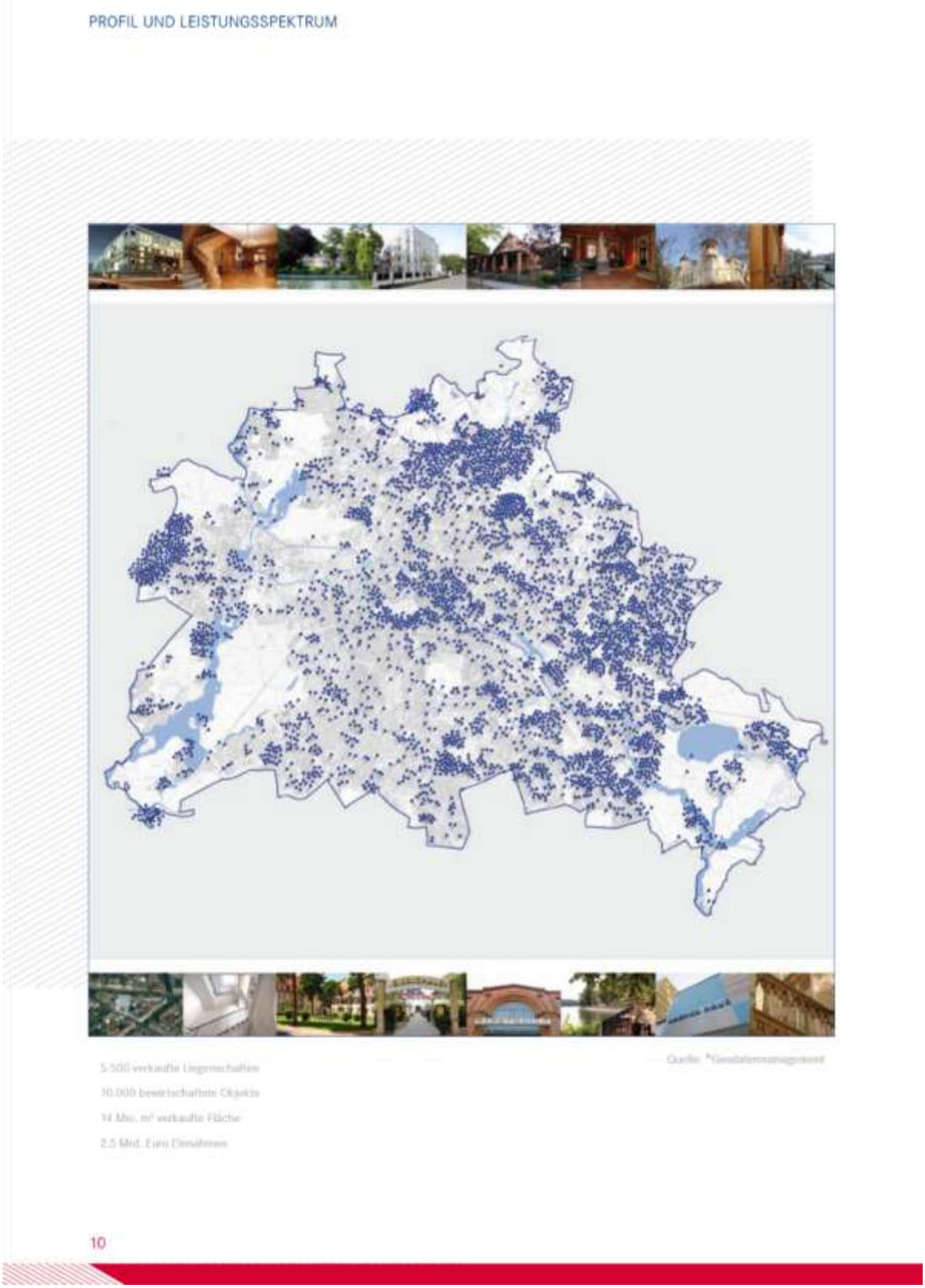


Figure 76: public properties sold in Berlin 2001-2011 (source: Der Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin)

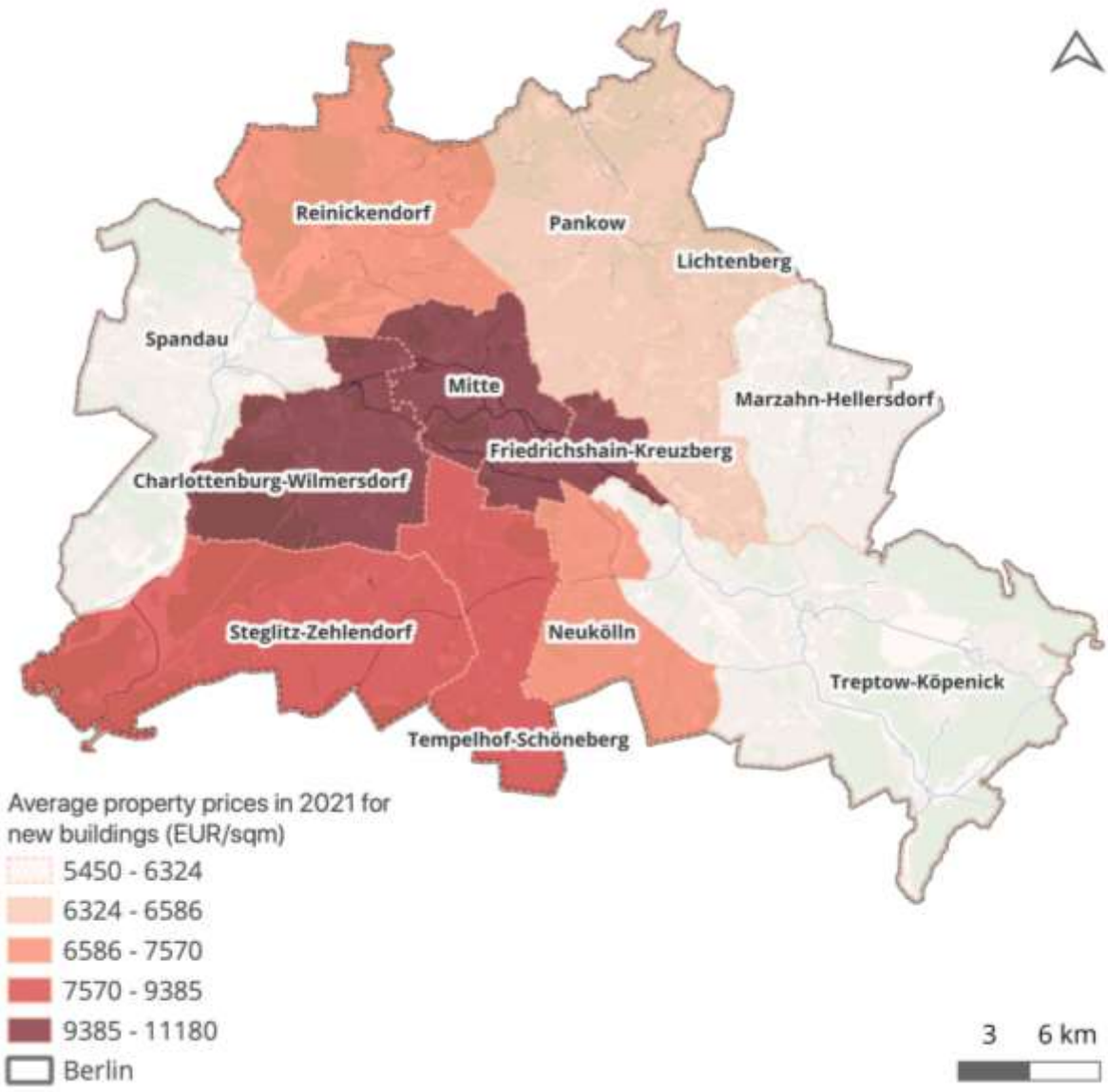


Figure 77: map to show average property prices in Berlin for new buildings 2021

This mass selling of public land reveals how neoliberal interests further shape the urban arrival trajectories of refugees. Recently scholars have explored the fragmented, gradual, and less visible nature of 'urban land grabs' in the Global South (Steel et al., 2017), where formerly rural or peri-urban areas are incorporated into the city (Neimark et al., 2018; Zoomers et al., 2017) and political elites lease urban state land for their own self-interest (McDonnell, 2017). In contrast, Berlin's urban land grabbing in the context of the Global North (Clausen, 2015; Thiel, 2015) is founded in the city government's policies of austerity urbanism (Davies and Blanco, 2017; Peck, 2012) as it attempts to consolidate its debt. However, the underlying logics are the same, where buyers attempt to appropriate and increase the value of land which fuels processes of speculative urbanism and gentrification (Steel et al., 2017). Alongside the

global financialisation of housing (Aalbers, 2016; Madden and Marcuse, 2016; Rolnik, 2019), Berlin's land policies have become firmly entangled with the neoliberalisation of urban development, where states are making the built environment more flexible and responsive to real estate investments that seek to extract capital value from the city (Brenner and Theodore, 2005; Enright and Rossi, 2017; Weber, 2002). They constitute part of the moving frames of neoliberal urbanism that government, refugees, and grassroots organisations in Berlin are being forced to navigate in the search for stable housing (Bhagat and Soederberg, 2019; Soederberg, 2019). On the one hand, the state's insistence on now using public land to build shelters wrests back some control from the private sector at a time of prolific global privatising of asylum and refugee services that is leading to adverse impacts on those they are intended to help (Darling, 2016b, 2016c; Lethbridge, 2017). On the other hand, policies of privatisation have made the state less capable to effectively enact the benefits of this control. Not only has the neoliberalisation of the city made Berlin's long-term shelters necessary in the first place, it has also defined where they could be built.

The spatial impact of the limited available sites is evident in the political tensions which emerge on multiple scales. First, tensions develop between the state of Berlin and the governments of the city's 12 boroughs (figure 78). In February 2016 the Berlin Senate established the resolution for 60 plots of land to be designated for refugee accommodation, mandating from each borough between five to nine new sites (RBmSkzl, 2016). In May 2018 a second resolution mandated a further 25 sites for MUF accommodation, with each borough proposing two sites (RBmSkzl, 2018). The negotiations between the Berlin Senate and its boroughs were fraught and reflect long-standing conflicts of urban governance over a variety of issues including previous refugee accommodation allocation (Heine, 2013), recent rent caps (Gabrie, 2019), and the modernisation of the city's governance structures (Fahrun, 2019). The selections in 2018 were especially contentious, with boroughs imploring the Berlin Senate Department for Finance to reconsider sites after they felt decisions were made over their heads and imposed on them (Ritter, 2018).

The difficult negotiations between Senate and boroughs are compounded by local political resistance against the proposed sites. Many have faced public protests such as marches and petitions (Berliner Morgenpost, 2018; Schönball, 2018). Some protesters cite feeling unsafe and fear of increasing littering, theft, burglary, and drug related crime, revealing negative stereotypes about refugee populations (Richter, 2018). However most opposition is notably articulated not through overt anti-immigrant sentiment but through other indirect channels,

such as criticising the lack of public consultation provided by the state (Siebert, 2018). In some neighbourhoods citizen initiatives have been established which cite the disproportionate burden which falls on the area (Richter, 2018; Wannsee 300, 2018) or campaign for alternative use of the proposed site such as a sports hall and school (Bürgerinitiative Osteweg, 2020). On Ratibortstrasse in Kreuzberg protestors organised against the idea of mass refugee accommodation itself as they feel it creates 'new urban ghettos' (Frey, 2019). Furthermore, they highlighted the displacement of 30 local craft businesses, caravan park, and beer garden. Here a displaced arrival population is perceived to displace existing social projects and German citizens. This was also evident on Kiefholzstrasse a few hundred metres away, where a radical LGBTQ+ caravan community protested against their own displacement from the location. They argued against pitting refugees against other vulnerable and marginalised groups and also condemned mass refugee shelters (Kanal, 2020; Mai, 2016). Although such movements take explicitly pro-refugee stances, they paradoxically exclude refugees from the ability to live within the central and culturally diverse neighbourhood of Kreuzberg.

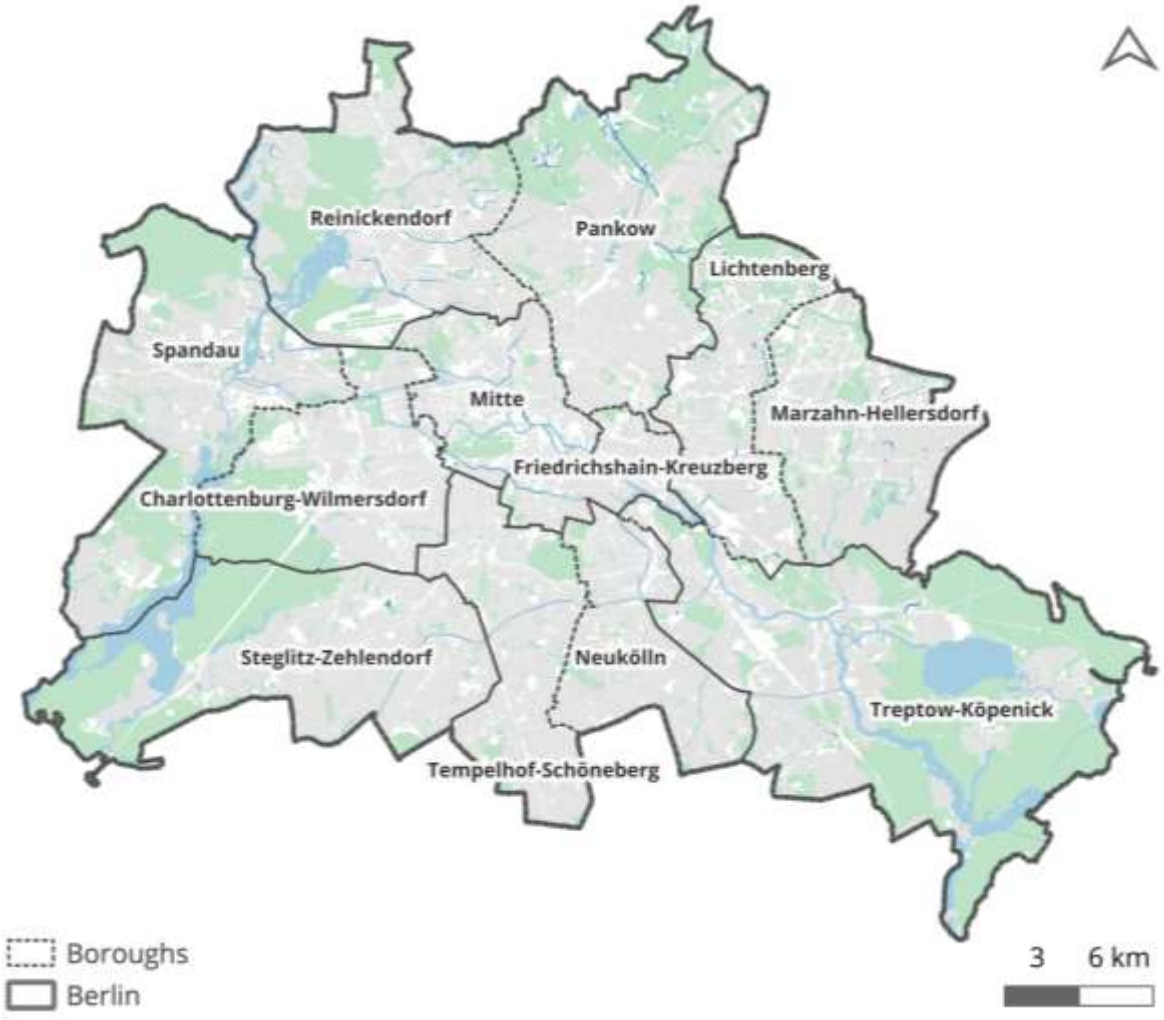


Figure 78: map to show the 12 administrative boroughs of Berlin

Environmental factors are particularly prominent in anti-shelter rhetoric. For example, protestors erected signs against construction at Dahlemer Weg in Zehlendorf where, as a member of a local citizens' initiative affirms, it is not 'what' is being built, but that they 'don't want any construction going on there at all' in an environmentally protected area (Rabe, 2019). Similarly, protestors campaigned against the felling of trees at Leonorenstrasse in Steglitz (Lange, 2017) and at Paracelsus-Bad in Reinickendorf (Richeter, 2018). A movement which is usually associated with the social democratic and inclusive activist left has become instrumentalised for essentially right-wing exclusionary politics. This reflects a broader trend where the migration of people to developed countries are unjustly framed as being damaging to sustainable development, a process which scholars condemn as ethically indefensible (Angus and Butler, 2011; Neumayer, 2006). Migrants are scapegoated as threats against environmentalism, drawing attention away from the actual vandals. In Berlin such tactics have been co-opted to deny refugee settlement on a local scale.

Although local resistance to shelter development takes a variety of forms, they all constitute overarching attitudes of NIMBYism (Not In My Back Yard). Devine-Wright (2009, p. 426) conceptualises NIMBYism as a 'conceived form of place-protective action, which arises when new developments disrupt pre-existing emotional attachments and threaten place-related identity processes.' These negative evaluations of place change often derive from the imagined threat of an undifferentiated racialised 'Other' (Hubbard, 2005). As Ferwarda et al. (2017) suggest, perceptions of refugee resettlement by host populations often show consistently less local support for resettlement within their own communities than elsewhere in the country. In Berlin, those who resist shelters perceive them as a disruption to place rather enhancement of it. This leads to actions against their construction and ultimately to the exclusion of refugees from these neighbourhoods, even when locals claim to be pro-immigration. As Carley et al. (2020) explore in their extensive review of studies into NIMBYism in the development of energy infrastructures, individuals are actually more often supportive of energy projects than they are opposed primarily due to perceived benefits. In contrast, the shelters as infrastructure rarely rouse such public support, instead being considered as burdens that threaten existing places. They have to be imposed on boroughs, who propose sites they know will likely be contested by local residents. The limited number of suitable sites merely makes these multi-scalar political tensions more likely.

The nature and success of this political resistance is importantly defined by local urban geographies and socio-economic demographics. A notable example is in the wealthy

suburban neighbourhood of Wannsee in Zehlendorf, which hosts expensive houses, sailing clubs, and the infamous Haus der Wannsee Konferenz where leading Nazi officials formulated the policies of the Final Solution. Local residents established a citizens' initiative to campaign against the state's plans to renovate a disused hospital complex in the area that would house 750-1000 refugees (Wannsee 300, 2018). Currently a registration centre tailored for refugees with special medical needs is the only shelter in the area. It is supposed to be renovated into a community shelter, however local residents have managed to halt development plans through an environmental building ban due to sightings of nesting bats (Martin, 2019). The shelter manager believes this to be a veiled attempt to prevent the general development of refugee accommodation in the area due to socio-economic concerns:

> 'There is fear of their house prices falling because of the shelters. Some have complained about the noise and say that the people who live here didn't have a "standard" job and now they deserve more peace and quiet than others. But it's mainly the house prices.'[2]

The potential loss of capital and an entitlement to a privileged environment subsequently galvanised a local population to resist shelter development. This echoes a growing body of research that demonstrates how prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants is observed to be highest in both those who experience relative deprivation, i.e. those who experience greater economic hardship and have a lower social status, *and* those who experience relative gratification, i.e. those who experience economic prosperity and have a high social status (Dambrun et al., 2006; Guimond and Dambrun, 2002; Jetten et al., 2015; Postmes and Smith, 2009). For the latter group in this so-called 'V-curve,' such attitudes stem primarily from an anxiety and fear that their relative gratified position may be lost in the future, undermining their security of wealth position (Jetten et al., 2015; Moscatelli et al., 2014; Scheepers et al., 2009). Although such gratification can relieve certain kinds of stress, it also creates new stresses through fear of social and financial decline.

While those who are well-off often display similarly negative attitudes to immigrants as those are not, crucially this demographic has a greater capacity to act upon such attitudes. Research into neighbourhood activism against infrastructure projects demonstrates the importance of higher levels of education as well as social capital and networks in facilitating opposition (Coppens et al., 2018; van Dijk and van der Wulp, 2010). The resources, connections, and

[2] Berlin, 09/08/2018.

opportunities available to different Berliners shape the ability to resist shelter construction. The manager of the shelter in Wannsee continues:

> 'It is different from Marzahn. Here they are old doctors, lawyers, and teachers. They are people with influence and older people who vote. They are organised and know how to take things to court. In Marzahn they threw a pig's head into the shelter. Here they go to court.'[3]

The affluent area hosts former professionals who are familiar with civic and legal processes and so are better equipped to realign public policies to their own interests through formal means. In areas where locals do not have the necessary skills, time, or knowledge to effectively prevent shelter development, resistance manifests in more spectacular ways such as through the mentioned incident of far-right violence where a pig's head was thrown into a shelter in Marzahn-Hellersdorf (Kather, 2016). The leader of a citizens' initiative in Buch highlights the tensions they have with the state:

> 'The Berlin Senate decides everything over your heads. The people have not been brought along. It is all done with no respect for the people. They are deciding for people when they have nothing to do with them or really know their problems. They need to do it in collaboration with the area.'[4]

Here the imposed decisions of the state seem final, and there is no suggestion that they might be overturned. This resonates with research that suggests residents of deprived neighbourhoods do not necessarily produce collective resources in spite of strong social ties (Sampson, 2012; Wilson, 2012). In these neighbourhoods, social ties tend to generate basic support and survival mechanisms rather than collective actions on behalf of the neighbourhood. In Berlin, shelters become concentrated in areas that do not have the tools to resist them, even where negative attitudes towards immigrants may be equally strong.

The construction of Berlin's shelters is entangled with these conflicting urban economic, political, and social dynamics which has led to the imposed insertion of refugees primarily into peripheral eastern neighbourhoods. This complexity reflects McFarlane and Rutherford's (2008) assertion that the development of urban infrastructure is a highly political process that can lead to processes of fragmentation, inequality, and crisis. Urban refugees have long been noted for their tendency to inhabit the peripheral locations of the city in the Global South, a trend which is rooted in specific urban socio-political and spatial dynamics (Marfleet, 2007).

[3] Berlin, 09/09/2018.
[4] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

They may exist at the city's edge due to a lack of room to settle or build makeshift housing (Krings, 1987), or are settled by the state in camps that are then swallowed into the expanding peripheries of cities (Martin, 2015; Sanyal, 2012). In Berlin, at the core of their forced peripheral emplacement lies the city's history in tandem with hegemonic neoliberal market logics that have come to define cities all over the world (Harvey, 2003; Sassen, 1991). The initial urban spectacles of arrival such as Tempelhof have receded, creating a visible public disappearance that gives a false symbol that the refugee accommodation situation had been 'solved' when in reality it has merely become more concealed and located elsewhere in less central and visible sites (Parsloe, 2020a, 2017). Yet these problems have merely been relocated rather than solved, reflecting Harvey's (2010a, 2010b) critique of the crises of capitalism where 'capital never solves its crisis tendencies, it merely moves them around.' Streeck (2014) similarly highlights modern economic policies based around 'buying time' where a crisis of democratic capitalism that has profoundly restructured society has been playing out over decades. Just as the state builds structures that increasingly resemble urban housing rather than address an affordable housing crisis, so too through shelter locations are they merely moving the problem. This has exacerbated existing political and social tensions around the city, forcing refugees to compete with other urban citizens for increasingly scarce public resources (Herscher, 2017; Louis et al., 2007). In an ironic turn of events, the former headquarters of the Landesbank Berlin, one of three banks that constituted the Bankgesellschaft Berlin which caused the 2001 scandal, became an LAF office for refugee registration in 2015 (figure 79). In this building refugees are dispersed to peripheral urban sites and neighbourhoods that have been defined by the financial corruption that took place inside the same walls two decades prior. It is the socio-political and infrastructural contexts of these neighbourhoods to which this chapter turns next, focusing on the case study of Buch, to expose how locals navigate the imposition of difference.

Figure 79: former headquarters of Landesbank Berlin that is now an LAF office, Berlin Wilmersdorf, 2020

6.3 Entanglements with Buch's infrastructural contexts and socio-political tensions

In Buch three new shelters were erected in a neighbourhood that had never hosted refugee accommodation before: two MUFs, one on Wolfgang-Heinz-Strasse and the other on Lindenberger Weg, and one container village called the AWO Refugium (figure 75). Their construction in the neighbourhood entangles them with the pre-existing socio-political structures, attitudes, and affects that shape the way that locals consider their ability to host refugees. As Bock and Macdonald (2019, p. 25) affirm about Germany:

> 'Newcomers reached a country in which ideas about what it means to live with difference, and about political and civil society responses to social pluralism, were already variously marked by contradictions, populism, fear, rejection, normalisation, and ambivalence.'

These embedded characteristics are intimately tied to the infrastructural contexts of particular urban neighbourhoods, in Buch's case by the underdevelopment of institutional infrastructures

and the social problems this causes. Rodgers and O'Neill (2012) establish the term 'infrastructural violence' to describe the marginalisation, abjection, and disconnection of vulnerable groups that become operational and sustainable in contemporary cities through infrastructure that unevenly distributes material, social, and symbolic capital. They differentiate between 'active' and 'passive' forms, where the former is intended to inflict suffering while the latter concerns harmful effects that derive from infrastructure's limitations and omissions. In the more passive forms, physical exclusion from infrastructure serves to facilitate forms of social exclusion as suffering derives from being disconnected from urban infrastructural networks (Anand, 2012; Gandy, 2006). To what extent do such infrastructural disconnects exist in Buch, and how does this shape the neighbourhood's ability to host refugee arrivals?

As Moss (2020, 2008) highlights, reunification had radical implications for infrastructure management in Berlin and East Germany. Dramatic socio-economic restructuring fundamentally altered relationships between infrastructure and the localities it served. In Buch, local residents highlight how this restructuring has negatively impacted institutional local social infrastructures provided by the state. For the leader of the Buch citizens' initiative (Bucher Bürgerverein, 2021), it is the primary source of existing problems for local communities as well as new tensions with the refugee newcomers:

> 'We have no real architectural problems; we have administration problems. We don't have the infrastructure to support them. The worst thing is these places are all so close together. We have only one elementary school, so children have a long way to go for school. They closed the police station in Buch, so it is now in Weissensee. It can take police 90 minutes if there is traffic to get here. The fire brigade is also now voluntary. The refugees are not the problem, it is the administration.'[5]

He frames infrastructural issues to be firmly rooted in the legacies of Berlin's reunification where the state has placed a disproportionate focus on development:

> 'After reunification there was no money to keep the social infrastructure. Our voluntary group was formed to try and keep some of it. The outer districts have been forgotten, and the benefit has primarily been in the centre. Infrastructure is always built there.'

[5] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

His comments reflect trends highlighted by scholars of the abandonment and demolition of central pieces of infrastructure such as shops, cinemas, schools, and kindergartens throughout East German cities in the 1990s due to severe population loss that left infrastructure underutilised and undermaintained (Bernt, 2009; Bernt et al., 2017; El-Kayed et al., 2020). Indeed, Berlin has an estimated shortage of 25,000 school and day-care places and the Pankow borough, in which Buch is located, is one of the most affected areas (Schuhmacher, 2019). Shelters come to be placed in areas where important institutional social infrastructures were dismantled in the wake of reunification.

The underdevelopment of institutional social infrastructure encourages perceptions of unfair burden sharing for the neighbourhood that serves to exacerbate its existing marginalisation and inequalities. The citizens' initiative leader considers the concentration of shelters as the state 'putting them all in the corner' while one local resident highlights the injustice of the uneven dispersals:

> 'There aren't as many in the richer areas. You need more spread.'[6]

A member of the Pankow Flüchtlingsamt similarly suggests it is a conscious decision to keep refugees separated from central areas, instead impacting areas with low social capital:

> 'And of course, the first shelters were all built in the former East. Thank God! They're away from the centre! But here there are lots of issues and right-wing politics. It is a bad idea to put them in a place with so many social problems and where it is so isolated.'[7]

These perspectives reflect on a neighbourhood level the logics of dispersal programmes throughout Europe that frame asylum seekers as a problem and burden that needs to be shared on an abstract and municipal scale (Bauböck, 2018; Boswell, 2003; Robinson et al., 2003; Thielemann, 2018, 2003). The more shelters and therefore more refugees that are in an area, the more citizens feel they are being unjustly forced to deal with this 'problem.' In his work on Paris and Chicago, Wacquant (1993) highlights the perception of the urban periphery as a segregated 'neighbourhood of exile' to which residents have been banished from the 'civilised' centre. Although less extreme, residents in Buch also feel a disconnection from their urban centre, as investment appears concentrated elsewhere. The refugee 'undesirables'

[6] Berlin, 11/07/2019.
[7] Berlin, 15/07/2019.

(Agier, 2011) are perceived to be pushed to the margins to live with other populations who also feel neglected by the state.

The uneven dispersal of shelters also transpires within the neighbourhood itself. Buch is defined by its variety of medical research institutes and hospitals (Beddies and Schmiedebach, 2004; Bielka, 2013; Campus Berlin-Buch GmbH, 2020) (figure 81). Its housing stock is notably polarised, reflecting an underlying polarisation of the economic statuses of its population (figure 80). On the one hand, large social housing developments are situated east of the train station in four main residential areas (Buch I-IV) built between 1967-87 (figures 82-83). On the other hand, the area west of the station known as the 'Kolonie' features large detached suburban homes situated on cobbled streets (figure 84). Next door, the 2011 restoration of one of the early 20th century hospital complexes to create the Ludwig Hoffmann Quartier offers unique and spacious dwellings in a listed historical structure (figure 85) (Ludwig Hoffmann Quartier, 2014). Notably, the shelters are solely located in the areas of high-rise social flats. One local resident highlights these socio-economic and architectural dichotomies:

> 'You have people in the houses who are better-off, but also very poor people with low education in the tower blocks. It's difficult to integrate these parts. Then when you add refugees on top of that, it makes it even more difficult.'[8]

The medical and bio-tech campuses result in a concentration of highly educated professionals, doctors, and researchers. However, it is to the poorer areas where refugees are added. The leader of the citizens' initiative comments:

> 'We had another area that was easy to develop, so it wouldn't be all packed in the one place. It would be better to have them more spread out in Buch.'[9]

The aforementioned processes that define shelter location result in the LAF building primarily where land was easily and readily available. These sites within the areas of social housing and existing social issues simply proved easier to build on, with fewer restrictions and less effective resistance. Refugees are pushed to these margins of the margins through a localised uneven spread.

[8] Berlin, 11/07/2019.
[9] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

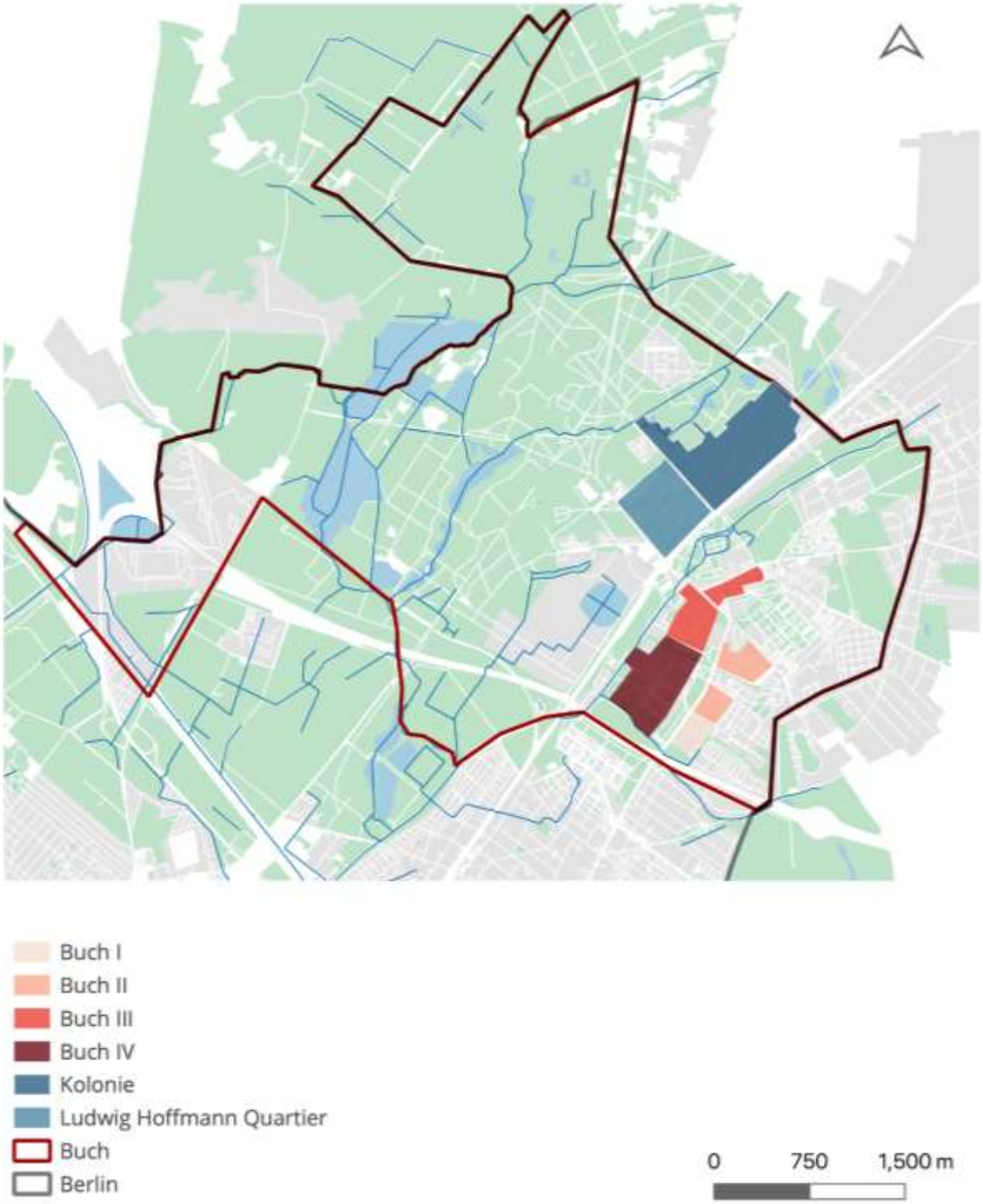


Figure 80: map to show the areas of Buch with different housing stock

Figure 81: Helios Klinikum hospital complex, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 82: social housing in the Buch II development, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 83: social housing in the Buch IV development, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 84: suburban homes on the cobbled streets of the ‘Kolonie,’ Berlin Buch, 2020

Figure 85: converted hospital buildings into housing in the Ludwig Hoffmann Quartier, Berlin Buch, 2019

Underdeveloped institutional infrastructure and marginalisation in Buch provide a context where tensions already existed before the refugees arrived. New arrivals are perceived to merely exacerbate them rather than impose new conflicts. Another local focuses on existing issues:

> 'It is a particular group of younger people causing the problems, but this has always happened here. The problems were here already, but the refugees have sharpened them.'[10]

Local NGOs and shelter managers particularly highlight the comparative high levels of far-right activity in the areas of social housing. Indeed, in the 2017 general elections the controversial right-wing *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD- Alternative for Germany) party placed first in these neighbourhoods, a rarity in Berlin, winning between 26-30% of the vote (figure 86). Founded only in 2013, this party achieved 12.6% of the vote in the 2017 elections

[10] Berlin, 07/06/2019.

across Germany, making it the third strongest party in the Bundestag and breaking a post-war taboo where a far-right party moved into the German parliament for the first time in over 60 years (Dilling, 2018; Eddy and Erlanger, 2017). In contrast, the centre-right *Christlich Demokratische Union* (CDU-Christian Democratic Union) led by Merkel polled first in the 'Kolonie' and Ludwig Hoffman Quartier while the left-wing *Die Linke* (The Left) polled first in northern Buch. While it is important to note that growing nationalist support is evident throughout the entire country, former East German states demonstrate roughly twice as much support than the West (Weisskircher, 2020) and higher levels of racism and xenophobia (Karakayali, 2019; Steigemann, 2019). Such developments are firmly linked to refugee arrivals and presented in the growing popularity of the anti-islamic group PEGIDA from Dresden since 2014 and the violent anti-immigration protests in Chemitz in 2018 (Bennhold, 2018; Berntzen and Weisskircher, 2016; Bock, 2019; Rees et al., 2019). In Berlin specifically, eastern neighbourhoods such as Marzahn are noted for their comparatively high levels of right-wing extremism (Shoshan, 2016, 2008). Although arguably not as bad as Marzahn, Buch remains one of the city's key neighbourhoods for far-right support. In the 2013 general election one of its polling areas was one of only a handful in the country where the *Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (NPD- National Democratic Party of Germany) achieved the 5% minimum threshold for any party to theoretically enter the German Bundestag (Berliner Morgenpost, 2013; Deutscher Bundestag, 2020). This ultra-nationalist group has witnessed two attempts in 2003 and 2017 by all 16 German states to ban the party, which is widely perceived as a neo-Nazi organisation and a 'threat to democracy' (Dearden, 2017; Der Spiegel, 2006). Buch presents significant pre-existing socio-political conflicts which the imposition of infrastructures that cater to an ethnically diverse arrival population merely exacerbates.

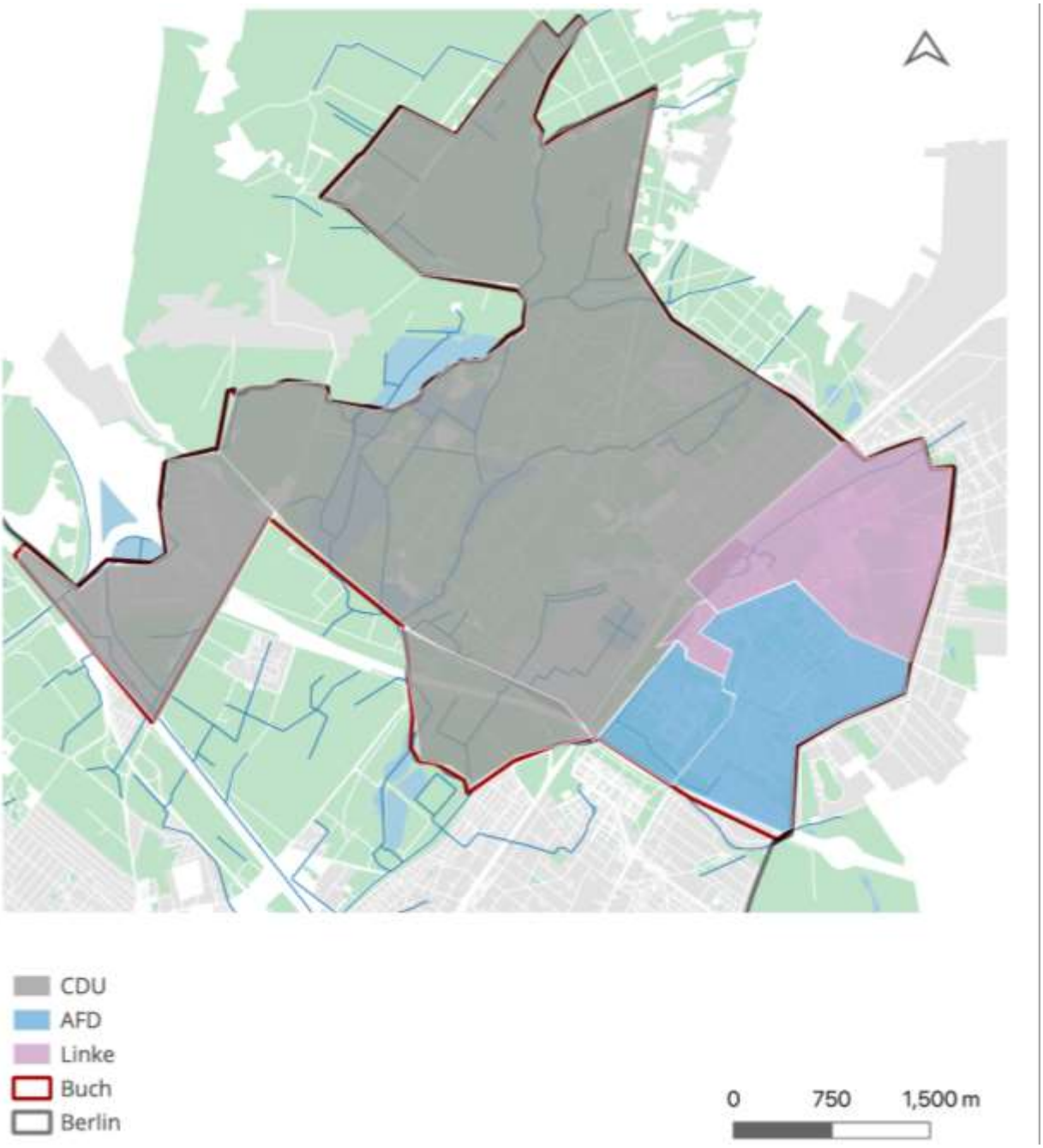


Figure 86: map to show the party with the most votes in 2017 general elections in Buch polling areas

The exacerbation of local social tensions is being amplified by the city's broader gentrification. For the citizens' initiative leader, the refugees are arriving at a time of significant urban change that is making their incorporation more difficult:

> 'Buch has changed since the refugees arrived. But it is not because of the refugees, but because of the changes Berlin has experienced. There is much

pressure from the inner city. Lots of people are moving here so there are price and rent increases. That is destabilising the cycle, not the refugees.'[11]

Just as the issues of hyper-financialised architecture have made shelters necessary in the first place and dictated their placement, the tensions they cause also impact the stability of local communities. Berlin has come to be considered a 'showcase of gentrification,' especially since the mid-2000s when the Berlin Banking Scandal halted housing subsidies and social housing units were sold off (Bernt and Holm, 2013; Holm, 2013). In this sense, it has become a city of the increasing displacement, crises, and creative destruction that accompany gentrification (Davidson, 2011; Lees et al., 2013). This differentiates Buch from the context of unpreparedness and inexperience in which Steigemann (2019) explores arrival infrastructures. Although East Berlin was also impacted by the population loss, deindustrialisation, and disinvestment that lead to decline and produced 'shrinking cities' throughout East Germany (Bernt, 2009; Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012), it now faces other challenges of gentrification and central urban upgrading as more people move to the periphery to escape rapidly rising rent prices while still suffering from the dismantling of its infrastructure in the 1990s. These challenges are likely to increase as in the city's urban development strategy for 2030 Buch is identified as a key 'transformation area' that will focus on business, research, and residential development, and act as a 'laboratory for urban development around the periphery of Berlin' (SenSW, 2015, p. 69, 2005). The shelters have been erected at a time when the neighbourhood is already experiencing shifting and destabilising dynamics.

The underdevelopment of institutional social infrastructures and underlying socio-political tensions in Buch entangle an arrival population with pre-existing issues of resource allocation, socio-economic exclusion and marginalisation, political conflict, inequality, and instability that make local residents feel they are ill-suited and ill-equipped to incorporate an arrival population. Although refugees are physically separated in shelters, they become included in and complicate existing urban transformations and restructuring that were already affecting the local population. Graham and Marvin's (2001) conceptualisation of 'splintering urbanism' is useful here, which affirms that the 'modern infrastructural ideal' that sought to provide universal accessibility in the city has become increasingly destabilised and undermined. Rather than standardised and territorially integrated urban infrastructures, today's technological networks and services are more fragmented and spatially differentiated which establishes 'infrastructural gaps' (Dalakoglou, 2016). Some areas have become prioritised for infrastructural development, usually those which will be more lucrative, while others have been

[11] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

bypassed. Graham and Marvin connect this to wider processes of social polarisation as certain people become increasingly marginalised by the reconfiguration of contemporary cities. Buch presents a neighbourhood where different types of infrastructures are simultaneously concentrated and unbundled. It hosts a high density of refugee shelters but is also a place of reduced accessibility to other necessary institutional social infrastructures not just for refugees but also locals. This highlights the importance of creating balanced complexes of infrastructure, where shelters require infrastructural contexts that are already developed in order for them to effectively operate as part of interlinked networks to facilitate arrival. Without this, the challenges inherent in constructively mediating relations between newcomers and locals become more difficult. The rest of this chapter now turns to the forms of encounter that develop in relation to the infrastructures that mediate them to reveal how such challenges unfold.

6.4 Reliance on social infrastructures that facilitate 'organised' encounter

The concentration of shelters in areas such as Buch that have significant pre-existing socio-political issues raises the crucial question of how locals and refugee arrivals come to interact with each other and negotiate their difference. What forms of encounter develop between them and how does infrastructure mediate such encounters? As Steigemann (2019) notes in smaller East German municipalities, there is a reliance on 'bottom up' infrastructures that stems from the already reduced urban infrastructures of shrinking cities. She defines these as civil society organisations and NGOs which mediate arrival by filling gaps left by the 'top down' infrastructures of the state as they subsequently become more formalised and institutionalised. Similarly, Sidney (2019) explores NGOs as a form of arrival infrastructure that blurs the boundary between state-built and immigrant-built infrastructures, both 'top down' and 'bottom up,' and forms distinctive pathways for immigrant inclusion that contributes towards the channelling of newcomers. These initiatives and organisations are important where so-called 'domains of commonality' (Schiller and Çağlar, 2016) that mediate sociabilities between newcomers and local residents are limited, such as in neighbourhoods with limited migration histories. Indeed, in Buch there is a notable reliance on pre-existing and specially created social infrastructures in the form of NGO projects and citizen initiatives to facilitate constructive encounters between refugee arrivals and locals. How does this reliance consequently shape the qualitative nature of such encounters and its impact on the potential to live with difference?

Institutional contexts impact the development of contact (Oliver et al., 2020). Typologies of encounter can be differentiated between the 'unplanned' and the 'organised' (Christiansen et

al., 2017; Wilson, 2017b). The former occurs in spaces such as on public transportation, playgrounds, streets, cafés, and homes (Lobo, 2014, 2014; Schuermans, 2016; Wilson, 2013a), while the latter concerns events such as art projects, sport and youth projects, and drop-in centre programmes (Amin, 2002; Darling, 2011b; McNally, 2019; Wilson, 2013b). Organised encounters are often established in forms that are explicitly focused on the transformative potentials of encounter in situations of conflict, segregation, or mistrust (Askins and Pain, 2011; Matejskova and Leitner, 2011; Wilson, 2014, 2013b). They intend to harness the perceived inherent potential of encounter that is able to mitigate prejudices and misconceptions (Leitner, 2012; Schuermans, 2016) or produce new convivialities, knowledges, and friendships that help lead to peaceful coexistence (Hinchliffe and Whatmore, 2006; Vertovec, 2015). This section reveals how the institutional social infrastructures of NGOs and other local organisations are not by themselves adequate to constructively mediate different between populations in areas like Buch.

The reliance on civic organisations is embedded in the lack of more informal and everyday forms of 'bottom up' social infrastructures such as shops, restaurants, or cafes that would help facilitate more 'unplanned' forms of constructive urban encounter. A shelter volunteer coordinator affirms:

> 'The social infrastructure in Berlin in general is not funded properly. There are three refugee camps in Buch, but we can't even have a simple café where we can meet together and drink a coffee on Sunday. There is no place where residents and neighbours can meet. That's just a symbol of how the situation is. We just need a place for people to sit outside of the camps to talk to each other.'[12]

The leader of the citizens' initiative also suggests:

> 'The social infrastructure for everyday things isn't developed enough. When we don't have the capacity to help, they can't learn the language. Look around the world. How do people integrate? It is through things like dancing, eating, music, or games. In the winter what is there to do? There is nothing in the area.'[13]

These comments highlight the importance of the more mundane, everyday forms of encounter that transpire outside the realms of institutional organised events. Most encounters across difference are normally unpredictable and spontaneous, occurring by chance within public space through 'unplanned' means (Oliver et al., 2020). For example, Hall (2012) emphasises

[12] Berlin, 18/09/2019.
[13] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

the importance of regular face-to-face social contact in multi-ethnic communities that happen on the city street, whose shops and spaces mediate the lived realities of allegiance, participation, and belonging to give differences an ordinariness. As Frazer (2020, p. 1) suggests, refugee resettlement 'is not some linear movement, in which refugees are "inducted" into an existing geography through formally-delivered, government-designed care services.' Instead, he perceives it as a 'much more wild and often mundane process, through which entirely new geographies of care- of family, friendship, and community- often emerge.' This reflects the messier processes of arrival explored in chapter three which contrast with the preconceived stepwise arrival pathways and their resulting paradoxes embodied in integration infrastructures. Yet without the presence of more informal 'bottom up' social infrastructures that better facilitate these messier processes, these more complex bonds are less able to develop.

Civil society organisations and NGOs come to play an increasingly important role in facilitating constructive encounter in areas such as Buch. They are explicitly intended to build relationships between newcomers and locals through organised forms. On the one hand, these types of organisations provide crucial support that 'top down' governmental structures do not fulfil (Sidney, 2019). The press secretary for Prisod, a private company operating the greatest number of Berlin's shelters around the city, affirms the important symbiotic relationships they have with such organisations and the qualitative differences in the forms of support due to geographic contexts:

> 'You notice the different support systems around the accommodations. We have a shelter in Kreuzberg where there isn't so much organised support, but more individuals helping out with things like German lessons. It's much harder to find individuals outside the city centre. We work with more non-profits in the outskirts- people applying for grants from the government, independently funded organisations, and with people who are employed. Things are more structured.'[14]

While such organisations establish vital support, on the other hand the fact that they need to do so can cause resentment as the leader of the Buch's citizen initiative affirms:

> 'The administration is essentially asking us to do everything and support them for free. These are things they should be doing. It can't be the task of local residents to solve these problems of arrivals.'[15]

[14] Berlin, 26/06/2019.
[15] Berlin, 12/08/2019.

The greater role civic organisations, charities, and NGOs are playing around the world increasingly reveals a growing over-reliance and exploitation of their work (Paniagua and D'Angelo, 2017; Watkins et al., 2012) during the era of austerity urbanism where the negative impacts of financial crises are offloaded onto local communities (Davies and Blanco, 2017; Peck, 2012). Such organisations demonstrate an outsourcing of former state responsibilities where democracy is reworked to help facilitate and promote neoliberal interests on the ground level of the city (Kamat, 2004; Rosol, 2012). In Buch the imposition of arrivals puts additional pressure on neighbourhoods and organisations that are already expected to provide social support in the context of diminished social capital and increasingly unmet local needs.

In a neighbourhood where unplanned forms of constructive encounter are less possible, more formalised events have to initiate contact between different populations. This is reflected in the locations of the BENN (*Berlin Entwickelt Neue Nachbarschaften*- Berlin develops new neighbourhoods) projects, which are specially formed social infrastructures designed to help newcomers integrate into the local community, primarily within areas outside of the city centre (SenSW, 2021) (figure 87). These constitute centralised integration initiatives that operate in tandem with the shelters and collaborate with social initiatives and programmes which already existed in the neighbourhood. As the BENN team member working in Buch suggests, creating events that attract communities that may not have a lot in common can be challenging:

> 'It depends on the event. We have a goal of our target group, but we need to be realistic. It's not too difficult, we do a lot of get-together parties and those are popular. But the question is how to make sure everyone is catered to. We try and find common interests and work with that. But a lot of it is very small scale. Certain things work for diverse groups: for example, flea markets seem to be an effective way to bring together new and old neighbours.'[16]

During the summer of 2019 the BENN hosted several *Freiluftkino* (open air cinema) events, something that is popular throughout the city (figure 88). Hardly any shelter residents attended one screening of *Das Schweigende Klassenzimmer* (The Silent Revolution), a German film about a secondary school class in East Germany which caused political controversy by holding a moment of silence for the victims of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. Its specificity attracted primarily local Germans rather than its intended mixed audience, revealing the challenges that more ethnically homogenous areas face when trying to facilitate organised encounter with sudden changes in cultural demographics.

[16] Berlin, 17/09/2019.

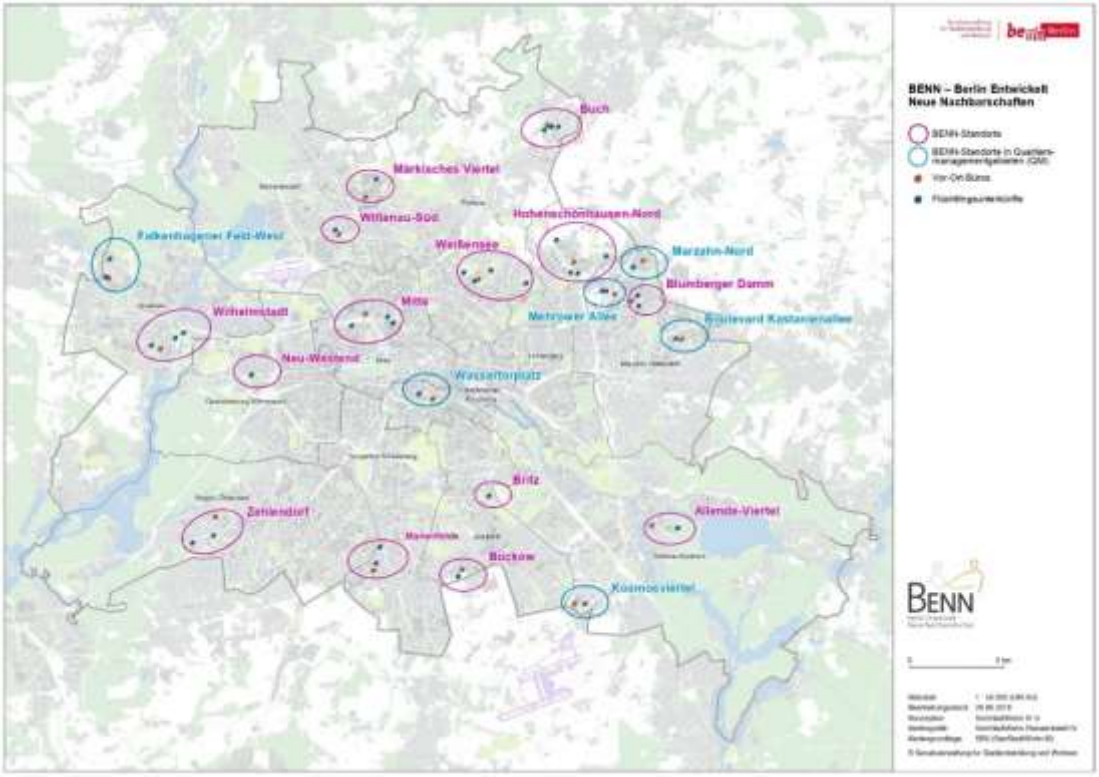


Figure 87: location of BENN project areas circled and associated shelters, 2018 (source: SenSW)

Figure 88: open air cinema integration event, Berlin Buch, 2019

The dilemma of which events to host are embedded in concerns over the romanticisation of urban encounter and questions of what Valentine (2008, p. 325) terms as 'meaningful contact' (Mayblin et al., 2016, 2015). This is 'contact that actually changes values and translates beyond the specifics of the individual moment into a more general positive respect for- rather than merely tolerance of- others.' Events such as the public film screening may provide a stimulus that encourages different demographics to share space but lack a deeper sense of connection. Matejskova and Letiner's (2011) work on immigrant integration projects in Marzahn prior to 2015 highlights a similar scepticism where proximity does not necessarily lead to meaningful contact. They note how workplace relations were far more successful in creating meaningful contact in contrast to the integration projects where one particular group and language tend to become dominant. Even then, changing perceptions about individual migrants do not necessarily scale up towards immigrants more broadly. These drawbacks of organised encounters are compounded by the need for careful facilitation and management by trained facilitators who are attentive to the differences involved (Janzen, 2015; Mayblin et al., 2016; Sarkissian and Bunjamin-Mau, 2009; Wilson, 2013b). Furthermore, active participation of refugees in community initiatives takes lots of time, skills, and resources (Rast and Ghorashi, 2018). Without these, organised encounter is less able to create more meaningful contact.

Creating events that facilitate meaningful contact is especially challenging when there is a steep cultural gradient between the arrival and local populations. For example, in May 2019, the AWO Refugium hosted a highly publicised visit from the famous East German double Olympic gold medallist figure skater Katharina Witt to inaugurate a gardening project (figure 89). However, her visit occurred during Ramadan, where snacks and refreshments were mostly consumed by German visitors as many residents were fasting. The event existed more as a spectacle of interaction intended for German citizens rather than to create social bonds, as residents were confused who she was and stood back from the crowd. A similar project that emphasised spectacle was 'Residenzpflicht.' Set up by an artist group in collaboration with Berlin state departments, it awarded ten artist residencies lasting one month inside a mobile module that would be placed within ten different MUFs (msk7, 2019; SenKultEu, 2017). One was located in Buch's Lindenberger Weg shelter, where the artist arrived with no physical objects to explore and evoke the situation many refugees face in their own arrival. Artists choose to live in a shelter surrounded by residents who are desperate to move out, with the bright yellow module starkly contrasting with the grey concrete of the MUF (figure 90). An exhibition at the end of each residency invites the public into the shelter in an exceptional circumstance. These well-intentioned events organised through social projects create one-off

encounters. They are highly photogenic, becoming documented and dispersed as materials that depict spectacles of interaction intended for locals rather than shelter residents. Perceptions of what is meaningful in encounter tend to be defined by the majority or those in power, overlooking the plurality of ways the encounter embodies meaning (Wilson, 2017a). Because of this, organised encounter transpires through scripted events that are shaped by existing norms, roles, and hierarchies that govern the particular social arena in which they occur (Christiansen et al., 2017). These instances in Buch are organised events facilitated by institutional social infrastructures that address the aims of the host population, namely to integrate refugee newcomers rather than necessarily address their aspirations or needs.

Figure 89: a photogenic spectacle of interaction when Olympic gold medallist Katharina Witt took part in a shelter gardening project, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 90: the yellow mobile unit of the ‘Residenzpflicht’ project during the end-of-residency exhibition, Berlin Buch, 2019

In contrast, encounters that are more mundane, regular, and accessible and facilitated by long-established local social projects appear better suited to more meaningful contact. These occur especially through the Bucher Bürgerhaus, the area's community centre located only a few metres from the shelters (figures 91-92). NGOs and social projects such as Albatros gGmbH and Sehstern e. V. operate from this space which also hosts community programmes and regular events including a weekly German language café, English lessons, and an elderly group as well as special occasions such as the *Zuckerfest*, the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramadan. Witnessing these events revealed more mutually beneficial engagement and direct conversations between shelter and local residents. They constitute habitual interactions that embody forms of 'sustained encounter' (Matejskova and Leitner, 2011) in comparison to the more fleeting ones that are often dismissed as having limited ability to transform values and beliefs (Wilson, 2017a). Indeed, at the *Zuckerfest* a member of the Buch's local elderly group who attended explains the evolution of her response to the arrivals:

> 'I was a bit scared and nervous before they came. It all happened so quickly. We weren't used to other people. Life has changed with the arrivals, but it isn't so bad in the end. We had to change, and it wasn't easy I won't lie. You can't have thousands of people arrive without change. I thought it was bad to start with, but it got better.'[17]

Through her engagement with the community centre for her own needs, she was simultaneously exposed to contact with the refugee newcomers that have changed her perspective. This social infrastructure importantly provides a pre-existing situation that is already operated by locally embedded projects. It benefits both locals and newcomers rather than favours one demographic. Furthermore, it provides mundane and routine events that regularly bring these populations into contact. Although geographical conceptions of habit challenge its perceived stability as 'repetition itself' can produce difference (Dewsbury and Bissell, 2015), in Buch these events establish more promising contexts for the transformational capacity of encounters (Darling and Wilson, 2016; Wise and Velayutham, 2009) in comparison to the singular spectacles.

[17] Berlin, 07/06/2019.

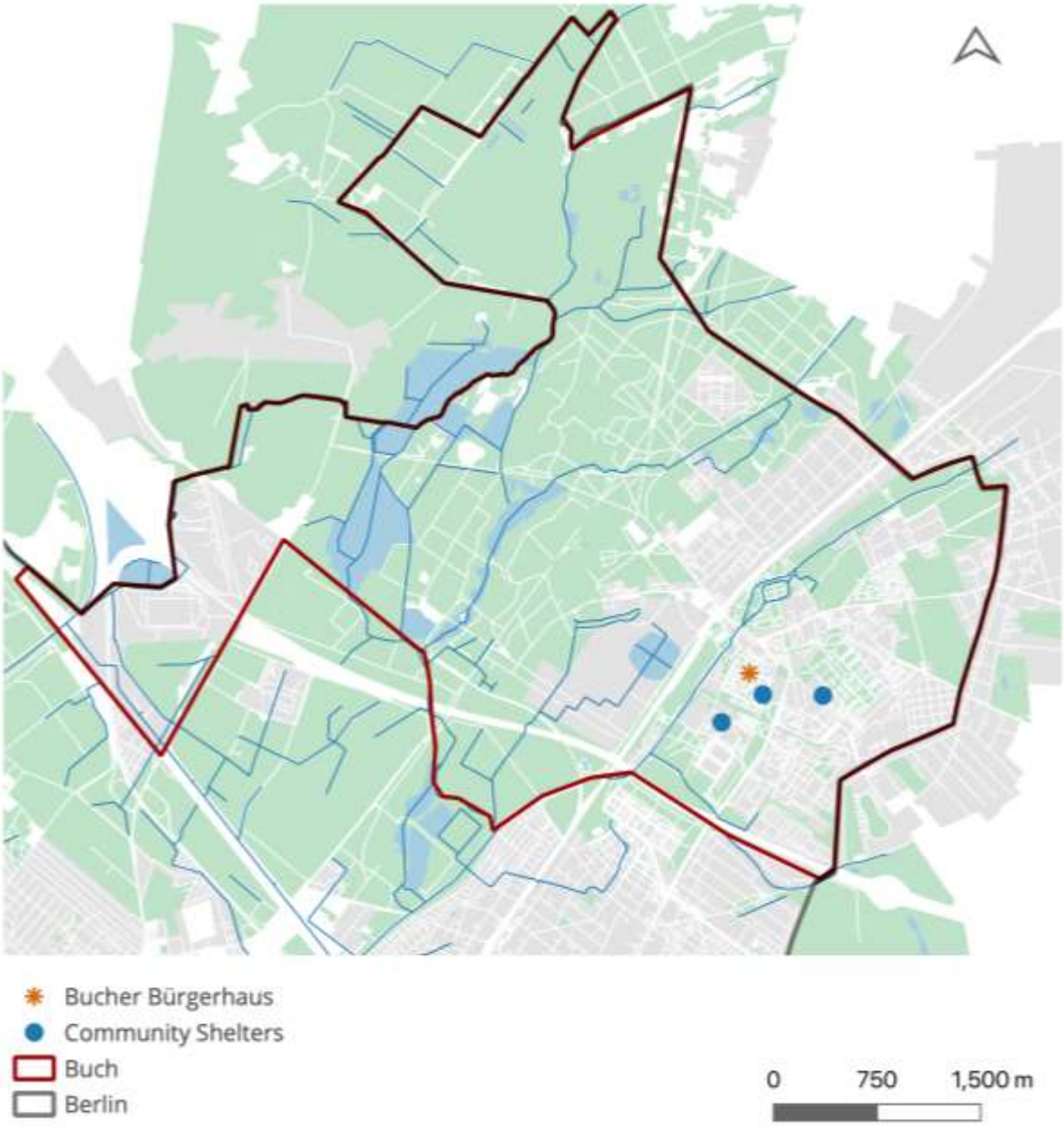


Figure 91: map to show location of the Bucher Bürgerhaus in relation to Buch's shelters

Figure 92: the Bucher Bürgerhaus which hosts many community projects and events, Berlin Buch, 2019

In spite of these potentials, at the core of all forms of organised contact is the possibility to create tension and augment feelings of difference rather than mitigate them. Wilson (2017b) illustrates the paradox of 'organised' encounters which exist in tension with the fact that encounters are inherently unpredictable. She perceives encounter as a particular 'genre of contact' which is characterised by antagonism, opposition, and surprise, tracing its etymology to its historical roots as a meeting between adversaries, akin to a duel or skirmish (Wilson, 2017a). The case of Buch suggests how the state of local social infrastructures and existing social issues shape the likelihood of creating these unproductive conflictual encounters. Well-intentioned efforts to bring diverse communities together are undermined when the local community already feels pressured, and resentments are high before refugees set foot in the neighbourhood. Organised encounters instead become arenas in which these existing tensions can be expressed through actions. For example, rupture was evident in Buch at the first *Freiluftkino* event, where a group of men were drinking in the park where the screening was held. As a BENN team member describes:

> 'One was getting rowdy and we had to kick him out. The police took a long time to come. At the end the group were still there. They started to provoke and threaten non-German volunteers saying things like "this is our land." One did the Hitler salute and they followed the volunteers to the train station.'[18]

In an apt coincidence the film being screened that evening was the Oscar winning *Green Book*, which tells the story of the racial discrimination an African American pianist faces as he tours the American South. An organised event that was designed to foster constructive encounter between refugees and locals became a spontaneous incident of confrontation and hate.

These ruptures exist along spectrums which include even the more mundane forms of organised encounters that are facilitated by the social infrastructure of the community centre. For example, one local spoke of a shunned invitation extended through the centre:

> 'We invited refugees to come and sing in our choir, but no-one came. We invited them two times, and still no-one came. So we don't invite them anymore.'[19]

Well-intentioned offers of hospitality may not receive any interest, leading to disappointment and souring of relations through the perception that newcomers are disinterested in engaging with the local community. She does not consider the cultural specificity of a western women's

[18] Berlin, 17/09/2019.
[19] Berlin, 11/07/2019.

choir, with which a woman from Syria or Iraq may not be familiar. These cultural misconceptions can be reversed, when the same local highlights how she did not attend the *Zuckerfest* celebration that was open to everyone:

> 'We were invited, but I didn't go. It would be strange for me to come to a *Zuckerfest* because I'm not religious.'[20]

Her own logic can be easily applied to her choir's invitation for refugees to join, where a lack of cultural familiarity for particular activities may deter certain communities from attending. Tensions also develop when the events happen. Although it occurred late afternoon in Bucher Bürgerhaus's garden, the traditional music played by a live band received noise complaints from local neighbours. Encounters are revealed to be inherently ambivalent, with the potential to also produce anxiety, resentment, or violence while aggravating existing conflicts or re-enacting unequal power relations (Hou, 2016; Listerborn, 2015; Lobo, 2013). Through these instances in Buch, the social infrastructure of the community centre can also become a conduit for rupture that exacerbates tensions rather than mitigates difference.

Organised encounters emerge as complex sites where difference is negotiated in Buch. This crucially stems from the wider underdevelopment of informal social infrastructures which results in fewer opportunities for constructive unplanned encounters. The inadequacy of infrastructure exacerbates existing problems in an already strained community that means organisations have to do more work for groups of people in need of support. As Matejskova and Letiner (2011) argue, scholars should be cautious of being overoptimistic about how encounters of difference decrease resentment and interethnic conflict. Instead, everyday contact that remains fleeting can actually harden prejudices and stereotyping, as they are underwritten by broader processes of marginalisation and entrenched in unequal power relations. Indeed, contemporary understandings of encounter derive from Pratt's (1991, p. 34) influential work on the 'contact zone' as a space of colonial encounter where 'cultures met, clashed and grappled with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power.' This zone is characterised by 'rage, incomprehension, and pain' but also by 'exhilarating moment of wonder and revelation, mutual understanding, and new wisdom' (p. 39). Encounter provides both the routes to racism and conflict as well as the routes of escape (Amin, 2002). In this sense they constitute spectrums of possibility that can create outcomes from unproductive ruptures to constructive bonds. El-Kayed et al. (2020) pose the question of whether state infrastructures can adequately substitute for 'classical' arrival infrastructure such

[20] Berlin, 11/07/2019.

as migrant networks and organisations in peripheral East German estates. The case of Buch reveals the inherent difficulties and shortcomings of this substitution, where an overreliance on local organisations asks them to do more than they can often give. While all forms of encounter may lead to constructive or disruptive outcomes, the capabilities, resources, and intentions of the infrastructure that facilitates them will shape whether they are able to constructively negotiate difference. As will be discussed in the final section, the spatial context of infrastructure in which encounter occurs also crucially shapes the mediation of socio-cultural difference, especially in unplanned encounters.

6.5 Conflictual encounters at the borders of infrastructure

If the lack of informal social infrastructures in Buch limits the possibilities of constructive encounters across difference, then where else and how do other forms of encounter transpire? Moving focus from the social infrastructures of Buch, the material dimensions of infrastructure in the form of the shelters themselves are key spaces in which unplanned encounters transpire between populations and their ambivalent potentials for both increasing and decreasing interethnic conflict are realised. Notions of 'infrastructural violence' (Rodgers and O'Neill, 2012) are rooted in the articulation of violence through infrastructure, yet material infrastructure itself can become a space where spectrums of violent acts may be performed, from the explicit to the indirectly antagonistic. In their study of right-wing violence in Germany since 2015, Benček and Strasheim (2016) identify four key categories of attacks: anti-refugee demonstrations; physical assaults and bodily injuries; arson, and miscellaneous attacks against refugee housing such as graffiti or throwing rocks. Attacks often occur through a combination of categories that specifically occur at the borders of refugee housing, in the sense of their material perimeters. Border spaces are key sites where encounters of the ethnic 'other' occur, including at securitised checkpoints (Christou and Spyrou, 2012) or the perimeters of enclave spaces (Schuermans, 2016, 2013). This raises the question of the role that the material borders of infrastructures play in shaping encounters of potential violence, as encounters do not only shape space but are also shaped by it (Leitner, 2012) just as violence also shapes space and vice-versa (Springer and Le Billon, 2016).

The spaces wherein tensions unfold through encounter do not necessarily undermine the ability to live with difference. In recent years scholars have questioned the nature of urban conflict, challenging assumptions that it is in itself negative. Goodall (2011) warns against stifling debate, instead advocating to let conflict play out in the city in the responses of urban communities to refugees. Similarly, Pullan (2017, 2015) introduces the potential of agon, the

ancient Greek term for struggle or competition, in the creation of productive and constructive conflict on an urban scale between different groups of people. While it may incorporate elements of violence and accepts conflict as inherent in the urban condition, it does so with limitations and protocols that appreciate the adversarial but positive processes of democracy (Connolly, 2002; Wenman, 2013). In this sense conflict emerges as not something to be avoided but embraced and channelled through constructive pursuits so as to make it less destructive. Yet as the case of Buch suggests, the spatial context in which such conflicts unfold crucially shapes its potential to have constructive dimensions.

Berlin's shelters indicate the artificial insertion, separation, and delimiting of the 'other' within their urban contexts in highly visible ways. Star (1999) considers infrastructure to be by definition invisible, operating in the background to other kinds of work. Larkin (2013) counters this by noting how infrastructural projects can also be grand visible spectacles that operate as signs of themselves. As discussed in Part II, in spite of attempts to transform shelters into forms of urban housing, they never fully achieve this. They are stuck between an ideal of housing that blends into the background and the grand spectacles of the early shelters. The shelters in Buch are embedded within residential areas but are clearly differentiated from their urban context. The architectures of the containers in particular contrast against the high-rise *Plattenbau* buildings that surround them, but most importantly the physical borders which consist of high fencing, reception desks, and security guards (figures 93-94) demarcate all shelter typologies. Sennett (2018, p. 143) argues that 'mixed communities work well only so long as consciousness of the Other is not foregrounded. If something causes that foregrounding then the weight of others is felt closer up, and mistrust can set in.' The shelters embody this foregrounding by physically delineating and isolating an arrival population that sets them up as strangers rather than neighbours. They are architecturally differentiated spaces that make newcomers highly visible within their urban contexts.

Figure 93: securitised entrance to the AWO Refugium Buch, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 94: high fences around the MUF on Wolfgang-Heinz-Strasse, Berlin Buch, 2019

First, this visible demarcation between the shelter and city creates tensions with local residents through the apparent superior amenities that refugees are granted. In a neighbourhood of infrastructural underdevelopment, investment appears to be centred on the arrival population rather than local citizens. This manifests spatially through ostensibly attractive architectures which cause resentment and envy. One local resident in Buch perceives superior landscaping:

> 'We saw in April, everywhere there were hundreds of rose plants in front of the Lindenberger Weg shelter. We calculated there were about 2000. Now, there are weeds between them, and they didn't take care of them. Nowhere else in Buch were roses planted. Look at our park. It looks terrible; there is no money for the rest of us. Where are our roses?'[21]

The shelter's central location on a main road makes these roses that garner the entrance highly visible to locals. An attempt to beautify the border of the stark grey MUF backfires as the roses become symbols of unequal treatment and a material source of contention as state resources appear to be wasted on a population which fails to demonstrate adequate gratitude (figures 95-96). Similarly, the manager of a Tempohome in Marzahn notes tensions and complaints from locals emerging from the installation of a new playground in the shelter when there was nothing for others in the area (figure 97).[22] These perspectives relegate support for refugees to a zero-sum game of competition where finite resources are perceived to be unfairly distributed. This zero-sum thinking, which embodies the belief that 'your gains are my losses,' in the context of refugee burden-sharing ultimately leads to more contentious relations and a reduced willingness of a national population to host refugees (Esses et al., 2001; Genschel and Jachtenfuchs, 2018; Piotrowski et al., 2019; Thielemann, 2005). It encourages the 'take care of our own first' narrative that is commonly employed to promote anti-refugee sentiment, where a country's moral obligation is first and foremost to supporting its own citizens (Brooks, 2016). Communities tend to demonstrate bias against providing caregiving to those perceived to be outside of an individual's group who pose a potential threat (Gilead and Liberman, 2014; Neuberg and Schaller, 2016). Berlin's shelters emerge as infrastructures that symbolise aspects of caregiving that some locals consider unjustified. Investment into the shelters merely emphasises the disinvestment into the wider neighbourhood.

[21] Berlin, 11/07/2019.
[22] Berlin, 17/08/2018.

Figure 95: roses outside the MUF on Lindenberger Weg, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 96: the local public Schlosspark (castle park) near to the shelters, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 97: the playground which locals envied, Berlin Marzahn, 2018

The physical borders of infrastructure can also become a target for provocative and highly visible attacks. For example, the AWO Refugium in Buch witnessed a suspected arson attack in August 2016 that forced some residents to be moved to shelters elsewhere, on top of an incident where three right-wing extremists attacked security guards outside the entrance and shouted xenophobic slogans (Berliner Zeitung, 2016a). Many shelters around the city have experienced similar direct attacks, including the aforementioned incident in Marzahn in 2016 where a pig's head was thrown into the Glambecker Ring emergency shelter in a presumed intimidation against Muslims for whom pork is forbidden (Kather, 2016). Other attacks have occurred around Germany, with 2015 seeing a five-fold increase to over 1000 incidents against refugee housing (Schumacher, 2016). This anti-refugee violence itself has the potential to increase anti-refugee attitudes (Igarashi, 2020). While numbers of such incidents have since dropped, there were still 129 attacks registered against refugee housing in 2019 in Germany (Neues Deutschland, 2020). During these moments the border between shelter and city become a space of violent encounter where certain individuals attempt to resist the existence of refugees in the area. The methods employed take distinctly material forms such

as the use of projectiles to physically invade shelters and destroy the sense of safety for their residents.

Figure 98: NPD sign on a lamppost after the arson attack at the AWO Refugium Buch, Berlin Buch, 2016 (source: DPA)

In Buch these explicitly anti-refugee spatial encounters have become formalised through the tactics used by the NPD. After the fire in the AWO Refugium Buch, they controversially hung placards outside the shelter reading '*Deutschland uns Deutschen'* (Germany for us Germans) (figure 98) (Berliner Zeitung, 2016b). For the 2019 European elections they again hung signs around Buch. These were especially concentrated around the shelter entrances, using them as architectural backdrops to reinforce the political fears stoked by the signs (figures 99-100). Highly provocative images included caricatures of ethnic stereotypes on a magic carpet accompanied with the words 'have a good journey home' as well as their leader Udo Voigt on a motorbike underscored by the phrase '*Gas geben*' (literally 'give the gas' but may also mean 'step on the gas'). The shelter managers read the latter as a promotion of genocide through an allusion to the gas chambers utilised by Nazi Germany. This presence notably contrasts with central areas such as Friedrichschain, where makeshift signs demonstrate overt solidarity with refugee causes (figures 101-102). Such actions deliberately utilise the shelters as spatial-political tools for the dual function of political galvanisation of the local population as well as intimidation of the shelter residents. Indeed, the NPD also published on its website a map with

the location of Berlin's shelters in 2018, a move which was criticised as a 'targeted incitement' of attacks against shelters and was ultimately blocked by Google (Hussein, 2018). In these instances, the shelter's border becomes a space for xenophobic and racist sentiments to be performed.

Figure 99: NPD placards on every lamppost outside the AWO Refugium Buch, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 100: NPD placards on every lamppost outside the MUF on Lindenberger Weg, Berlin Buch, 2019

Figure 101: homemade sign on a flat balcony that reads '*Wohnungen statt Lager*' (flats instead of camps), Berlin Friedrichschain, 2020

Figure 102: ‘Refugees Welcome’ and ‘*Grenzen töten*’ (kill borders) painted onto the riverbank, Berlin Friedrichschain, 2020

A willingness to engage in acts of explicit violence presents extreme cases of xenophobia and racist attitudes that cannot be considered as a definitive representation of all local attitudes. While xenophobic sentiments are far from uncommon (Ceobanu and Escandell, 2010; Czymara and Schmidt-Catran, 2017), there is a large gap between anti-immigrant stances and actual violent attacks (Jäckle and König, 2018). In Buch there was even overt resistance against certain attitudes such as those embodied on the NPD placards, where one outside the Bucher Bürgerhaus had been paint-bombed (figure 103). Even though only a select few engage in explicit violence, other milder forms of anti-refugee shelter sentiment are still evident. Protests at the new container sites were particularly common in Buch as well as most famously at the Blumberger Damm site in nearby Marzahn where protestors gathered every Monday for a significant period of time (Fröhlich et al., 2014). A social worker in Buch notes the nationalist protests that occurred outside the Wolfgang-Heinz-Strasse MUF:

> ‘There were politically motivated protests on the day we had a summer party. They dressed up in *Trachten* and *Lederhosen* and gathered at the shelter entrance.’[23]

Although it derives from the southern state of Bavaria rather than the distinctly separate culture of Prussian Berlin, the prominent use of traditional German dress displays cultural tensions and attempts to affirm a particular impression of German identity in the face of foreign arrivals. These spectrums of anti-refugee sentiment extend to micro-expressions, as the social worker continues:

> ‘People are walking past and mumbling into their beards that they don’t like the shelter being there.’[24]

These spectrums of incidents reveal the multi-faceted ways that anti-refugee sentiments manifest through encounters at the shelter border. Although they are much less noticeable, daily encounters that constitute what is termed ‘everyday racism’ still have significant adverse impacts (Essed, 2008, 1991). Societal structures embedded with acts of everyday racism can lead to unequal and discriminatory educational experiences (Dovemark, 2013), negative impacts on health (Terzioğlu, 2016), and foster the potential for more extreme hate crime (Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt, 2014). Just because attitudes and actions may not be extreme, they can still establish environments of unease and spill over into unplanned everyday encounters.

As Hopkins (2010) illustrates, hostile local political reactions to immigrants mainly occur when influxes cause sudden destabilizing change in demographics and national rhetoric reinforces threat. The 2015 arrivals and the imposed shelters encapsulate such sudden changes that were highly publicised. Incidents such as the New Year’s Eve 2015 attacks, where hundreds of women were sexually assaulted in many German cities in most cases by men of non-European origin, encouraged a *Stimmungswechsel* (affective change of mood) from the initial *Willkommenskultur* to xenophobia, even in areas with low prior levels of anti-refugee hostility (Borneman and Ghassem-Fachandi, 2017; Frey, 2020; Kosnick, 2019). In Buch, the shelters are visible infrastructures which provide spaces where such hostilities and conflicts of difference can play out through unplanned encounters at their borders. Darling (2016a) warns against the pitfalls of visibility of refugees in the city, which increases the danger of inviting the ‘policing’ of migrants. The unplanned encounters at shelter borders suggest that visibility, in Buch’s case through the physical presence of an imposed infrastructure, also increases the danger of potential anti-refugee sentiments being expressed in these spaces. They make an

[23] Berlin, 13/08/2018.
[24] Berlin, 13/08/2018.

arrival population more visible which enables them to be targeted. This contrasts with decentralised refugee housing, which does not offer the same clear visible targets for anti-refugee protest and racist attacks in comparison to large accommodation centres (Werner et al., 2018). The fences and security measures are intended to provide protection, but they paradoxically may make residents less safe by drawing attention to them. They provoke explicitly violent and more indirectly antagonistic attacks, revealing new dimensions to 'infrastructural violence' where violence transpires through local responses to newly built infrastructure. This supports Pullan's (2017) findings in contested cities where infrastructures such as separation walls which are ostensibly there to stabilise embattled societies end up consolidating violence by dividing populations. Although East Berlin does not present the same extremities as divided cities such as Jerusalem, it still presents marginalised communities that make such violence more likely when shelters which impose difference are situated there. Indeed, research into recent anti-refugee violence demonstrates a clear divide between East and West Germany, where the former has recorded more incidents (Benček and Strasheim, 2016). While conflict in cities can have constructive dimensions, the forms created by these infrastructures are counterproductive as they render visible existing social problems and exacerbate feelings of difference in a neighbourhood that has limited histories of migration.

Figure 103: paint-bombed NPD sign that reads '*Wehrt Euch!*' (defend yourselves!) outside the Bucher Bürgerhaus, Berlin Buch, 2019

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the insertion of shelters into urban areas that are unprepared and have little experience in accommodating immigrants entangles arrivals with existing infrastructural and socio-political contexts that shape the forms of urban encounter between newcomer and neighbourhood. The case of Buch reveals how the ambivalent potentials of connection and rupture that constitute spectrums of encounters (Burchardt and Höhne, 2015; Wilson, 2017b) are intimately linked and shaped by the intentions, operation, and formations of infrastructure through which the encounters unfold. Infrastructures thus come to be important entities that mediate the ability to live with difference in the city. The infrastructures in Buch that convene socialities are limited in their ability for the local population to constructively negotiate such difference. Instead, the construction of shelters in areas of existing inequalities and marginalisation creates encounters that exacerbate tensions rather than mitigate them. This is not to say that the presence of migrants in these areas inevitably leads to such conflicts. Indeed, findings in other peripheral and rural areas around Europe highlight how initial resistance and scepticism to refugees decreased once they had arrived in 2015 (Zorlu, 2017). Factors including the transition from imagined encounters that were influenced by impactful events on a national and regional scale to the everyday experience of newcomers (Bygnes, 2020) as well as pragmatic approaches that considered the local economic gains of operating asylum centres during difficult times (Whyte et al., 2019) facilitated these subtle mood changes of increased acceptance. These changes subsequently influence future prospects for local resistance, where local residents in areas where refugees have previously been resettled are shown to be less responsive to discourse that frames refugees as security threats (Ferwerda et al., 2017). However, in order to achieve these constructive transformations, the infrastructures that convene socialities between diverse groups must be adequately developed and carefully calibrated to better facilitate populations to reach towards rather than withdraw from each other (Simone, 2012). In Buch this would involve creating infrastructures that are more mutually beneficial to all populations as well as tackling the pre-existing neighbourhood marginalisation and inequalities with which newcomers inevitably become entangled. The next and final chapter turns towards the perspectives of shelter residents in Buch and the relationships they develop with their neighbourhood and the wider city. It reveals that their interactions with the city and more informal forms of infrastructure importantly provide the greatest scope to find autonomy in arrival.

7. Experiencing the city through infrastructure

7.1 Introduction

Infrastructural contexts and pre-existing marginalisation in Buch raise the question of how refugee newcomers interact with and consider their local neighbourhood. In their understanding of arrival infrastructure, Schillebeeckx et al. (2019) mobilise the long-established Chicago School's 'urban zones of transition,' where social and ethnic groups tend to cluster. These provide material and non-material resources which newcomers can mobilise in their arrival trajectories in this 'first point of entry' and 'natural habitat' for migrant groups and their activities (Burgess, 1928, 1925). They argue how these concentrations of migrant populations do not necessarily undermine a broader integration into urban society as many urban policy makers assume (Bolt et al., 2010; Münch, 2009; Musterd and Vos, 2007; Simpson and Peach, 2009), as long as they are supported by the development of particular arrival infrastructures. In these areas, definitions of infrastructures have expanded to include many of the initial 'point specific services' such as banks, shops, education, and housing that were initially considered distinct (Graham and Marvin, 2001). Hall et al. (2017, 2015, p. 59) consider the migrant infrastructure of the street, including shops, services, and social amenities, as a 'lively system of shared resources that situates migrant entrepreneurs in the city.' Similarly, Boost and Oosterlynck (2019) highlight the arrival infrastructures which provide migrants with (in)formal job opportunities, cheap and accessible housing, supportive social networks, ethnic and religious associations, cheap shops, restaurants, and bars. The relations between these places and the social connections they establish form infrastructures that migrants use to navigate their arrival trajectories. They suggest these 'soft' urban infrastructures consist of:

> 'the local and extra-local social networks that affect migrants' experiences at their place of arrival, by providing them with emotional, informational, and instrumental support in both everyday and crisis situations' (Boost and Oosterlynck, 2019, p. 158)

These infrastructures are important as they enable refugees to express autonomy by consciously choosing from a wider variety of infrastructures that help them define arrival more on their own terms rather than utilising resources provided by the state. Yet as the cases of Buch and other suburban and rural areas around the world suggest (Donato et al., 2007; Steigemann, 2019), migrants are increasingly settling, by both choice and imposition, outside of these traditional arrival neighbourhoods. How do migrants access the resources, social networks, and amenities that are required to address their needs and navigate arrival more on their own terms while living in these areas?

The construction of Buch's shelters in an area of underdeveloped institutional and informal social infrastructures as well as limited histories of migration emphasises the importance of where in the city infrastructures are located and how newcomers access them. These locations define where refugees come to encounter and build relationships with the city. Scholars have paid considerable attention to the wide variety of 'spaces of encounter' (Leitner, 2012) including spaces of work and education (Ellis et al., 2004; Wilson, 2013a), food and consumption (Laurier and Philo, 2006; Vertovec, 2015), and streets and plazas (Dirksmeier and Helbrecht, 2015; Pikner, 2016) to name a few. However, there is a lack of consideration over the geographical urban *location* of encounter, in particular its relation to certain infrastructures. To consider where in the city, in terms of a neighbourhood, its identities, and the infrastructures it provides, is vital to further considering the *emplacement* of mobile subjects and the 'where of asylum' on the local urban level (Dikeç, 2009; Meeus et al., 2019; Schiller and Çağlar, 2016). This in turn broadens understandings of the social consequences of the layout patterns of infrastructural systems, such as their ability to connect or isolate, integrate or differentiate, or create feelings of belonging or alienation (Angelo and Hentschel, 2015). Newcomers' perspectives reveal the importance of the urban locations where such encounters occur and how infrastructures mediate them. Crucially, these encounters provide the greatest potential for the autonomy of arrival introduced in chapter three as refugee newcomers navigate the city more on their own terms to satisfy needs and fulfil aspirations.

This chapter explores how refugee arrivals in Buch encounter their local neighbourhood and the broader city through the amenities, services, and resources that constitute 'soft' infrastructures such as social networks. To do so it reflects the themes explored in chapter six but through the perspectives of refugee newcomers. This supplements a growing body of work that explores immigrant experiences of the urban landscape and public spaces within Berlin (Al-Khanbashi, 2020; den Besten, 2010; Hinze, 2013; Kil and Silver, 2006; Matejskova, 2013) by contributing perspectives of refugee newcomers and how conceptualisations of infrastructures provide a vital lens by which to understand how they establish themselves in the city. Scale becomes an important analytic category through which to view these encounters and relationships, as arrivals interact with and consider different urban neighbourhoods in relation to where their shelter is located as well as Berlin on a broader urban level. First, section 7.2 explores responses to local infrastructural underdevelopment in the form of both institutional services as well as migrant social networks through the lens of place attachments, revealing greater attachments to areas where particular arrival infrastructure is located. Section 7.3 then reveals how this leads to attachments with Berlin's broader cosmopolitan identities. Subsequently section 7.4 examines how these attachments

are mediated through the city's transport infrastructure which both enables as well as limits access to other neighbourhoods. Finally, section 7.5 analyses how refugees cope with the xenophobic and conflictual unplanned encounters that transpire in Buch through relational understandings. Overall, these empirical findings demonstrate how refugee newcomers are able to find the greatest scope for autonomy in their arrival and greater stability and empowerment through engaging with infrastructures on their own terms.

7.2 Developing place attachments outside of Buch

The mediation of encounters by 'soft' urban infrastructures shapes the relationships that refugee newcomers in Buch develop with urban spaces, and thus the nature of their arrival. To understand such relations, the concept of 'place attachment' from the field of Environmental Psychology provides a useful theoretical lens, as it concerns the affective bond or link between people and specific places (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Lewicka, 2011; Low and Altman, 1992). How do arrival infrastructures and their locations shape the formation of refugee attachments to Berlin as a place? Scannel and Gifford (2010) develop a tripartite conceptual framework consisting of person-(psychological) process-place to understand how attachment is constructed. Individual or collectively determined meanings interact with affective, cognitive, and behavioural components of attachment alongside specific physical and social spatialities. In recent years scholars have increasingly explored how migrants develop attachment to the places to which they have migrated (Boğaç, 2009; Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Trąbka, 2019). They highlight the importance of the neighbourhood scale in migrant experiences of place in shaping exclusion and inclusion alongside feelings of belonging (Čapo, 2015; Spicer, 2008). This importance of belonging resonates with the 'being-becomings' of what it means to arrive (Meeus et al., 2019), where attachments to place must be considered key parts of the arrival process. Public spaces in particular provide sites in which migrants can perform familiar activities and reflections of values that develop belonging at the local scale, where integration is facilitated through urban praxis rather than just considered through the ability to navigate urban space and an awareness of its resources (Buhr, 2018; Rishbeth and Powell, 2013). To understand the role that infrastructures play in forming these multi-scalar attachments which create a sense of belonging for migrants, this section focuses on the place dimensions of the person-place-framework and how infrastructures constitute the physical and social dimensions of place that generate bonds. It looks at how refugees' negotiation of place generates multi-scalar attachments that provide a sense of stability and optimism in their arrival.

Shelter residents in Buch underline the underdevelopment of all forms of arrival infrastructure within the neighbourhood. Just as forms of 'infrastructural violence' (Rodgers and O'Neill, 2012) create marginalisation, abjection, and disconnection of local residents, so too does this underdevelopment inflict injustices onto refugee newcomers albeit in different ways and to different extents. As Marfleet (2007) notes for urban refugees in the Global South, living at the city's literal margins often equates to also living at the margins of urban society, lacking basic rights to healthcare, housing, and education. In Berlin, living in the city's margins involves being disconnected and disengaged from particular arrival infrastructures that are not locally available.

First, newcomers highlight the lack of institutional social infrastructures in Buch that facilitate the legal requirements of asylum applications. These include the *Integrationskurs* (integration course) and *Sprachkurs* (language course), jobcentre appointments, and schools. They are forced to make long trips to other urban neighbourhoods to access them (figure 104). Nazar notes:

> 'My German course is in Neukölln. It takes one and a half hours to get there. I asked if it could be closer, like in Pankow, but they said no, there was no room. I go there every day. But some days the train doesn't go and you have to get a bus to Osloer Strasse and then on the underground. I am often late, and I can't understand it if I'm not on time as I've missed the start.'[1]

The distances cause him to miss parts of the lesson which in turn adversely impacts the language acquisition that helps facilitate his arrival. Access to the job centre is similarly difficult. For a period of time Berlin allocated job centres around the city based on date of birth, rather than shelter location. This created a bureaucratic crisis where refugees without identity documents were all allocated the birthdate of 1st January, causing a hugely disproportionate number to be allocated jobcentres in the same borough of Mitte (Kögel, 2018). Although she lives in Buch, Hani is registered at a jobcentre in Spandau, 30 kilometres away.[2] When residents do find a job, it is rarely within Buch but in a central neighbourhood where more employment opportunities are available or in another peripheral neighbourhood which is well-connected to the city centre but not adjacent neighbourhoods. For example, Esmatullah commutes an hour and a half to Marzahn, which despite being geographically close, is not well-connected to Buch by public transport.[3] Children must travel equally far for school due to

[1] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[2] Berlin, 11/09/2019.
[3] Berlin, 04/09/2019.

a lack of places. Ahmad and his siblings were allocated three different schools in three separate boroughs, all requiring over an hour's journey.[4] The sorting mechanisms of the city as explored in Part I are partly mediated by these official infrastructures whose locations have been dictated by the state. Refugees situated in the periphery are forced to travel to other faraway neighbourhoods to fulfil these formal processes of arrival.

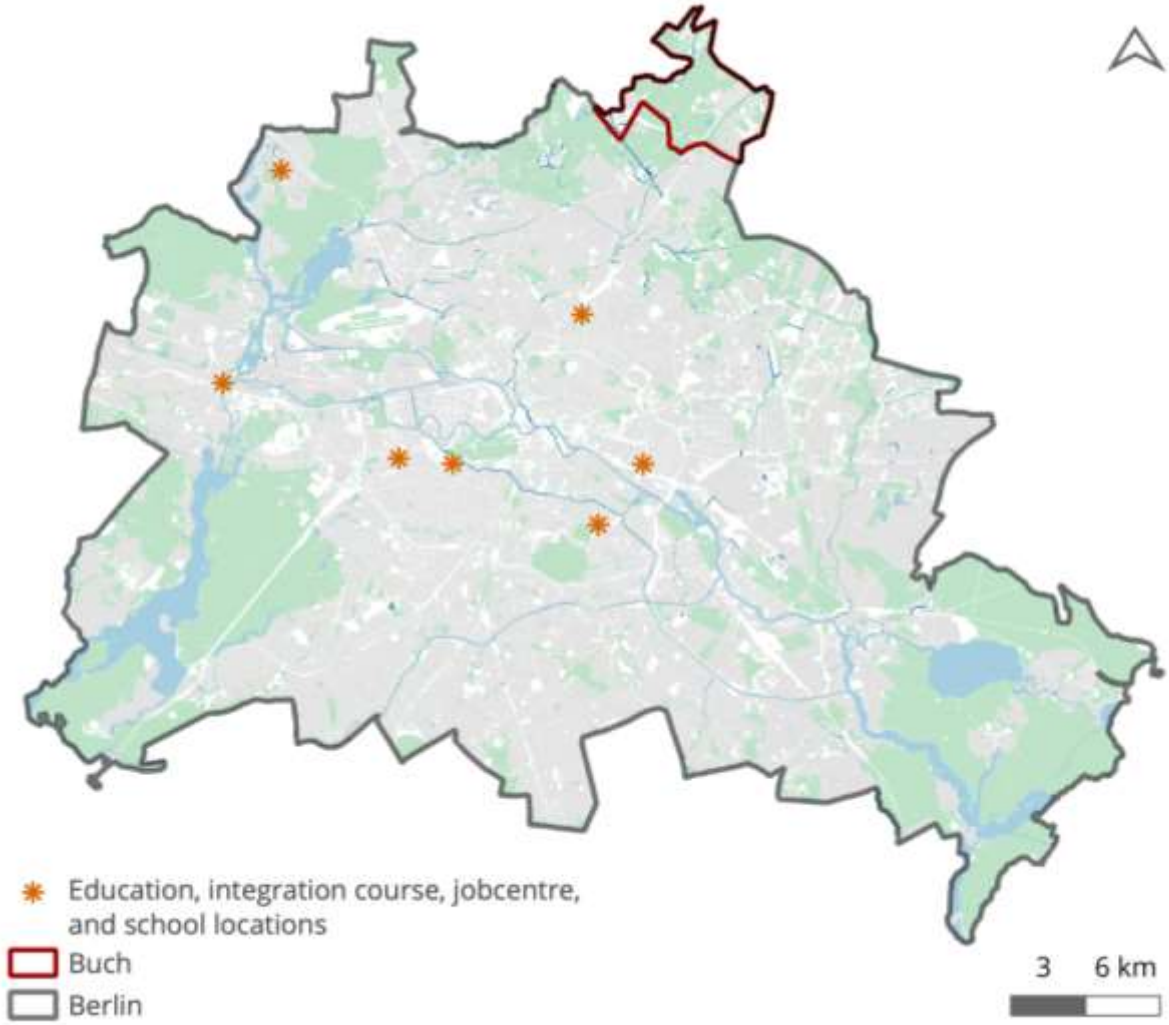


Figure 104: map to show the locations of institutional social infrastructures mentioned by residents in Buch

[4] Berlin, 09/08/2019.

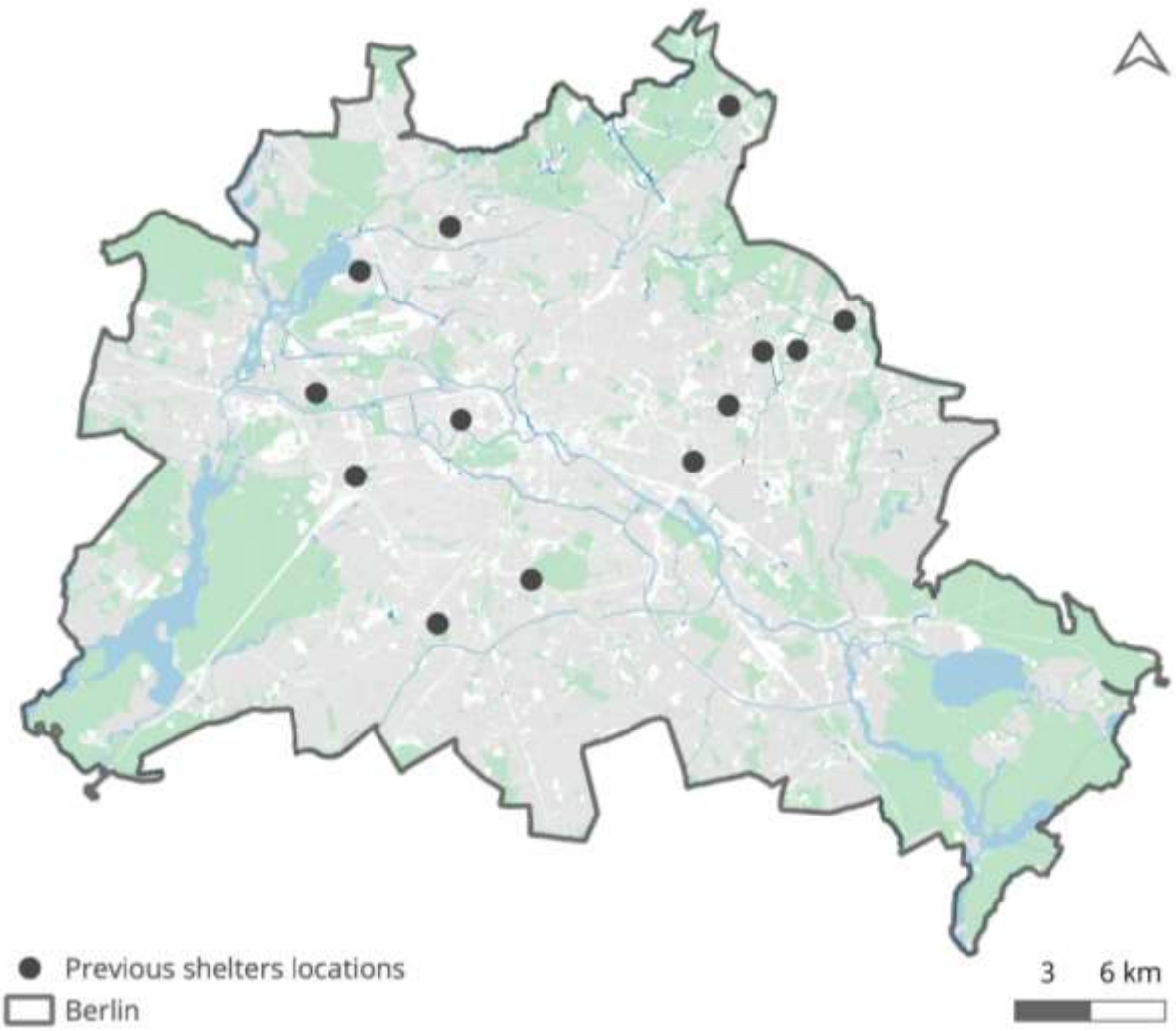


Figure 105: map to show locations of shelters where residents in Buch mentioned they previously lived

The imposed distribution of urban encounters with official infrastructures is compounded by the locations of the shelters themselves. The LAF attempts to keep residents within neighbourhoods when moving between shelters, but this does not always happen. Newcomers in Buch were previously located in a plethora of other neighbourhoods dispersed around the city as shelters closed and opened (figure 105). Yusuf, for example, has been in five different shelters in multiple boroughs. As the scholarship on place attachment highlights, social ties with family, friends, and neighbourhood communities play a vital role in determining bonds with place (Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Lewicka, 2010). Interactions with others produce subtle support that creates higher levels of trust. In Berlin, changing locations distort the ways these social ties and networks develop by stretching them across the city as shelter

communities are repeatedly broken down and reformed. Visits to friends and interactions with neighbourhoods come to be shaped by these shifts. Ahmad notes:

> 'In four years, I've been in four shelters. I've got to know people in other shelters, and I go to visit them. They are all around the city. I don't have friends here, they're all elsewhere.'[5]

These friendships develop in the context of the state-planned dispersal policies and political contexts that defined shelter placement. Many residents made friends in the formative early stages of their time in Berlin, especially in the first neighbourhood they experienced, as Abbas suggests:

> 'My favourite neighbourhood is Spandau, which is where my first shelter was. My friends are there and I visit them.'[6]

For Nazar, his time in the emergency shelter was a defining period where key friendships were forged:

> 'I've got to know a lot of people here [in Berlin]. Many are in Neukölln, or Steglitz. When Tempelhof closed, everyone was dispersed. In this shelter I say hello to other people, but we aren't close.'[7]

As Hani suggests, these developing friendships help newcomers navigate access to certain amenities in the city:

> 'My friends come from Somalia and I also know a lot of Nigerians. I met a lot of them in the previous shelter. I have one friend from Senegal who arrived a year before me. She told me everything and where I could buy particular things.'[8]

Residents usually have little choice over moving shelters. When they do pursue change, they must make compromises in order to achieve it. Hannah affirms how she had to forgo her established shelter community in order to access better facilities:

> 'In Steglitz I had lots of friends. I wouldn't have left, but I wanted to cook for myself, so I had to come here.'[9]

Movement between shelters reveals the lack of control most residents have over where in the city they live. Frequent reconfigurations continuously fragment internal communities. As Katz

[5] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[6] Berlin, 30/07/2019.
[7] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[8] Berlin, 11/09/2019.
[9] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

(2017b) affirms, the global infrastructure of camps establishes a ‘containment by mobility’ where infrastructure suspends people but also moves them through dispersals, transfers, and demolitions. This creates a precarious situation where people in protracted displacements become ‘involuntary mobile’ while they ‘long for stillness’ (Brun, 2016, p. 435). In Berlin newcomers have often traversed a variety of shelters in different neighbourhoods, which has created spatially dispersed social networks.

In addition to underdeveloped official infrastructures, the lack of ‘soft’ urban arrival infrastructures (Boost and Oosterlynck, 2019) in Buch results in newcomers making journeys to other neighbourhoods in order to access social networks that provide emotional, informational, and instrumental support. Unlike interactions with formal infrastructures whose locations are defined by the state, these encounters develop more on the newcomer’s own terms as they consciously choose to engage with arrival infrastructures that have usually developed from the ‘bottom up’ through existing communities. These tend to be in the city’s traditional arrival neighbourhoods of Kreuzberg and Neukölln (Akcan, 2018; Steigemann, 2020; Tize and Reis, 2019) (figure 106). In every shelter visited around the entire city residents overwhelmingly mention Neukölln as a key destination. In particular, they speak enthusiastically of the famous ‘Sonnenallee,’ affectionally referred to as *Arabische Strasse* (Arab street). The popularity is most notable among residents from the Middle East, but many Africans also frequently visit. As Okot affirms:

> ‘The food here is also very diverse, and you can get anything. You go to Sonnenallee and buy, cook, and eat food which you are accustomed to.’[10]

Similarly, Abdel affirms:

> ‘You can go to the Sonnenallee and not speak any German at all.’[11]

Gwen highlights the presence of religious institutions and communities:

> ‘I have friends in Neukölln. I go to church every week in Sonnenallee.’[12]

The Sonnenallee emerged as a key hub for Middle Eastern immigrants since reunification through its Arabic restaurants, shops, and communities, becoming a hybrid space of cross-border and migrant economies (Bergmann, 2013, 2011). For refugees, it provides crucial arrival infrastructures through a dynamic environment of cultural familiarity alongside vital

[10] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[11] Berlin, 25/07/2019.
[12] Berlin, 07/08/2019.

social networks and support. This supports Hall et al.'s (2017, 2015) assertion that the migrant infrastructure of the street in particular offers a space of relative autonomy and invisibility that allows migrants to obtain a foothold in the city. Not only are newcomers benefiting from the neighbourhood, but they are now actively shaping it through their presence and own businesses, even causing some tensions with longer established communities in the area (Alkousaa, 2018; Steigemann, 2020). Through this, newcomers become active producers of new arrival infrastructures that cater to the diversifying demographics of refugee arrivals. However, this is not to overromanticise Neukölln as a neighbourhood. It has struggled with its own issues of violence from the far-right which has targeted this multi-cultural area (Boelpaep, 2019). Nevertheless, it provides vital infrastructures for refugee newcomers that are not available in Buch.

Figure 107: map to show location of Kreuzberg and the Sonnenallee in Neukölln in relation to Buch

While Neukölln is the focal point for informal social networks, specialist supermarkets, cafes, and familiar restaurants for shelter residents around the entire city, smaller but closer more convenient hubs also attract shelter residents within certain neighbourhoods. For Buch, Gesundbrunnen is the closest area with established Arab and African populations (figure 108). This neighbourhood is one of the most disadvantaged of the city with high rates of poverty and unemployment alongside the highest density of migrant populations with over 50% having a migratory background (Mundt et al., 2014, 2012). For refugee arrivals in Buch it provides crucial amenities and social networks as Kardaar highlights:

> 'There are no Turkish or Arabic markets here, and that's a problem for all refugees. Everyone goes to Gesundbrunnen to buy things. Gesundbrunnen is better, or central Pankow. You can buy things there or find friends.'[13]

Girma similarly highlights benefits of existing migrant communities from his home country:

> 'If I have spare time, I go to Gesundbrunnen. On Pankestrasse there are lots of Eritreans.'[14]

Hamza often travels to Gesundbrunnen to visit his favourite kebab shop that sells them for just two euros, which he notes is much cheaper than elsewhere (figure 108).[15] Through these visits he has explored and developed place attachments through other spaces of the neighbourhood, highlighting the rose garden in the Humboldthain park and the Wedding *Amtsgericht* (local court) as favourites sites (figures 109-110). Although Gesundbrunnen has high levels of marginalisation and inequality like Buch, it differentiates itself through the presence of cultural infrastructures that foster positive place attachments. These crucially allow newcomers to define their arrival trajectories on their own terms outside of the teleologies imposed by the channelling infrastructures outlined in Part I, thus providing greater scope for the possibilities of autonomy in arrival. This in turn challenges the reductionist image of the dependent refugee-as-victim and mere 'sediments of other people's actions' through their self-direction and mobility within the city (Bauman, 2002, p. 343; Lammers, 2007; Marfleet, 2007).

[13] Berlin, 12/09/2019.
[14] Berlin, 18/09/2019.
[15] Berlin, 25/06/2019.

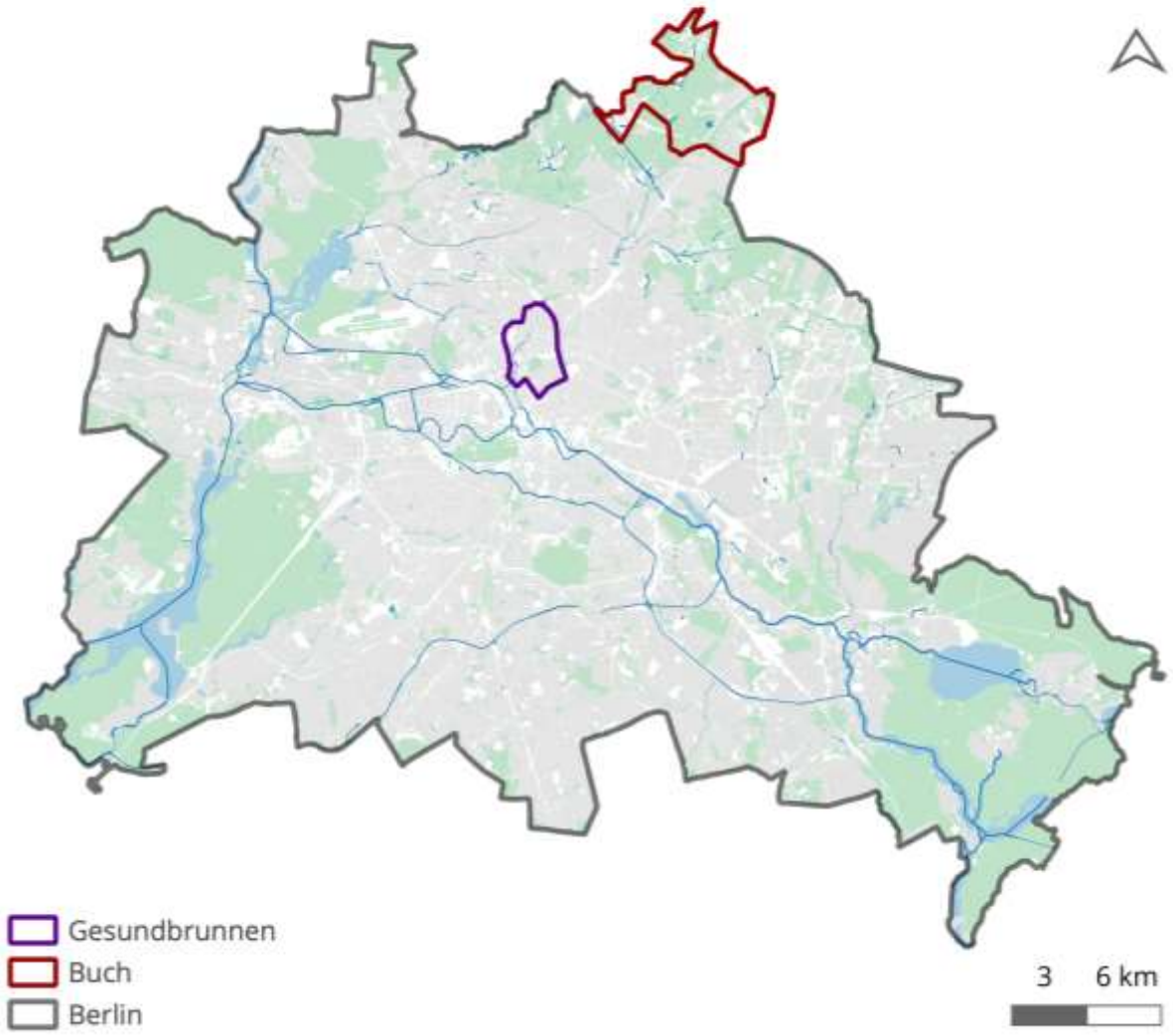


Figure 107: map to show location of Gesundbrunnen in relation to Buch

Figure 108: Hamza's favourite Kebab shop in Gesundbrunnen, Berlin Gesundbrunnen, 2019

Figure 109: rose garden in the Humboldthain park that Hamza visits when he is in Gesundbrunnen, Berlin Gesundbrunnen, 2019

Figure 110: the *Amtsgericht* (local court) which Hamza likes after discovering it through exploring the local area of Gesundbrunnen, Berlin Gesundbrunnen, 2019

Neighbourhoods of established migrant communities entice shelter residents from Buch to explore and engage with other parts of the city, while providing cultural familiarity, social connections, and some semblance of stability for a population that has frequently been relocated. As Gustafson highlights (2014, 2009), mobility itself is not necessarily bad for place attachment as others have argued but can both decrease and increase it. He affirms how highly mobile people can still create strong bonds with certain places. For refugees in Buch, dispersed arrival infrastructures lead to mobilities and encounters that increase place attachment to the more traditional arrival neighbourhoods because they address vital social and cultural needs that cannot be met by the local neighbourhood. These infrastructures are crucially entangled with the social networks that create a sense of belonging to place, as 'infrastructure convenes social relations' (Hall et al., 2017, p. 1311). Small scale interactions with infrastructures come to be the foundations of larger social forms and organisation (Angelo and Hentschel, 2015). Not only that, as previously mentioned it is possible to consider 'people as infrastructure' through the collaboration among marginalised residents which provides

spaces of cultural and economic operation (Simone, 2004). New migrants can also develop new infrastructures themselves by rerouting and combining others to establish social ties (Kleinman, 2014). These in turn create new channels of social becoming which circumvent prescriptive forms defined by the state or even existing migrant communities. For refugees in Buch, 'soft' urban infrastructures similarly create nodes of communication, cultural operation, exchange, and potential to reshape the city. Through this, residents contribute towards the dynamics of such neighbourhoods regardless of where their shelter is located.

7.3 Place attachment and Berlin's cosmopolitan identities

Attachment to Berlin's more traditional arrival neighbourhoods facilitates growing attachments to the city more broadly. Scholarship on place attachment highlights its development on multiple scales, including through the home, apartment building, neighbourhood, and the city to create the sense of belonging in a new place (Čapo, 2015; Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Lewicka, 2010; Spicer, 2008). Many newcomers demonstrate positive perceptions of Berlin that reveal an overarching sense of possibility, emancipation, and acceptance that is rooted in the city's international reputation. Regardless of where a shelter is located, it exists within the boundaries of a culturally diverse metropolis where 21% of its population is foreign born (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2020). This differentiates Berlin from the areas of underdeveloped arrival infrastructures noted in other municipalities of former East Germany (El-Kayed et al., 2020; Steigemann, 2019). The dynamic European capital has long been considered as the most multicultural and hospitable city in Germany (Vertovec, 1996; Woolsey, 2019). It joins the ranks of many cities which now consciously brand themselves as inclusive through a celebratory cosmopolitan urbanism (Paganoni, 2012; Young et al., 2006). The idea of cosmopolitanism concerns the creation of a society founded on human universalism where all forms of difference are recognised and respected (Fine, 2007). Modern conceptualisations reveal a rich research agenda with overarching themes based on an era of globalisation, mutual interdependence, and world citizenship beyond the nation state (Fine and Boon, 2007; Kleingeld, 2016). They are rooted in the specificity and diversity of place, characters and historical trajectories (Johansen, 2014; Medina et al., 2017; Robbins, 1998). The arrival of refugees in 2015 constitutes a continuation of a long history of diversity and complex cosmopolitanism within this global city (Gruner-Domic, 2011; Heyd et al., 2019; Hüwelmeier, 2011).

As Woodward and Skrbis (2012) affirm, cosmopolitanism is configured and enabled by networked elements of infrastructure. Mobility, openness, and connections at a distance are

facilitated through interdependent technological systems such as transport or digital networks. For Berlin's newcomers this cosmopolitanism is importantly mediated by the presence of arrival infrastructures that allow attachment to place and feelings of acceptance to develop on the scale of the city. Indeed, Baban and Rygiel (2017) highlight how community-based and citizen-led initiatives in Berlin in response to the events of 2015 have fostered a 'radical cosmopolitanism' which challenges notions of who is a citizen and who belongs to a community by building solidarity and social relations with newcomers. This contributes towards what they term a 'transgressive cosmopolitanism' which involves opening oneself up to the other and being transformed by the exchange (Baban and Rygiel, 2014). These local initiatives and their outcomes are rooted in an existing culture of the city and provide vital arrival infrastructures that facilitate the development of place attachment to the specificities of Berlin.

In contrast to the developing attachment to arrival neighbourhoods, the lack of especially informal social infrastructures in Buch inhibits encounters that might develop similar outcomes. Esmatullah emphasises the dullness of living in the area:

> 'It's boring here by myself. There is no fun, no friends. I'm living here alone. I'm currently on holiday from my job, but I don't like it because it is so boring. What are we doing here?'[16]

Similarly, Hannah laments the lack of social interaction in comparison to the urban centre:

> 'I don't go out here. It's not that busy like a city. In the city you see people around, there are people to chat with, you are surrounded by life. Here it is too quiet, it's too lonely. Nothing happens here.'[17]

Her reference to the centre as the 'city' suggests she doesn't consider the neighbourhood of Buch to be a part of it, but a separate area. These negative perceptions contrast with the ways in which they consider Berlin more broadly, whose scale and diversity provides opportunity, familiarity, and delight. Chakir speaks fondly of Berlin's dynamism and cultural difference, feeling he is part of an exciting place:

> 'Berlin is a big city- It's the mother of Europe. So many people are coming and going, from all over the world. In and out.'[18]

[16] Berlin, 04/09/2019.
[17] Berlin, 01/08/2019.
[18] Berlin, 04/08/2019.

Habib similarly affirms:

> 'Berlin is beautiful everywhere. There are people from different places, it is a capital city with everything that means.'[19]

Almeida demonstrates a desire to be in an area with a higher population density and bustling urban life, as it importantly provides a sensory familiarity to his previous life:

> 'Buch is good and bad. But Berlin is very good. It is well-connected with transport. Everything runs all of the time, unlike small cities. In Afghanistan everyone has big families, and there are always lots of people. I like having lots of people around and there are lots of people in Berlin.'[20]

Ambivalent feelings for Buch contrast with a growing attachment to Berlin more broadly through the urban experiences it provides. Here place attachment is not connected to specific neighbourhoods but operates on the scale of the city as a whole. It is defined by delight, resonating with the positive emotions, including joy, happiness, and hope, that often accompany attachment to place (de Azevedo et al., 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2017). This delight derives from a diversity and vitality of activity and multiculturalism that leads to attachment (Ujang, 2012). These findings contradict the negative relationships between neighbourhood diversity and community attachments found elsewhere, where ethnic diversity undermines certain aspects of neighbourhood life such as interpersonal trust and general happiness (Stolle et al., 2008). Pre-existing place-related identities can be disrupted and threatened by new developments, fostering opposition that manifests through forms of place-protective actions (Devine-Wright, 2009). However, for refugee newcomers, cosmopolitanism offers ways for them to engage with and feel part of the city. It provides opportunities for social connection in comparison to Buch where they feel physically isolated and detached.

Such perspectives do not just suggest a general appreciation for the urban, but the specific manifestation of urban society and culture within Berlin itself. In particular, Berlin's international and multicultural qualities provide connections to countries of origin. Kaleb notes his fondness for the World Clock, an iconic monument in a central public square that tells the time in 148 cities around the world (figure 111):

> 'I go and see something beautiful, to see how it's going on in the city. My favourite place is Alexanderplatz. There are different people there and a lot of things. It's a

[19] Berlin, 16/09/2019.
[20] Berlin, 12/09/2019.

> historic place. I really like the clock with the maps. I see my country on it. When any person sees their country on it, they feel happy.'[21]

Inaugurated in 1969 in East Berlin, the Urania World Time Clock was described as showing the citizens of East German the vastness of the world beyond its borders. Its designer Erich John affirmed its symbolic power of freedom in contrast to the recently erected Berlin Wall:

> 'Many felt the confinement of the city since the building of the Wall. The impression of cosmopolitanism via a World Clock was obviously a touching thought' (Weltzeituhr Berlin, 2020).

Scholars have criticised the neglect of the physical environment in comparison to the emphasis on social ties through communities and people in establishing attachment to place (Hidalgo and Hernández, 2001; Waxman, 2006). As Stedman (2003) suggests, attachment is not necessarily to the physical features of place, but rather to what they represent. For Khalid, the importance of this particular structure derives from its symbolic connection with his home country, where he feels the city acknowledges and accepts him through public urban space and sculpture. This imbues the structure with new meaning and redefines the clock's cosmopolitan impression in a new global era. Abbas similarly highlights this openness and distinguishes Berlin as more liberating than his urban experience in Iran:

> 'In Berlin, everything is possible. You can achieve anything. In Tehran, it's like you're in a lake surrounded by the mountains, and you can't see further than the mountains. In Berlin, you can see for thousands of miles. You can dream something, and then you can achieve it. In Tehran people have a limited mentality. I was nervous there, scared, and had so many thoughts. There is none of that here. I feel at ease. I can focus on my goals.'[22]

Rather than evoking a sense of urban familiarity, Berlin becomes notable for its urban difference. It isn't simply the scale of a large city that provides emancipation. Indeed, Tehran has more than double Berlin's population. Instead, it is the specificity of Berlin's urban culture and opportunities which provides his perceived liberation. This level of specificity is important as those with a greater attachment for a particular place are less willing to substitute it for another than those who develop attachment to a class of places (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). In Berlin, newcomers are creating specific attachments to Berlin rather than a generalised ideal of a European city.

[21] Berlin, 18/09/2019.
[22] Berlin, 30/07/2019.

Figure 111: Urania World Time clock in Alexanderplatz, Berlin Mitte, 2020

The underdeveloped attachments to Buch through the lack of informal social infrastructures are exacerbated by Berlin's multicultural neighbourhoods and cosmopolitan identities that provide newcomers with not only practical services but deeper possibilities for cultural belonging that are fundamental to arrival. Williams and Vaske (2003) suggest that place attachment has two dimensions: place identity and place dependence. The former embodies a deep emotional bond that develops through symbolic meanings to become part of someone's self-identity, while the latter is a functional bond related to the affordances of a place which satisfy important needs. Place identity takes more time to develop and may actually be formed through place dependency (Trąbka, 2019). The arrival infrastructures that are found outside of Buch are crucial mediators of this process, where dependency on them leads to more positive encounters that contribute towards a developing long-term place identity with the city as a whole. As Gustafson suggests (2014, 2009), mobility changes the qualitative nature of attachment, usually changing the scale of place with which a person identifies such as from the local to the continental. When Buch fails to meet certain social needs, refugees have the choice to move around the city to access the infrastructures that address them. The notable excitement with which many shelter residents discuss Berlin in comparison to Buch affirms that interactions with the city are not just about creating cultural familiarity, but also evoke the emancipation, diversity, and dynamism that embody a cosmopolitan urban existence in the creation of new lives. Noble and Velautham's (2009) concept of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' is applicable here, where concrete social encounters that bring people together constitute a practical relation to plurality through a willingness to engage with others, rather than through a politics of identity. Similarly, Kothari (2008) speaks specifically of 'migrant cosmopolitanisms' where the inhabitation of informal and marginal spaces by migrants creates forms of nonelite cosmopolitanism that sustains liveliness, strengthens social bonds, and produces fluid diasporic identities. In these senses cosmopolitanism is not a singular commitment that overrides values of the locality, but exists as multiple and overlapping commitments and loyalties that are particular to place, characters, and historical trajectories (Robbins, 1998; Robbins and Horta, 2017, pp. 2–3). By moving around and engaging with diverse arrival infrastructures of the city, refugee arrivals become entwined with this cosmopolitanism that derives from complex interactions between diverse communities and space.

This is not to ignore the negative elements of cosmopolitan thinking which scholars highlight. These include the fact that it is usually forced on people (Rabinow, 1986), inextricably tied up with neo-liberal market economies that exclude people (Kent and Tomsky, 2017; Marx and Engels, 1952), remains a project of dominant nation-states and their cultural assumptions,

national prejudices, and power positions (Fine, 2003), and has acquired so many meanings so as to negate its unifying ethic (Blake, 2013; Harvey, 2000). It is also important to question the extent to which a city that markets itself as cosmopolitan actually achieves this ideal (Young et al., 2006), where in Berlin the institutions themselves which foster the perception of a multicultural public sphere have been criticised for continuing to treat migrants as foreigners (Bloomfield, 2003). Conversely, research into immigrants of Turkish descent in Germany reveals an unwillingness and inability to take on a German identity (Çelik, 2015; Ehrkamp, 2006; Mannitz, 2015). As Tize and Reis (2019) suggest, the sense of belonging for young people in Neukölln whose grandparents immigrated to Germany is more strongly rooted in their neighbourhood as a multi-ethnic space rather than in the city of Berlin. Cosmopolitanism in Berlin is thus replete with tensions and contradictions.

Nevertheless, the positive perceptions that many refugee arrivals have of Berlin reveal developing attachments to the city that provide important foundations for them to construct new lives on their own terms. This is significant as it shapes the long-term trajectories of arrivals and where they may wish to live. As Lynnebakk (2020) affirms, place attachment is intimately linked to the staying intentions in new places of residence for labour migrants. Factors including social ties, work and career opportunities, local materiality, and lifestyle opportunities shape decisions to stay in a place. For refugees, engagement with arrival infrastructures and feelings of belonging may increase the likelihood of staying in Berlin, though crucially in areas away from Buch where such infrastructure is limited. This reflects Steigemann's (2019) warning that for as long as everyday urban diversity is not practiced and refugees remain rejected in underdeveloped peripheral eastern areas, newcomers will quickly leave to larger cities mostly in western Germany as soon as their asylum application is upheld. In areas like Buch, arrivals are more likely to have superficial and transient relationships with neighbourhoods that do not meet their needs before moving on. However, as will be explored next, access from Buch to these other areas and infrastructures is mediated and often disrupted by urban transport infrastructures.

7.4 Contingent infrastructures of urban mobility

The insertion of refugees in neighbourhoods that do not provide particular arrival infrastructures means they become heavily reliant on infrastructures of urban mobility in order to access amenities, opportunities, social networks, and cultural familiarity. This opens possibilities to develop another facet of Berlin's infrastructure and its impact on refugee arrivals, namely its interrelation with mobility. In the social sciences a new 'mobilities paradigm'

explores a world that is increasingly on the move (Cresswell, 2011, 2010; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007). Yet the distribution of this movement is unequal, with certain objects, people, and information given greater capacity to move than others (Sheller, 2004; Turner, 2007). In recent years the intersections of mobility with forced migration have been explored to reveal the interlocking im/mobilities of displaced peoples and their consequences such as the production of social inequalities (Faist, 2013; Gill et al., 2011; Mason, 2011; Sirriyeh, 2010). Mobilities literature since 2015 highlights the flows across transnational boundaries, such as along the Balkan route, where movement through space is both restricted and facilitated through state actions (El-Shaarawi and Razsa, 2019; Kallius et al., 2016). However, this transnational focus importantly omits the everyday urban mobilities that have developed in European arrival cities where refugees have settled. As Hannam et al. (2006) affirm, mobilities cannot be described without attention to their infrastructural moorings that configure and enable them. While scholars have explored the importance of urban public transport infrastructures for migrants elsewhere (Blumenberg and Evans, 2010; Chakrabarti and Painter, 2019; Lo et al., 2011; Welsch et al., 2018), there is scope to explore how refugees living in European institutional shelters consider their im/mobilities in relation to the urban infrastructures that facilitate them.

On the one hand, Berlin's developed transport infrastructure as part of a large metropolitan area enables access to arrival infrastructures in other neighbourhoods. The S2 trainline connects Buch to the city centre, with trains running every ten minutes and taking around 20 minutes to arrive at the central Friedrichstrasse station where further connections are easily made (figure 112). On their arrival asylum seekers are given a 'Welcome to Berlin' ticket which allows them to use public transport for free for three months, after which they can buy a discounted transit pass (LAF, 2017b). Through this they are theoretically incorporated into a comprehensive, convenient, and widely used urban transport network. On the other hand, the difficult everyday realities of public transport, including long journey times, overall distances, and maintenance works, reinforce their isolation. A resident who didn't want to be identified affirms the aggravation of travelling to the Arabic shops in Gesundbrunnen to buy familiar groceries:

> 'It's stressful to go all that way just for bread.'[23]

What is supposed to be a simple and convenient everyday action instead requires concerted effort and time. Hani highlights the particular issue of transport infrastructure:

[23] Berlin, 19/08/2019.

> ‘Buch is good unless you need the train, then it is so far away. If you have an appointment you need to go 20 minutes to travel there.’[24]

Similarly, Abbas had moved to a central shelter, but spoke of his time in Buch:

> ‘It’s good I have strong calf muscles, as Buch is too far away from everything. I didn’t really explore the area. I only went to the train station and shelter. You can be in the city very quickly, but the train is often cancelled. That’s the biggest problem, and you have to wait 20 minutes for the next train.’[25]

Buch’s connectivity is dependent on the train infrastructure running properly. Disruptions reveal just how fragile access to mobility is as residents are left with few alternatives. This is especially problematic when disruptions are so frequent, as many residents such as Kalila highlight:

> ‘Buch is good. It’s a bit far (from the centre), but that’s ok. But the train is not good. It has been broken three times in one month.’[26]

During these disruptions there is a replacement bus service, however this tends to be less frequent and makes the journey into the city much longer (figure 113). Chakir laments:

> ‘I do like Buch. It’s a bit far out, but it’s pretty. There is a huge problem with the train though. You always have to get the replacement bus. It takes 25 minutes just to go two stations. On top of that you might have to wait 15 minutes for the bus.’[27]

Access to vital infrastructures in other neighbourhood is revealed to be mediated by a contingent urban mobility for refugees in Buch. Although the city’s transport infrastructure enables this access, it can simultaneously limit it.

[24] Berlin, 11/09/2019.
[25] Berlin, 30/07/2019.
[26] Berlin, 13/09/2019.
[27] Berlin, 04/08/2019.

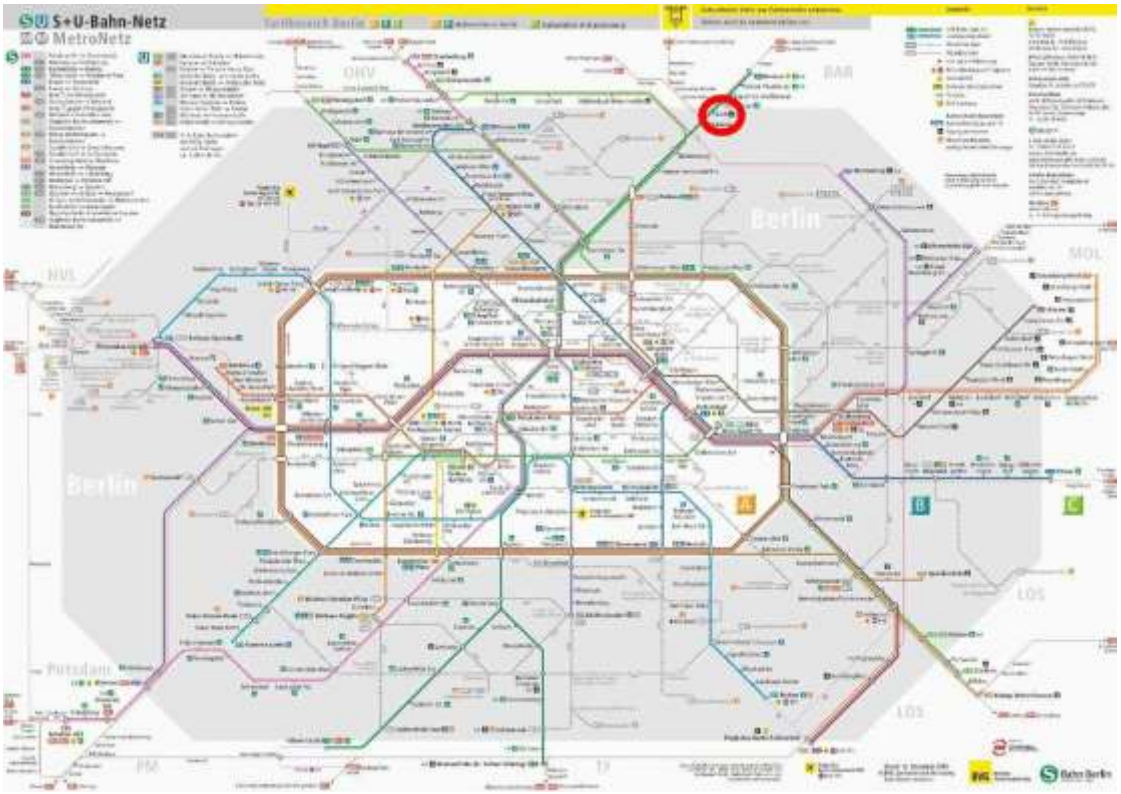


Figure 112: Berlin rail transport map with Buch circled in red, 2019 (source: BVG)

Figure 113: sign for replacement bus service due to the frequent disruption of trains, Berlin Buch, 2019

Although these issues affect everyone in Buch, including German citizens, they have much greater adverse impacts on shelter residents who have been artificially inserted into the neighbourhood by state dispersal policies rather than through their own choosing and are reliant on urban mobility to access the infrastructures which are fundamental to their negotiations of arrival. For some residents, this contingent urban mobility is more of an inconvenience. As Esmatullah suggests, getting the train is relatively simple:

> 'We can go with our two legs to the train station; it isn't far.'[28]

However, for other residents, such as those who are not physically able, this contingency prevents them from accessing vital amenities. Hannah, who has health issues, laments the distance to the train station which is several hundred metres away:

> 'I've never liked Buch. If (the shelter) was near the train station, it would be ok. This shelter, to be honest, is beautiful, it's very good, but the distance to the train station is very long, it's too tough.'[29]

As the only English-speaking black woman in the shelter, she relies even more heavily than others in the shelter on such infrastructures. She has to go much further afield to access established black communities, whereas the shelter's Middle Eastern population is able to travel to the much closer area of Gesundbrunnen:

> 'There are no African shops in Gesundbrunnen. I go to Spandau or Hermannplatz to get African food. Here in Netto, there is only white people food. I go to church at Tempelhof, which is very far from here. It's one and a half hours to get there. That's the only church I know that has services in English and with many African people who are here for a long time.'

Difficulties in accessing these arrival infrastructures lead to feelings of isolation. She compares her current experience with that of her previous shelter:

> 'It is hard to find people who speak English, I don't hear anyone. It becomes very lonely. I would cry, but what would crying do? It doesn't help, you're still alone. In the other camp they brought women together to talk to each other and tell you what is going on in the world. Here they don't.'

Gwen has had similar experiences where she is both isolated from the city in the shelter as well as isolated from other residents within the shelter itself:

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[28] Berlin, 04/09/2019.
[29] Berlin, 01/08/2019.

> ‘I don’t have many friends here. I’m closest with other people from Africa. In the other shelter, the children were running away from me because I am black. I was the only black person there.’[30]

These experiences highlight the importance of differentiating between specific gendered and ethnic mobilities and vulnerabilities (Kofman, 2019; Sirriyeh, 2010). For isolated individuals, urban mobility is especially vital when they cannot access certain communities or social networks within the shelter.

Berlin’s transport system exists as a form of arrival infrastructure through its ability to connect newcomers to other arrival infrastructures elsewhere. Yet access to these other infrastructures is mediated by a contingent urban mobility which shapes arrival. Transport networks thus simultaneously enable *and* limit access for newcomers through ambivalent im/mobilities. If transport infrastructure has the ability to enchant through its promise of progress and positive transformation (Harvey and Knox, 2012), then it also has the potential to *dis*enchant through its malfunctioning. Prestel’s (2015) historical work on Berlin’s urban rail infrastructures to its suburbs reveals that they were originally created to smooth passage for the wealthy to escape the congested city. This fragmented rather than unified the public’s experiences. Today these infrastructures fragment urban experiences in new ways for different populations, facilitating mobility for shelter residents to engage with other neighbourhoods while also disrupting this process through their contingency. These newcomers have a specific dependency on urban transport that importantly differentiates them from other groups of urban migrants. Studies of how immigrants use public transportation around the world demonstrate a greater reliance on these infrastructures for their social inclusion (Blumenberg and Evans, 2010; Chakrabarti and Painter, 2019; Lo et al., 2011; Welsch et al., 2018). The reliance is more acute for refugees who have been artificially inserted into a neighbourhood that does not provide particular local infrastructures. This contrasts with other migrant groups in Berlin that have their own historical trajectories that emplaced them in their neighbourhoods and around which communities and amenities have developed. For example, in Neukölln immigrants settled in the ‘end of the line’ neighbourhoods next to the Berlin Wall which offered vacant properties and affordable rents (Hinze, 2013; Tize and Reis, 2019), while in Marzahn former USSR and Vietnamese immigrants were placed by communist East Germany’s housing policies which in turn attracted others to live alongside their compatriots (Kil and Silver, 2006; Matejskova, 2013). Bose (2014, 2011) explores the importance of mobility for refugees resettled in non-traditional immigrant destinations in the US. Placed in areas not of their own choosing, they are forced to commute

[30] Berlin, 07/08/2019.

long distances for work, healthcare, education, and employment. He considers this to be not just an inconvenience, but constitutes obstacles to acculturation, integration, self-empowerment, and community building. Refugees in Buch reveal mobility to be of comparable importance but on the scale the city and in relation to arrival infrastructures. The aforementioned passive forms 'infrastructural violence' through disconnection (Rodgers and O'Neill, 2012) is compounded by this contingent nature of urban transport infrastructures, shaping the interactions newcomers have with the city. As will be discussed in the final section, violence extends into the public realm in the form of conflictual encounters that derive from the emplacement of shelters.

7.5 Relational encounters as coping mechanism for discrimination

Shelter residents in Buch highlight the conflictual forms of unplanned encounter introduced in chapter six. These experiences reveal how processes of urban violence, pacification, and dispossession through infrastructure impact everyday urban lives (Graham and McFarlane, 2015). How do refugee residents come to terms with these local conflicts and what role does infrastructure play in mediating this process? Just as infrastructures are considered to be relational (Simone, 2015a; Star, 1999), so too are the encounters they facilitate embedded in relationality. In literature on encounter, relational analyses are especially evident in the conceptualisation of borders and boundaries, such as the relations between the human body and the natural world and how encounters between them put such borders at stake (Abrahamsson and Simpson, 2011; Conradson, 2005; Rose, 2012). For Koefoed and Simonsen (2011) the stranger is a relational figure created through specific embodied encounters in a spatial ambivalence between proximity and distance. Refugee arrivals reveal the importance of relations between conflictual encounters which set certain conditions for the experience of discrimination and how arrivals cope with it. As this section explores, residents contextualise conflictual encounters through relations between the forms they take, those who perpetrate them, and, most notably, the different urban neighbourhoods in which they transpire. These relations are intimately connected to the infrastructural contexts which facilitate them.

Many residents living in Buch's shelters experience a spectrum of unplanned encounters of conflict and xenophobia, from general suspicion and unease all the way to incidents of overt violence and intimidation. Many of these incidents involve far-right populist and nationalist attitudes, reflecting a continental increase in support for these political positions (Pearce and Rousseau, 2016). Okot describes his experiences:

> ‘You hear people whispering at the bus stop “oh it’s the refugees, look how nice that building is, why are they giving such a nice building to them.” It doesn’t feel nice to me.’[31]

This gives the opposing perspective to the local perception of unfair resource allocation, where a zero-sum game of competition for finite resources sours local relations (Esses et al., 2001; Piotrowski et al., 2019). Hamza bluntly responds to those who think this way:

> ‘To the outside people I would say to them, the Nazis: if you don’t like me here, then let’s swap places. You live in the shelter, and I will have the flat.’[32]

Residents readily use the term ‘Nazi’ in their descriptions of those who confront them in such ways, or who appear to resent their presence in the neighbourhood. They are confused that some locals think the inadequate shelters are too nice for them.

Overt aggressions also transpire. Okot particularly highlights the impact of seeing the signs hung up by the NPD as discussed in chapter six:

> ‘At the time of the elections, there were a lot of placards outside the shelters. All of us felt very unsafe.’[33]

These objects enforced a sense that some in the area are inimical to his very presence within the city. Similarly, Kamal notes an incident of confrontation:

> ‘The only thing that happened was after a party in the shelter. It ended at midnight. One drunk man came up to me and blocked my way. He asked me where I was from in Russian, so I responded in Russian. I asked him if he had a spare beer. It diffused the situation.’[34]

These examples constitute forms of unplanned encounter that occur within the public realm outside the shelters in diverse spaces such as the street or on public transportation. This reflects the wide variety of the ‘spaces of encounter’ (Leitner, 2012) to which scholars have paid considerable attention. The experiences of shelter residents reinforce the inherent potential for all forms of encounter to cause rupture that produces anxiety, resentment, or violence and aggravates existing conflict that leads to the exacerbation of feelings of difference (Hou, 2016; Listerborn, 2015; Lobo, 2013; Wilson, 2017a). Oliver et al. (2020, p. 2) suggest

[31] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[32] Berlin, 25/06/2019.
[33] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[34] Berlin, 11/08/2019.

that ‘encounters across difference are usually unplanned, unpredictable and spontaneous, occurring by chance and by choice in public space.’ This makes such incidents more common experiences than the ‘organised encounters’ that are intended to enact the constructive transformational potentials of encounter, especially in an area of underdeveloped social infrastructure. Dirksmeier and Helbrecht (2015) consider unplanned encounters in public spaces as Foucauldian micro-mechanisms of power where negotiations of status, distinction, and power occur, which act as the foundation of social stratification. These instances in Buch reflect the uneasy negotiations of power and hierarchy between an arrival population and a more ethnically homogenous neighbourhood that feels unsettled by the newcomers.

The ways that shelter residents experience these conflictual everyday encounters are crucially relational. First, relationality is evident in the variety of forms through which these unplanned conflictual encounters transpire and the perpetrators that create them. For example, Abbas describes his experiences of racism in Berlin:

> ‘I experienced no racism in Buch. The only place I experienced racism was near my new shelter (in a central borough) on two occasions. First, the bus just drove past without stopping for me. The driver saw me but didn’t stop. I was the only one at the bus stop. Second, I pressed the button and the bus didn’t stop for me. I was the only person standing. I know it is because I look different.’[35]

These encounters did not occur with members of the public, but bus drivers working for the Berlin transport authority. Scholars have analysed the mobilities of everyday movement and how people ‘dwell together’ in various on forms of public transport (Adey and Bissell, 2010; Bissell, 2010; Symes, 2007). Bus journeys are explicitly explored as sites of encounter where intercultural relations are continuously developed, destroyed, and remade (Lobo, 2014; Wilson, 2011). Abbas’s experiences demonstrate that not only are such encounters through everyday mobilities also open to rupture and conflict, but that they can be articulated through the operator of an official infrastructure upon which residents are so dependent to access other arrival infrastructures. Indeed, such encounters can occur in the context of formal institutions, structures, and companies that constitute institutional arrival infrastructures, and even within the context of the shelter industry. Okot notes:

> ‘I had a problem with a girl who was helping run the transport when I moved shelters. She was raised in Berlin but was a third-generation Turkish immigrant.

[35] Berlin, 30/07/2019.

> She was saying: "These refugees, they are taking everything, my taxes have gone up so that they can give them money."'[36]

Anti-refugee sentiments are not exclusive to ethnically white Germans with far-right political attitudes. In this case one immigrant population harbours resentment against a different incoming immigrant population that comes to be expressed through encounters within the institutional infrastructures of the asylum process.

Even former refugee populations can look unfavourably upon the new arrivals. In the Tempelhof emergency shelter a security guard who had arrived as a refugee from Serbia in the 1990s complained about the new arrivals he was paid to monitor.[37] He criticised their lack of willingness to learn German and adapt to German culture, just as he had done, considering them undeserving of the country's hospitality. This supports Fiddian-Qasmiyeh's (2016a, 2016b, 2012) affirmations on the overlapping 'refugeedoms' where encounters between different refugee communities can reveal tensions, power imbalances, exclusion, and overt hostility in addition to networks of support and infrastructures of care with refugee-refugee hosting (Yassine et al., 2019). Foroutan (2019) creates the term 'post-migrant paradigm' to describe the hybridisation of pluralist societies such as that in Germany which go beyond the migrant-native binary. She suggests political attitudes and ideologies towards plurality and diversity are the main definers of in and out-groups rather than ethnicity. According to Bauman (1993, p. 58), the descendants of immigrants can be seen as a 'third element,' or hybrids that cannot be classified. The ambiguity of their position complexifies the relations between who supposedly 'belongs' in a particular space. Their tensions with newcomer migrant groups highlight delineations along political attitudes that can create anti-immigrant sentiment, in spite of their own migration background. Relations are thus not created solely between arrivals and an established, homogeneous native population, but derive from overlapping relations between the diverse actors of a pluralistic society.

The most prominent way in which relationality is embedded in conflictual encounter is through where they transpire, reinforcing the importance of considering the *location* of encounter alongside the current focus on the 'spaces of encounter' (Leitner, 2012). First, it is important to note that incidents of conflictual unplanned encounter and xenophobic actions occur throughout the city and not exclusively in peripheral eastern neighbourhoods. Indeed, Abbas's

[36] Berlin, 15/07/2019.
[37] Berlin, 01/07/2016.

only experience of racism was within a central neighbourhood, where relationality is defined through comparative experiences in the periphery and centre. Furthermore, during a research visit to the Gehrenseestrasse shelter in the eastern borough of Lichtenberg, a man in a nearby house shouted at a group of refugee children and their minder while they played in the public park metres from the shelter, claiming the park was only for children from the area.[38]

Nevertheless, while such encounters can transpire anywhere, newcomers highlight concentrations within certain locations that importantly differentiate experiences in Buch from other areas in the country and city. Just as they discuss their experiences of different shelter typologies through relational understandings, so too are the encounters of xenophobia they experience in Buch perceived relationally, in this case to downplay local discrimination. Although he likes living in the area, Yusuf affirms:

> 'Here in Buch there are Nazis, they seem very angry. It's just the Nazi issues that's the problem. But that's all over the country.'[39]

As with opinions of the shelters, residents use their previous experiences of geographical points along their journey to Berlin as frames of reference to contextualise their current situation. Abdel favourably compares his time in Berlin to a shelter in another East German city:

> 'I got more abuse in Neubrandenburg.'[40]

Encounters of conflict in Buch are part of a broader spectrum of experiences that derive from the journey through Europe and beyond as they interacted with other forms of infrastructure that mediated their migration, in this case the shelter to which he was previously allocated as part of Germany's dispersal policies. Okot similarly speaks of his time in other East German cities and his surprise of experiencing such hostility considering their socialist legacies:

> 'I've had these problems in other parts of Germany. Eisenhüttenstadt, for example, was very unfriendly. These former Soviet places, you think they would be more welcoming with their communist history.'[41]

This comparison helps him cope with the general unease and resistance to his presence from a new local population:

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[38] Berlin, 14/08/2018.
[39] Berlin, 13/08/2019.
[40] Berlin, 25/07/2019.
[41] Berlin, 15/07/2019.

> ‘The people here in Buch are older. They are not necessarily racist but radical. They are not very welcoming. They are looking at you with a mix of bitterness and fear. I heard many locals here opposed this shelter; they didn’t want it here. Some people have been helpful.’

The peculiar distinction between ‘racist’ and ‘radical’ simultaneously acknowledges and underplays the local hostility he experiences. The network of institutional infrastructures has exposed arrivals to encounters in other areas that shape the developing relationships between newcomer and local areas, as they make geographic comparisons. Further movement through Germany and its arrival infrastructures results in further contextualisation.

The nature of these relational understandings is shown to be connected to a variety of contexts, including geographic location, the form of encounter, and perpetrator. The most prominent relation, however, revolves around a specific local urban comparison of neighbourhoods. The eastern neighbourhood of Marzahn emerges as the most notorious place for overt racist incidents. Ahmad highlights a physical interaction on a street:

> ‘Also, I’ve had problems with Nazis. One stepped in front of my bike and put his foot on wheel to stop me from leaving. This was in Marzahn.’[42]

Nazar affirms:

> ‘Buch is pretty and good. In other places like Marzahn some people aren’t good with foreigners there. I’ve had no problems at all here.’[43]

In a similar vein Kamal emphasises this favourable comparison:

> ‘I’ve had no problem over living here. Of course there is racism, but not that much. It’s much worse in places like Marzahn. Nothing has happened to me here.’[44]

There is a prevalent sense of gratefulness as they believe the situation could be much worse if they lived in Marzahn. Abdel highlights this ‘lesser of two evils’ mentality:

> ‘The refugees here in Buch feel discriminated against. But it could be worse- I know people in Marzahn. There the people get into fights. The new people are threatening as locals think they will change everything.’[45]

[42] Berlin, 09/08/2019.
[43] Berlin, 14/08/2019.
[44] Berlin, 11/08/2019.
[45] Berlin, 25/07/2019.

Another resident refers to the area as a 'neighbourhood of Nazis' and notes that people spit at them in the streets.[46] Similar to Buch, Marzahn experienced significant development by the socialist East German state, transforming it from a peripheral rural site into an urban neighbourhood. It once had the largest estates of East Germany, housing 200,000 people in its heyday in the 1980s. However, after the fall of the Berlin Wall it quickly developed a negative reputation as better-off residents emigrated to other parts of the city. Like Buch and other socio-economically disadvantaged and ethnically homogenous areas around Europe, Marzahn has seen significant levels of support for far-right politics. Unlike Buch, whose medical campus retained a skilled and professional demographic, Marzahn was left with higher rates of poverty, housing vacancies, and far-right extremism (Kil and Silver, 2006; Matejskova, 2013; Shoshan, 2016, 2008).

The special reputation Marzahn has garnered among residents in shelters throughout the city is importantly mediated by infrastructure. First, these quotes derive from encounters that transpired when people previously lived in shelters in Marzahn, where the urban location of these institutional infrastructures exposed arrivals to the area. Second, they are also facilitated through the infrastructures of social networks newcomers have developed where they have visited friends or acquaintances who live there. Even when they may not have visited the area, second-hand stories of racist confrontations and aggression have spread this reputation through these social networks that span the city. As Simone (2015a) highlights, social relationships themselves constitute an infrastructure of inhabitation that enables urban dwellers to inhabit the city in the face of injustice and exclusionary structures. In Buch refugee arrivals contextualise their own experiences of conflict through these social relations to create an inhabitation of sorts in the sense of a coping mechanism for discrimination. Marzahn becomes a key reference point and urban symbol for racist attacks, where comparisons are drawn between different urban neighbourhoods to reduce the perceived severity of xenophobic confrontations in Buch.

The experiences of everyday conflictual encounter for newcomers in Buch are revealed to be constituted by a complex web of relations mediated by infrastructure, where comparisons are being drawn especially on neighbourhood and national scales. These relational understandings pacify conflictual encounters in Buch by framing them as softer and less severe than other areas. Parker (2018) demonstrates how asylum seekers and refugees

[46] Berlin, 07/08/2018.

negotiate a dilemma when discussing their experiences of potentially racist incidents within an arrival country, constructing them as trivial so as not to appear critical of the protection that they receive. They downplay the discrimination they experience so as not to experience the negative consequences of calling it out (Kirkwood et al., 2013). This allows them to also avoid complaining about the host society and appearing ungrateful (Goodman et al., 2014). While the conflictual encounters at the shelter border produce unproductive conflicts that exacerbate feelings of difference, the response of arrivals embodies more constructive dimensions of conflict through urban agonism (Pullan, 2015). Arrivals push back against, dismiss, relativise, and adapt to the violent actions that target them. In the face of infrastructural contexts that are unable to effectively negotiate difference, the relationality of encounters enables them to downplay their experiences of racism. Through this they are better able to adapt to and live with the difference of their local neighbourhood, even when they experience overt hostility. However, just as relational understandings dangerously risked normalising an abnormal architecture in domestic conditions in chapter five, so too do these relational encounters risk downplaying conflict. They are a coping mechanism rather than a way of addressing and mitigating the sources of conflict. Difference through conflict is not so much constructively negotiated as it avoided, dismissed, and obscured.

7.6 Conclusion:

This chapter has shown how refugee experiences of the city are mediated by the location of a variety of urban infrastructures that shape trajectories of arrival. While the conceptual turn to arrival infrastructures importantly transcends focus beyond the limiting scope of the arrival neighbourhood (Meeus et al., 2019), the case of Buch demonstrates the continued importance of the neighbourhood scale as different areas provide different forms of arrival infrastructure that shape relationships with the city. The construction of shelters in non-traditional arrival neighbourhoods compels newcomers to engage with areas that provide the more informal ‘soft’ social forms of infrastructure. Consequently, attachments to the local neighbourhood remain underdeveloped and may decrease the likelihood of intentions to stay. If they move on to other areas more permanently, it is possible that long-term arrival communities are less able to develop and bonds between themselves and existing communities remain as ephemeral, transitory, and superficial as their presence. As Macdonald (2019) suggests, opportunities for newcomers to imagine themselves into future belongings within Germany are one of the most crucial dimensions to extend welcome beyond initial arrival and transcend the refugee status itself. Yet the state of both institutional and informal infrastructures does not facilitate this in places such as Buch. The burden of negotiating this underdevelopment and

pre-existing marginalisation thus falls onto the refugees themselves. They must make up for long-standing state failings as well as adapt to a neighbourhood that is socio-culturally ill-equipped to satisfy their needs and aspirations.

The shelters shape arrival by exacerbating tensions of difference rather than mitigating them through the unfolding sequences of encounter that develop from their emplacement in marginalised eastern neighbourhoods. The foundation of Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis was built on the assumption that contact between different groups can reduce prejudice and promote tolerance and acceptance. As Wilson (2017b, p. 606) suggests regarding encounter, there remains the same hope today that such prejudice can be mitigated through some exposure to difference:

> 'Being-together, co-presence, dialogue, and intermingling can, under the right conditions, educate, create familiarity, inspire social transformation, and play a significant role in the development of democratic values.'

Yet the construction of the shelters and their influence on the reciprocal relationships between newcomer and city reveal them to be ineffective tools and contexts to expose more ethnically homogenous populations to diversity. Just as much migration infrastructure is revealed to impede rather than enhance people's migratory capabilities (Xiang and Lindquist, 2014), so too does imposed institutional arrival infrastructure ultimately impede the capabilities of urban encounter to mitigate feelings of difference. The shelters separate more than they connect, exacerbating local disconnections, ruptures, and inequalities. In his criticism of the UK's dispersal programme, Robinson (2003, p. 147) asserts:

> 'Dispersal zones should not simply be areas where housing is cheaply and readily available and within which asylum seekers can be "held" for six months. Rather, they ought to be locations suited to the long-term generation of visible and integrated "refugee" communities.'

The presence of comprehensive and multifaceted infrastructures that cater to diverse social and cultural needs is fundamental to the generation of these communities and negotiation of arrival trajectories that empower refugees. Indeed, by engaging with more traditional arrival neighbourhoods and the informal infrastructures they offer, newcomers are better able to find autonomy in their arrival trajectories. Yet Berlin's refugee shelters have primarily been built in areas where land is most cheaply and readily available rather than strategically chosen for their potential as sites of arrival. This makes accessing these vital infrastructures more difficult for newcomers as well as exacerbates existing marginalities that make some of the local

population inimical to the presence of newcomers. Institutional infrastructures must therefore be planned with careful consideration in relation to local informal infrastructures that provide what the state cannot and allow newcomers to achieve their aspirations in arrival.

8. Conclusion

8.1 A crisis of arrival

The narrator in Naipaul's imagined story of de Chirico's painting (figure 1) does not fare well. After the initial arrival encounters and adventures, he continues:

> 'Gradually there would come to him a feeling that he was getting nowhere; he would lose his sense of mission; he would begin to know only that he was lost. His feeling of adventure would give way to panic. He would want to escape, to get back to the quayside and his ship. But he wouldn't know how. I Imagined some religious ritual in which, led on by kindly people, he would unwittingly take part and find himself the intended victim. At the moment of crisis he would come upon a door, open it, and find himself back on the quayside of arrival. He has been saved; the world is as he remembered it. Only one thing is missing now. Above the cut-out walls and buildings there is no mast, no sail. The antique ship has gone. The traveller has lived out his life' (Naipaul, 1987, p. 92).

The uncanny, unsettling, and enigmatic process of arrival indelibly changes those who experience it. While narratives of displacement are often characterised by a romantic desperation to return to one's homeland (Dossa and Golubovic, 2019), the experiences of arrival for refugees who came to Europe in 2015 cannot be undone, even if they are able to return at some point in the future. For those who came to Berlin, these experiences have been fundamentally shaped by infrastructures, most notably the institutional shelters erected by the state.

This thesis has provided an infrastructural reading of arrival based on infrastructural discourses in urban geography, sociology, and anthropology (Amin, 2014; Burchardt and Höhne, 2015; Graham and Marvin, 2001; Graham and McFarlane, 2015; Larkin, 2013; Simone, 2015a) to address the overarching research question of 'how do infrastructures shape the arrival trajectories for refugee newcomers in Berlin?' It has exposed how the construction, operation, locations, and spatialities of Berlin's refugee shelters as part of broader complexes of infrastructures primarily undermine and limit the ability of refugee newcomers to find the autonomy and stability to move on from becoming forcibly displaced. If the events and system breakdowns of 2015 were a 'spectacular case of infrastructural failure' (Meeus et al., 2019, p. 17), then the ways that shelters have since developed have resulted in institutional arrival infrastructures that are now failing the very people they are intended to assist. This different form of infrastructural failure is not solely embedded in the injustices, immobilitities, and

limitation of arrival trajectories inflicted by the shelters. Instead, the shelters become emblematic of and exacerbate a broader failure of infrastructure to address certain needs embedded in the current social, political, and economic structures of the city. The case of Berlin reveals how the directional, contradictory, and entangled nature of these institutional infrastructures create disempowering and unjust forms of arrival.

Part I of the thesis addressed the research question of 'what forms of arrival do Berlin's arrival infrastructures create for refugee newcomers' by engaging with debates in refugee studies that explore how refugees are sorted through processes of 'social sorting,' 'categorisation,' 'classification,' and 'labelling' (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018; Janmyr and Mourad, 2018; Wettergren and Wikström, 2014; Zetter, 2007, 1991). It contributed to these debates by demonstrating the role that regulatory, housing market, and integration infrastructures play in channelling refugee newcomers along normative arrival trajectories that limit their autonomy and force them into institutional shelters. Part II then answered the question of 'how does the operation of Berlin's shelters as infrastructure shape its internal spatialities?' through explorations of discourses in architecture that consider the socio-materialities of refugee camps (Abourahme, 2020, 2015; Dalal, 2020, 2015; Katz, 2017a, 2015; Katz et al., 2018; Steigemann and Misselwitz, 2020). It revealed how the shelters as domestic infrastructures provide limited possibilities for inhabitation and keep residents in a state of perpetual arrival. Finally, Part III turned to the question of 'how do Berlin's infrastructures mediate developing relations between refugee newcomers and the city?' by utilising debates in urban studies that consider how migrants live in and interact with other people in cities (Allport, 1954; Amin, 2002; Bock and Macdonald, 2019; Darling and Wilson, 2016; Vertovec, 2015, 2007; Wilson, 2017). It affirmed how the urban location of the shelters exacerbate tensions with local neighbourhoods that are unable to provide the necessary broader urban infrastructures for refugee newcomers to navigate arrival on their own terms.

These infrastructural failings force us to rethink the nature of contemporary urban arrival. As De Genova et al. (2018) highlight, there has been an unrelenting proliferation of discourses around 'crisis' in the current historical era that began with the global state of emergency in the wake of 9/11, transitioned to the global financial crisis of 2008 and most recently manifested in the events of 2015. They challenge the script of the 'refugee crisis' by instead considering it a crisis of *control* by states over populations on the move. Similarly, Bock and Macdonald (2019) consider the declaration of a crisis as a means by which the state legitimises authoritarian forms of intervention. Instead, they frame the crisis as the failure of a wealthy

society to manage immigration and integration. The situation in Berlin supports these challenges by suggesting the existence of what we might term an ‘arrival crisis’ that stems from the interactions between overlapping crisis pluralities and how they are mediated by infrastructures. People are displaced by a political or climate crisis and must then stay for years in institutional accommodation because of a housing crisis, while being buffeted around by the crisis tendencies of capitalism (Harvey, 2010a; Streeck, 2014). This is exacerbated by the evolving nature of crises which continually displace people, as is evident in the looming environmental threat that is anticipated to create millions of ‘climate refugees’ (Berchin et al., 2017; Myers, 2002) or the recent Taliban takeover of Afghanistan in August 2021 (Wintour, 2021). The latter has especially revealed the injustice of treating Afghanistan as a ‘safe’ country for so long as it denied many shelter residents access to vital services in Berlin to make their arrival especially difficult. There was a notable shift during the research from primarily Syrian to Afghani residents living in the shelters as the latter struggled more to move out. Even more recently the crisis in Ukraine has caused mass displacement within the borders of Europe itself (UNHCR, 2022). These new and growing forced displacements emphasise the increasingly urgent need to ensure infrastructures can be made to help people better establish themselves in cities before the social consequences of generations of ‘failed arrivals’ (Saunders, 2011) emerge.

8.2 Addressing the arrival crisis

How, then, are we to face the apparent arrival crisis? The outcomes of this thesis emphasise the need for other infrastructural readings of arrival within diverse empirical geographic contexts to understand the specificities of the challenges that face refugee newcomers in different cities. Future research must further consider how the diversity of arrival contexts and the infrastructures they provide, especially in areas with limited migration histories that are increasingly hosting forced migrants such as East Germany, shape arrival trajectories. The scope must also be expanded to cities around the world, especially those in developing countries which currently host 86% of the world’s refugees (UNHCR, 2021). How do infrastructures differ in these contexts and shape the arrival process? In particular, what are the relationships and impacts of more formal ‘top down’ and informal ‘bottom up’ forms of infrastructures in addressing the needs of arrivals? These understandings of localised responses will help create a broader picture of the humanitarian landscape through how displacements operate in relation to one another (Pasquetti and Sanyal, 2020). Conversely, these readings must also expand on how refugee subjectivities, backgrounds, and experiences influence the ability to benefit from certain infrastructures within these contexts.

For example, refugees from rural areas, many of whom have no formal education, must contend with acclimatising not only to a new country but the reality of urban life itself. How do relationships with infrastructures shape the arrival trajectories of these individuals? Or similarly what roles do nationality, ethnicity, class, or gender play in such relationships? Furthermore, in Berlin specifically, research could take a longer-term analysis of arrival to reveal how infrastructures shape developing forms of citizenship and belonging (Lemanski, 2020). These avenues provide important opportunities to shed new light on the nature and experiences of both infrastructure and arrival in and beyond Berlin.

However, an expanded research agenda on infrastructure and arrival is not enough in itself. Indeed, this thesis is rooted in the ethical obligation for research concerning displaced people to seek to alleviate the suffering it exposes through informing practical solutions (Jacobsen and Landau, 2003). How can infrastructure help create better forms of arrival? While the shelters as institutional infrastructures impede the possibilities for autonomy in arrival, a key finding of this research is how refugees are able to navigate arrival in the city themselves. Part III revealed how the city crucially retains its potential and opportunities for newcomers who adapt to and cope with infrastructural failings by developing or discovering existing informal migrant infrastructures that help them find stability and better fulfil arrival aspirations. Yet just as scholars emphasise that informal appropriations of camp spaces (Katz, 2017a) or the autonomy of migration (Scheel, 2013) must not be idealised or overromanticised, so too must these 'bottom up' infrastructures not be considered as satisfactory replacements for the provision of 'top down' infrastructures and services. Instead, they must work in symbiosis, where the latter does not make up for neglect or injustice embedded in the former but instead supplements and builds on it.

For this to happen, institutional infrastructures must first not channel refugee newcomers along restrictive and exclusionary teleological narratives but be open to the heterogeneity of migrants and their arrival trajectories and provide more choice over where and how they live. Second, they must not attempt to facilitate outcomes that are inherently contradictory, as with the shelters which act as both spaces of transition as well as domestic permanence. Instead, they should provide permanent urban housing that enables residents to achieve the profound meanings of inhabitation and dwelling. Finally, they must not forcibly impose newcomers in areas that do not provide other vital infrastructures necessary for arrival, where accommodation is treated merely as a separated container where people sleep. Instead, they must be strategically placed within the city to ensure that diverse socio-cultural needs are

better met through interactions on a local neighbourhood level. Conversely, informal migrant infrastructures must be acknowledged, valued, and nurtured as they provide vital resources, services, and opportunities that institutional infrastructures cannot. Through this, the city offers the potential to develop complexes of infrastructures that work together to provide greater autonomy in arrival.

Architects have a critical role to play as they have the necessary skills to design, program, and calibrate the socio-material relationships that define infrastructures. As Breeze (2020, p. 287) argues, there is a need for even greater engagement of professional architects in the creation of refugee shelter rather than the current dominant institutional humanitarian approach which is characterised by a 'reductive, rationalist, spreadsheet-mentality' that operates within the techno-managerial realms of engineering. This has made shelters which fail to even provide the most basic protection from the elements let alone enable life to thrive. In a similar vein, infrastructures have historically been the preserve of engineers, yet architects in recent decades have increasingly turned their attention to mobility, infrastructure networks, and flows (Graham and Marvin, 2001, p. 32). Architects have the skills not only to address technological constraints, but also more subjective, complex, and less directly measurable social, political, environmental, and cultural contexts (Breeze, 2020). Indeed, across the world architects and other built environment professionals have long tackled the challenges of inadequate housing, especially through temporary shelter and reconstruction following war or natural disasters (Charlesworth, 2014; Félix et al., 2015; Herscher, 2017). They have engaged communities through innovative methods such as participatory design and practices of co-production (Hamdi, 2004; Miranda et al., 2018).

The situation in Berlin emphasises the need for such expertise to continue to develop in relation to notions of urban arrival especially in the context of Western European cities, to create an architecture of arrival that is able to facilitate agency and autonomy while also providing the necessary specialised support for displaced people in order for them to establish new sustainable lives in the long term. The goal must not be to design a better temporary refugee shelter, but instead create cities and inhabitable dwellings that are better able to facilitate arrival for not just a privileged elite. This highlights the importance of an infrastructural approach to refugee spaces that seeks to fulfil constructive aspirations as opposed to being rooted solely in notions of the 'camp.' Although they can be ambivalent, infrastructures crucially provide the possibilities and means to create a just society, whereas camps will always remain spaces of exception indicative of injustice. However, architects cannot do this

alone, and material design is only one facet of addressing these issues. Cities are defined by large, multivalent, and highly complex processes. These ambitions can only be achieved through the collaboration of diverse actors including government, public institutions, policymakers, other professionals, and local communities. They are predicated on tackling the underlying socio-political and economic issues, most notably the affordable housing crisis, that made the shelters necessary in the first place. Arrival comes to be considered as part of much broader questions of who is able to act, move, and shape the cities in which they live and how.

Figure 114: *The Enigma of an Autumn Afternoon*, Giorgio de Chirico, 1910, (source: WikiArt)

These approaches are not intended to solve the difficulties of arrival per se. Arrival will always be an inherently enigmatic and deeply personal process replete with challenges, tension, and conflict. Instead, they seek to facilitate arrival that is more just, autonomous, fulfilling, equitable, emancipatory, and hopeful. Unlike the narrator in his imagined story, Naipaul fares better in his own arrival that unfolds throughout the novel. Slowly he realises that the ostensibly timeless landscape to which he felt like he didn't belong is in fact constantly changing in itself as everyone is subject to its mutability. Arrival emerges not as a destination where someone

comes to belong in a particular space, but the participation in a continuous process of becoming in a place that is itself constantly in flux. This breaks down the dichotomy of ‘host’ and ‘guest’ by making everyone guests. Life itself becomes one entire process of arrival in the world until it has been lived out. We can look to another de Chirico painting to see what this more positive and inclusive form of arrival might look like: his 1910 composition *The Enigma of an Autumn Afternoon* (figure 114). It has a remarkably similar visual composition to *The Enigma of the Arrival and the Afternoon*. However, it purveys a radically different affective impression that is less insidious and foreboding. The colours are brighter and more vivid in the blue sky and afternoon sun. The entrance to the building on the left is accessible through inviting steps. The people are more assertive in their presence standing close together, with greater detail in their faces and clothing. They appear to be admiring the statue as tourists who have arrived by ship, which is obscured not by an imposing wall but inhabited dwellings. They too have arrived in the city but crucially in a very different way. Each arrival is its own enigma. There is no normal or best way it transpires. However, it can be made to be less perilous and more constructive, especially through appropriate infrastructures. For the millions of people who are currently or will inevitably be forcibly displaced, it is imperative to create better forms of urban arrival.

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Appendix

Profiles of shelter residents cited in thesis

Abbas

Male in his 30s from Iran and has been in Berlin for 18 months. Interview was carried out in a café rather than the shelter at his request. He is a filmmaker who doesn't want his work to be associated with his refugee status but judged on its own merit.

Interviewed 30th July 2019

Abdel

Male in his 20s from Palestine who had already been displaced to Syria before being displaced again. He has been in Germany for three years and works for an integration project as a translator while living in his own flat.

Interviewed 25th July 2019

Ahmad

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan living in the shelter with his father. They arrived in Berlin at the end of 2015. He loves Berlin and believes it can provide him with a good job and a good life. His biggest problem is trying to learn German so he can speak with locals. He generously offered shisha while taking part in the interview.

Interviewed 9th August 2019

Ajmal

Male in his 20s from Palestine who arrived in Berlin September 2017. He likes to be around people from different cultures so says Berlin is the perfect city for him. He has his own room in the shelter which he meticulously cleaned and then was allowed to paint by the shelter manager.

Interviewed 9th March 2018 and 9th August 2018

Almas

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan living in Berlin since 2015. He finds the neighbourhood he lives in to be very pretty and likes to go out bike riding and walking.

Interviewed 19th September 2019

Almeida

Male in his 40s from Afghanistan living in Berlin for four years. He lives with his wife and five children, but they are unfortunately split up in different rooms on different floors of the shelter.

His children joined in the interview as well and they generously made coffee. He is happy that his children are no longer exposed to the violence in Afghanistan.

Interviewed 12th September 2019

Amina

Female in her 40s from Bosnia living in her shelter with her husband and four children. She desperately wants to work but is not allowed to due to her nationality. Her main problem concerns her legal status, as the German government does not consider Bosnia a country where people are in danger any longer.

Interviewed 15th August 2019

Arif

Male in his 20s from Syria who had been a sports teacher. He had just moved out of his shelter and was living in the spare room of a German family who offered to host him. They don't make him pay rent, but he hates this fact as he wants to be independent.

Interviewed 10th August 2018

Azim

Male in his 50s from Syria. He desperately misses his hometown which is predominantly orthodox Christian and yearns to return as soon as possible. His biggest problems are the conditions in the shelter and the difficulties he is having with other shelter residents who he feels judge him because he is not Muslim. He likes to hang out of his room window and watch the communal spaces and kindly made a cup of tea for the interview.

Interviewed 9th August 2019

Chakir

Male in his 20s from Syria living in Berlin for four years, two of which were in his current shelter. He speaks particularly fondly of recent holidays he went on to visit friends in Sweden and Kurdistan.

Interviewed 4th August 2019

Esmatullah

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan who arrived in Berlin in January 2015. He laments how he hasn't seen his mother or family in years and misses them deeply. His biggest problem is his asylum application, which was rejected twice within the last four years. He is desperate to move out of the shelter and make something of his life.

Interviewed 4th September 2019

Firouzeh

Female in her 30s from Afghanistan living in the shelter with her young daughter. She spends several hours a day cooking, so she doesn't get to go out in the city that much. She is keen to visit the city's museums, especially the clothing museum.

Interviewed 16th August 2018

Girma

Male in his 20s from Eritrea who arrived in Berlin at the end of 2014 and has lived in the shelter for four years. He struggles to sleep in the shelter's frenetic environment, but he feels much freer living in Germany than he did in Eritrea.

Interviewed 18th September 2019

Gwen

Female in her 30s from Ghana living in the shelter with her infant daughter. She has been in Berlin for 18 months and the father of her child lives in Hermannplatz. Her biggest problem was having to live in the difficult conditions of the shelter.

Interviewed 7th August 2019

Habib

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan who arrived in Berlin in 2016. He remembers the exact date he arrived. He has been living in his current shelter for one year. He is glad to be in Berlin due to its role as Germany's capital and diverse mix of people.

Interviewed 16th September 2019

Hamza

Male in his 40s from Iraq living in Berlin for four years after having spent two months in Turkey. He showed pictures of his boat from the crossing across the Mediterranean and notes how he has never felt so scared before during the six-hour trip.

Interviewed 25th June 2019

Hani

Female in her 20s from Somalia living in the shelter with her husband and one-year-old child for over a year. She wants to learn German well, so that she will be able to teach her child and help with her school homework. She aspires to be an engineer in the future and says she is not too worried about anything as she most importantly has her health.

Interviewed 11th September 2019

Hannah

Female in her 30s from Nigeria living in Berlin for one year and nine months. She spends a lot of time outside in the communal shelter spaces as it is the only place where she can get internet. She likes to read what is going on in the world in English and hear news about Africa.

Interviewed 1st August 2019

Hassan

Male in his 30s from Syria in Berlin for one year with his wife and new-born child. They had been in Hungary previously where he was on the Erasmus student exchange programme. He likes to travel and has been to lots of places around Germany already. He had studied computer science and is now training to be a front-end software developer. He is proud of the fact that he has friends in Berlin from all over the world, including Argentina, Spain, and the UK.

Interviewed 10th September 2019

Hussain

Male in his 30s from Afghanistan. He is annoyed that his shelter doesn't have Wi-Fi, so he has to use his mobile data in order to watch films in his native language.

Interviewed 27th July 2018

Kaleb

Male teenager from Ethiopia who has been in Berlin for just over a year, living in the shelter with four siblings and his mother. His mother had been in Berlin for five years prior before he and his siblings joined. He is delighted to have his family reunited and is excited to be given opportunities that were not available in his home country. He wants to be a train driver when he is older.

Interviewed 18th September 2019

Kalila

Female in her 30s from Iraq who has been in Berlin for three years. She lives with her husband and two children. She was very excited to have someone to practice some German with, as her husband doesn't usually let her speak to people, see her friends, or have money to go out. She notes many Iraqi men expect women to stay at home and they get hit if they go out. She likes Germany as she feels much freer and likes the fact that women can go out.

Interviewed 13th September 2019

Kamal

Male in his 40s from Afghanistan who arrived in Berlin in 2013 and had lives in a couple of shelters in the city. He now lives in a flat and is involved in local projects to provide support to other refugee newcomers.

Interviewed 11th August 2019

Kardaar

Male in his 30s from Afghanistan who has lived in Germany for four years and his current shelter for one and a half years with his wife and four children. He does odd jobs around the shelter to earn some money, including trimming trees, cutting the grass, and cleaning.

Interviewed 12th September 2019

Mahmoud

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan who arrived in Berlin in 2016. He has been living in his shelter for one year. In Afghanistan he was a policeman and had to leave because he was threatened by the Taliban. He aspires to be a mechanic in Germany. He likes Germans as he thinks they're welcoming to foreigners.

Interviewed 13th September 2019

Nazar

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan who had arrived in 2015. He had lived in the Tempelhof hangars for two years, an experience which left a significant impression on him. His biggest problem is his status which is still unsecure. He highlights how his experiences have made him more religious since arriving and has managed to find version of the Quran in his mother tongue that was not possible in Afghanistan, where he could only access Arabic versions. He can finally understand the important meanings of the text.

Interviewed 14th August 2019

Nabil

Male in his 60s from Syria who used to work as a court clerk in his home country. He thought that in Germany politics and courts were separate but has been disappointed to find this is not the case. Freedom, law, and justice are the most important things to him at the moment. He is determined that one day he will be able to return to his homeland but does not think it will be possible in his lifetime.

Interviewed 17th August 2018

Okot

Male in his 30s from Sudan who has been in Berlin for nine months. He is a doctor who had been tortured in his home country due to his politics. He brought his medical books with him to make sure he still has a connection to his profession as he cannot afford to get what he learnt so he can build a new life.

Interviewed 15th July 2019

Pazir

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan. He feels lucky to be in Berlin and his favourite place is the Tempelhof park as there is so much going on with people eating, cycling, and socialising. He is a part-time tour guide for a refugee led tour in the city.

Interviewed 27th July 2018

Rebin

Male in his 30s from Kurdistan and a good friend of Chakir's who joined in the conversation.

Interviewed 14th August 2019

Saba

Female in her 40s from Syria who has lived in Berlin for three years with her husband and three children. She has been trying out gardening for the first time in the shelter and had cultivated a beautiful green patch filled with flowers and vegetables, including tomatoes, courgette, pumpkin, potatoes, and chillies.

Interviewed 17th August 2018

Sayyid

Male in his 20s from Afghanistan who had arrived in Berlin in 2015. He was interviewed at a community café meetup rather than inside the shelter. He thinks Berlin is a beautiful city and finds the weather especially nice as it is too warm in Afghanistan.

Interviewed 11th August 2019

Umar

Male from Iraq living with four children and his wife. He has several bullet wounds from the conflict in his home country but is excited to be a part of Berlin where he feels so many opportunities are available. He is a well-known and well-liked figure in his shelter as he helps run the washroom.

Interviewed 13th August 2018 and 25th June 2019

Yusuf

Male in his 20s from Pakistan who had arrived in Berlin in 2013. He highlights the biggest problem as people getting their asylum claim rejected and the tensions this causes. He has an arranged marriage set up that gives him an important sense of hope and opportunity for the future, including employment and housing.

Interviewed 13th August 2019